Doctor Sands disguiseth himselfe like a gentleman, and escapeth.

if you meet your brother in the street, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordinglie doctor Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wildlie as one that had beene long kept in prison out of the light. Beniamin carried him through Birching lane, and from one lane to another till he came at Moore gate: there they went forth vntill they came to Bednoll greene, where the horsses were readie, and maister Hurleston to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leaue of his friend Beniamin, with teares they kissed ech other, he put his hand in his purse, and would haue giuen Beniamin a great part of that little he had, but Beniamin would take none. Yet since doctor Sands hath remembred him thankfullie. He rode that night to his father in law maister Sands where his wife was, he had not been there two houres, but it was told maister Sands that there was two of the gard which would that night apprehend doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night doctor Sands was guided to an honest farmer neere the sea, where he taried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all companie. After that he shifted to one James Mower a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet readie into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him fortie or fiftie mariners, to whome he gaue an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, yer that he should be apprehended. The first of Maie, being sundaie the wind serued: he toke his leaue of his host and hostesse, and went towards the ship. In taking leaue of his hostesse who was baren, and had beene married eight yeares, he gaue hir a fine handkercher and also an old rosall of gold in it, thanking hir much, and said: Be of good comfort, yer that an whole yeere be past God shall giue you a child a boie. And it came to passe, for that daie twelue moneths lacking one daie, God gaue hir a faire sonne.

God stirreth vp the harts of the mariners to fauor doctor Sands &c.

Doctor Sands his prophetical dieting to his hostesse at his departing.

At the shore doctor Sands met with maister Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest sonne there, who vpon the liking he had to doctor Sands, sent his sonne with him, who afterward died in his fathers house in Frankford. Doctor Sands and doctor Cox were both in one ship, being one Cokzels ship. They were within the kenning when two of the gard came thither to apprehend doctor Sands. They arriued at Antwerpe, being bid to dinner to maister Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being secretarie to the English house, and kinsman to doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his eare, and said; King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Herevpon they rose from their dinner in a maruellous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleue; there they found a wagon and hailed awaie, and came safe to Aulspurge in Cleueland, where doctor Sands taried fouretæne daies, and then iournied towards Strasborough, where after he had liued one yeare, his wife came vnto him. He fell sore sicke of a flix which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths dore. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wife at length fell sicke of a consumption and died in his armes; no man had a more godlie woman to his wife.

Doctor Sands and doctor Cox go by wagon into Cleueland.

After this, maister Samson went awaie to Emanuell, a man skilfull in the Hebrue. Maister Grindall went into the countrie to learne the Dutch tong. Doctor Sands still remained in Strasborough, whose sustentation then was chieflie from one maister Isaac, who loued him most dearelie, and was euer more readie to giue than he to take. He gaue him in that space aboue one hundred marks, which sum the said doctor Sands paid him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlinesse shewed himselfe to be a thankfull man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurike, and there was in Peter Martyrs house for the space of fiue weekes. Being there as they sate at dinner, word suddenlie came that quéene Marie was dead, and doctor Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasborough. That news made maister Martyr and maister Iarret then there verie ioyfull: but doctor Sands could not reioise, it smote into his hart that he should be called to ministerie. Maister Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he toke his leaue and returned into Strasborough, where he preached, and so maister Grindall and he came towards England, and then to London the same daie that quéene Elizabeth was crowned.

Happie newes of quéen Maries death: whereupon doctor Sands returneth home into England.

This is the true storie of such accidents as befell doctor Sands, a reuerend father, and constant in the truth; whereof if anie part had beene false, likelie it is that one or other would haue barked against it per now. But the report being common, and hauing beene thus long extant in print, the silence of men is a sufficient proofe & confirmation of the truth.] Here therfore we will leaue doctor Sands in his archiepiscopall see of Yorke; and after this long (but yet needfull) digression fall againe to the discourse of Calis; which being lost (as you haue heard) in a verie short time after so long possession, tidings thereof were carried to and fro, farre and neere, by word of mouth and by writing. In so much that the same newes likewise being made notorious and knowne to the French were not so ioifullie receiued in France, as they were generallie gricuous and displeasant to the whole relme of England: but speciallie to quéene Marie, who being a princesse of hart and courage, more than commonlie is in womankind, thought hir selfe so much touched in honour by the losse of hir said towne and possessions on that side the sea, as she counted hir life irksome, vntill the same were either recouered againe, or the losse redoubled with some like victorie against the French elsewhere.

With what indignation quéene Marie toke the losse of Calis.

In respect whereof she ceased not to trauell after with king Philip hir husband, as with hir owne priuie councell, and the lords of the realme, which waie should be best to reuenge this iniurie: and speciallie now whilest the French king was occupied in wars with king Philip, to indamage some of his countries by waie of inuasion, & to surprise some of his townes vpon the sudden. And among sundrie deuises, none was thought so fit to be attempted as an hauen towne in Britaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richard the second was kept and mainteined with an English garrison, vntill the said king rendered the same to the French king againe by composition. This towne as well for the conuenient situation alwaies readie to receiue fresh succors and victelling out of England by sea, as also for that it was knowne to the quéene and hir councell at that present, not to be furnished with anie garrison of soldiors, sufficient to repell the power of a prince vpon the sudden, was thought to be the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefore vpon this case well debated, there was immediatlie order giuen to Edward lord Clinton then high admerall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the quéenes ships of warre, furnished with soldiors, munition & victels, to ioine with the admerall of king Philip, who had like order from the said king to ioine with the naule of England for the atchiuing of this enterprise.

Force intended against Brest in Britaine.

The lord Clinton admerall of England sent out against Brest.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great naules by sea, it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidents in the mean time by land.

land. While king Philip being absent from the low countrie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his warres in France, monsieur de Thermes the new capteine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the wars (whose propertie is neuer to neglect anie time of aduantage) call in his mind, how (during king Philips absence) to do some singular seruice to the French king his maister. And espieng well the negligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little they vnderstood the great weakening of their countrie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no new prouision made for the defense thereof, more than was before, whilest Calis was English, by the losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open for the French at all times to enter. He therefore taking out of Calis so manie of his soldiors as might be spared from thense, adioining to them all the forces of the French garrisons in Arthois, Bullongnois, and Picardie, whereof togither with the soldiors of Calis, being to the number of seuen hundred footmen, and three hundred light horsemen Scotish, there were assembled foure téene ensigns of the French footmen, eighténe vanlins of Almans, foure or fiue hundred men at armes of France, beside the light horsemen Scots, amounting in the whole to the number at the least of nine thousand footmen, and fifteene hundred horsemen, entred into Flanders, with full determination to spoile and waste all king Philips countrie along the sea coast, and namelie a proper hauen towne called Dunkirke, and with like purpose to haue surprised the towne of Graueling; if occasion would so serue.

Monsieur de Thermes capteine of Calis worketh vpon the aduantage to the French king more honorable feate.

Happie newes of queene Maries death: whereby vpon doctor Standis returne thither into England.

Monsieur de Thermes determination to spoile king Philips countrie.

This capteine following his enterprise, of a policie passing by the towne of Graueling, laid siege to a little towne not farre from thence called Berghs, which he wan in a small time, and with small resistance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his soldiors, where they found manie good bootes. And without long staieng they marched forth to Dunkirke beforesaid, and planting a siege in like maner there, battered the same so sharplie with the cannon, that within lesse than foure daies he became maister of the towne, which he in like maner put to the sacke, where was found more plentie of spoile and good bootes, than in anie place before, so farre forth as the meanest slaues and lackies came awaie rich. And after setting the towne on fire (whereby all in the countrie about were maruellouslie put in feare) and the French spreading further abroad, wasted the most fruitfull quarter of all that part of Flanders, euen almost vnto Newport. But yet bicause that monsieur de Thermes fell diseased of the gowt, the armie withdrew and incamped within halfe a mile of Graueling, & for his more ease, he himselfe laie at Dunkirke, and in the meane time diuerse skirmishes fell out betweene the Frenchmen, and them of the garrison within Graueling.

With what indignation queene Marie tooke the losse of Calis.

Dunkirke besieged, taken, and burned by the French.

Force intended against Wzell in Westfaine.

Monsieur de Thermes sicke of the gowt.

During which passtime, the countie de Aiguemont (or as he is commonlie called Egmond) lieutenant generall for king Philip in the low countrie, with all hast possible assembled all the power as well of king Philips garrisons, as also of men of warre in the low countrie, to the number of foure téene or fiftéene thousand footmen, and two or three thousand horsemen, whereof there were fiftéene hundred swart Rutters, determining so to affront the French, that either they should passe no further into the countrie, or at the least waie to impeach them from the siege of Graueling, whereof there was great appearance. Monsieur de Thermes hearing of this power assembled (though scarselie well recouered) made all possible hast toward Graueling, where he was no sooner arriued, but that he saw his enimies readie ranged in the field. By reason whereof his studie was now nothing else but how he might bring home his armie in safetie to Calis.

Countie Egmond lieutenant generall for king Philip in the low countrie.

The countie de Egmond espieng the Frenchmen bent to march awaie with the spoile of the countrie, cut betweene them and home, placing his battels in such order, that the Frenchmen had no waie to passe, but vpon the sands betweene the towne and the sea. Whereas by good chance late a great fleet of queene Maries ships of warre, within the danger of whose gunshot the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as their iournie laie. And so being forced either to fasht or to fight at disaduantage, monsieur the Thermes without staieng anie longer, caused his vantgard to passe ouer the riuer somewhat neere the towne, to auoid the shot of the English ships. And staieng vpon the further side for the residue of his battels, there came such thicke haile shot of artillerie out of the towne on the one side, and from the English ships on the other side, that there was a full batterie made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides, which they neuertheless abode, without breaking order for the time, when suddenlie appeered before them two great troops of horsemen, of fiftéene hundred a peece, part swart Rutters, and part Burgognians, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue strong charges vpon the French vantgard, who being well backed with their other battels (whereof the most part then had passed the riuer) stoutlie repelled these two first troops, though not without losse of manie their best soldiors.

The English ships annoie the French with gunshot, &c.

A valiant enset giuen vpon the Frenchmen by countie Egmond.

So thus both parties being at a staie, and seuered somewhat asunder, the countie de Egmond himselfe with eighténe hundred men of armes, and his foot battels following, before the French had well recouered breath, recharged vpon them with all his forces togither, so terriblie that he choked all their battell, and the number toke them to flight, without further triall. So by that time that the footmen on either side came to the push of the pike, the victorie was sone had, by reason (as the Frenchmen report) that the Almans beaten back with artillerie, as well of the towne as of the ships before said, brake their order, and came not to the shocke, whereby the whole charge of the battell rested vpon the French bands onelie. This field was fought the thirteenth of Julie 1558, vpon the sea sands neere to Graueling, where besides those that were slaine, being esteemed to the number of fiue thousand fighting men, there were taken prisoners the marshall de Thermes capteine of Calis, monsieur Senerpont gouernour of Bullongne, monsieur Villebou gouernour of Picardie, monsieur Annebault sonne to the late admerall Annebault, knight of the order, monsieur de Mozuilliers gouernour of Abuile, monsieur de Channe gouernour of Cozbie, beside a great number of other gentlemen, valiant capteins & soldiors: but specialli the bands of Calis went to wracke, so as verie few returned home to bring tidings. Which gaue such a terrour to the soldiors remaining in Calis, that it is verelie beleeued, that if the admerals of England and Flanders had béene present there with their nauies, as the said other few ships of England were, and vpon this sudden had attempted Calis, with the aid of the countie Egmond hauing his power present: the towne of Calis might haue béene recouered againe with as little difficultie, and hapilie in as short time as it was before gained by the duke of Guise. But the said admerals (as it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherefore following their prescribed course, & ioining togither at the place appointed, they sailed from thence with prosperous winds & weather, & by the nine and twentith daie of the same moneth, and in the said yeare, with seuen score ships of warre, appeared by the breake of the

A recharge vpon the French scarse recouered.

A great victorie.

Certeine French prisoners taken, and what they were by name.

Calis might haue béene recouered from the French.

The lord Clinton admerall of England sent out against Wzell.

the daie before the hauen of Conquest, commonlie called Conquet in Britaine; whereof the poet saith, touching the seat of the same, abutting vpon the sea:

Nobile Conquetum salsis Thetis alluit vndis.

At whose arriuall there (as the manner is) they sounded their trumpets, & with a thundering peale of great ordinance gaue a lowd salue vnto the Britains: and by eight of the clocke the same morning, mauger all the power of the countrie, being assembled there in armes, with manie peeces of great artillerie, to defend the entrie of their port, the Englishmen manning forth their shipboats, with manie valiant capteins and soldiors, recouered landing, and within short time became maisters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to the saccage, with a great abbeie, and manie prettie townes and villages neere thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties. This done, they marched into the countrie, and burned manie villages and houses: and after withdrew downe vnto the sea side, where their ships late readie to receiue them. But the Flemmings being couetous of spoile, passing further into the land, before they could recouer their ships againe, were incountered by the power of the countrie, by whome there were slaine of them to the number of foure or fiue hundred.

Conquest or Conquet taken and burned.

A great slaughter of the Flemmings occasioned by their owne couetousnesse.

The admerals perceiuing the power of the countrie greatlie to increase, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Estampes the French kings lieutenant in Britaine was verie neere, comming on with a great number of horsemen and footmen, estéemed to be about twentie thousand (as the Frenchmen themselues affirme) thought not best to attempt anie assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doo some further exploit elsewhere, they late there houering on the coast a while, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Britains: but by this time there was such numbers of people raised in all those parts for defense of the same coasts, that the admerals afterward attempting in diuers places to land their men, and finding ech where more appearance of losse than of gaine, returned home without atchiuing anie further enterprise. In this meane time, while king Philip and the French king, with two most puissant armies affronted ech other, neere vnto the water of Some, either of them was obstinatelie bent to driue the other out of the field, for which cause they intrenched their campes.

The admerals remoue for feare of losse.

Anno Reg. 6.

No memorable act doone by either of the kings during the affronting of their armies.

During which time there was nothing doone betweene them worthie memorie, more than dailie skirmishes of no great account. Neuertheless, the countrie of France could not but sustaine extreame damage, so long sustaining such a maine multitude, specially of men of warre, which those two mightie kings had assembled. And daie by daie came fresh companies to either partie; so as it was thought a thing impossible that such two princes being so neere, could depart without some cruell bloudie battell to determine their quarrels. But God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate minds from warre to peace, which came chiefli to passe by the mediation of the duchesse of Lorraine, who had béene a long and earnest trauailer to that end; and neuer ceassed, vntill by hir intercession, both the said kings appointed speciall commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after diuerse conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies, except the matter of Calis, wherof quéene Marie by hir ambassadours required restitution: but the French partie would in no wise heare thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to anie good conclusion. King Philip thinking himselfe bound in honour to stand in that case with the quéene his wife, who for his sake had entered into a needlesse warre against France, and thereby lost hir said towne, with all the countrie adioining (as you haue heard before) did therefore staie a long time before he concluded peace with the French king.

Peace is procured betweén both kings at the sute and séeking of the duchesse of Lorraine.

Quéene Marie séeing no likelihood, nor hauing anie hope of the restitution of Calis, and considering also that most of hir affaires had but hard successe, conceiued an inward sorrow of mind: by reason whereof about September next she fell sicke of a hot burning feauer, which sickenesse was common that yeare through all the realme, and consumed a maruellous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, iudges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers: but most of the clergie, and other ancient and graue persons. In which while the quéene late languishing of a long sicknesse, and so continued vntill the seuentéenth of Nouember next betweéne the houres of fiue or six in the morning, and then ended hir life in this world, at hir house of saint James besides Westminster, when she had reigned fiue years, foure moneths, and eleuen daies, and in the three and fortith yeare of hir bodilie age. The death of this said quéene made a marueilous alteration in this realme, namelie in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the first it suffered a change from the establishment of his time: so by the death of this quéene it returned into the former estate againe. So that we sée the vncertaintie of the world, and what changes doo come in times by their reuolutions, and that euerie thing is subiect to vnconstancie, and nothing free from variablenesse; as the poet saith:

Q. Marie prosile for the losse of Calis.

The death of quéen Marie.

——— nihil vsquam
Perpetuum solet in terris fixúmque manere:
Humanis quàm nulla subest constantia rebus!

And here, bicause we are come to the knitting vp of quéene Maries reigne, I cannot ouerslip with silence that notable and needfull discourse of master Fox concerning our blessed souereigne, quéen Elizabeth, whose maiestie the Lord of his mercie inuiron with frends as in number manie, so in seruice trustie; and whose enimies the same Lord in iustice rot out from the land of the liuing, heaping vpon them plague after plague, to their vtter confusion, bicause they haue reiected the gratious means of their conuersion. Thus therefore writeth master Fox concerning the mischéeuous persecution and miraculous preseruation of ladie Elizabeth, now quéene of England, from extreame calamitie and danger of life, in the time of quéene Marie hir sister.

The histoire of the ladie Elizabeth.

These references by the page wheresoeuer they fall in this discourse of Q. Elizabeth are ment of the impression published 1583

Sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, sent to fetch vp ladie Elizabeth, with whom also afterward was sent the lord william Howard, &c.

But (saith master Fox) when all hath béene said and told, what soeuer can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and preseruing anie one person out of thraldome, neuer was there since the memorie of our fathers, anie example to be shewed, wherin the Lords mightie power hath more admirablie and blessedlie shewed it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole realme, than in the miraculous custodie and outscape of this our souereigne ladie, now quéene, then ladie Elizabeth, in the strict time of quéene Marie hir sister. In which storie, first we haue to consider in what extreame miserie, sickenesse, feare, and perill hir highnesse was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought. First with great routs and bands of armed men (and happie was he that might haue the carrieng of hir) being fetched vp as the greatest traitour in the world, clapped in the tower, and againe tossed from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to piller, at length also prisoner in hir owne house, and garded with a sort of cut-throats, which euer

The blessed preseruation of almightie God in preseruing the ladie Elizabeth in hir manifold dangers and troubles.

The vnmanerlinesse of the knights.

The troubles of ladie Elizabeth in Q. Maries time.

gaped

gaped for the ſpoile, whereby they might be fingering of ſomewhat.

Secondlie, we haue againe to conſider, all this notwithſtanding, how ſtrangelie, or rather miraculouſlie from danger ſhe was deliuered: what fauour and grace ſhe found with the almightie, who when all helpe of man, and hope of recouerie was paſt, ſtretched out his mightie protection, and preſerued hir highneſſe, and placed hir in this princelie ſeat of reſt and quietneſſe, wherin now ſhe ſitteth, and long maie ſhe ſit, the lord of his glorious mercie grant, we beſeech him*. In which ſtorie, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full, all the particulars and circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as iuſt occaſion of the hiſtorie requireth, beſides the importunate length of the ſtorie diſcourſed, peraduenture it might moue offenſe to ſome being yet aliue, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithſtanding, I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to vſe ſuch breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glorie of God, the diſcharge of the ſtorie, the profit of the reader, & hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whome here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, than the queene hath beene mercifull in pardoning their liues.

Therefore now to enter into the diſcourſe of this tragicall matter, firſt here is to be noted, that queene Marie when ſhe was firſt queene, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would haue hir by the hand, and ſend for hir to dinner and ſupper: but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe neuer dined nor ſupped with hir, but kept hir alone from hir, &c. After this it happened, immediatlie vpon the riſing of ſir Thomas Wiat (as before was mentioned, * pag. 1418, 1419) that the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were charged with falſe ſuſpicion of ſir Thomas Wiats riſing. Wherevpon queene Marie, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaid Elizabeth hir ſiſter, at that time lieng in hir houſe at Aſhridge, the next daie after the riſing of Wiat, ſent to hir three of hir councellors, to wit, ſir Richard Southwell, ſir Edward Haſtings, then maſter of the horſſe, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troupe of horſemen, to the number of two hundred & fiftie. Who at their ſudden and vnprouided comming, found hir at the ſame time ſore ſicke in hir bed, and verie feeble and weake of bodie. Whither when they came, aſcending vp to hir graces priuie chamber, they willed one of hir ladies, whome they met, to declare vnto hir grace, that there were certeine come from the court, which had a meſſage from the queene.

Hir grace hauing knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit, being then verie ſicke, and the night farre ſpent (which was at ten of the clocke) ſhe requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the morning. To this they anſwered, and by the ſaid meſſenger ſent word againe, that they muſt needs ſee hir, and would ſo do, in what caſe ſoeuer ſhe were. Whereat the ladie being againſt, went to ſhew hir grace their words: but they haſtilie following hir, came ruſhing as ſone as ſhe into hir graces chamber vnbidden. At whoſe ſo ſudden comming into hir bed chamber, hir grace being not a little amazed, ſaid vnto them: Is the haſt ſuch, that it might not haue pleaſed you to come to morrow in the morning? They made anſwer, that they were right ſorie to ſee hir in that caſe. And I (quoth ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Wherevnto they anſwered, that they came from the queene to do their meſſage and dutie: which was to this effect, that the queens pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the ſeauenth daie of that preſent moneth. Wherevnto ſhe ſaid; Certeſſe, no creature more glad than I to come to hir maieſtie, being right ſorie that I am not in caſe at this time to wait on hir, as you your ſelues do ſee and can well teſtifie.

In deed we ſee it true (quoth they) that you do ſaie: for which we are verie ſorie: albeit we let you to vnderſtand, that our commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraineth vs, that we muſt needs bring you with vs, either quicke or dead. Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſorrowfullie ſaid, that their commiſſion was verie ſore: but yet notwithſtanding ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrict. Yes verelie, ſaid they. Wherevpon they called for two phyſicians, doctor Owen and doctor Wendie, demanding of them, whether ſhe might be remoued from thence with life, or no. Whoſe anſwer and iudgement was, that there was no impediment (in their iudgement) to the contrarie, but that ſhe might trauell without danger of life. In concluſion, they willed hir to prepare againſt the morning at nine of the clocke to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queenes litter for hir. After much talke, the meſſengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and daies, ſo departed to their chamber, being interteined and cheared as apperteined to their worſhips.

On the next morrow at the time preſcribed, they had hir forth as ſhe was, verie faint and feeble, and in ſuch caſe that ſhe was readie to ſound three or foure times betweene them. What ſhould I ſpeake heere that cannot well be expreſſed, what an heauie houſe there was to behold the vnreuerend and dolefull dealing of theſe men, but eſpeciallie the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent ladie and miſtreſſe? Now to proceed in hir iornie from Aſhridge all ſicke in the litter, ſhe came to Redborne, where ſhe was garded all night: from thence to S. Albons, to ſir Rafe Rowlets houſe, where ſhe tarried that night, both feeble in bodie, and comfortleſſe in mind. From that place they paſſed to maſter Dods houſe at Pims, where alſo they remained that night: and ſo from thence ſhe came to Highgate: where ſhe being verie ſicke, taried that night and the next daie. During which time of hir abode there, came manie purſeuants and meſſengers from the court: but for what purpoſe I cannot tell.

From that place ſhe was conueied to the court: where (by the waie) came to meet hir manie gentlemen, to accompanie hir highneſſe, which were verie ſorie to ſee hir in that caſe. But eſpeciallie a great multitude of people there were ſtanding by the waie, who then flocking about hir litter, lamented and bewailed greatlie hir eſtate. Now, when ſhe came to the court, hir grace was there ſtraightwaies ſhut vp, and kept as cloſe priſoner a fortnight, which was till Palmeſundaie, ſeeing neither king nor queene, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but onelie then the lord chamberlaine, ſir John Gage, and the vicechamberlaine which were attendant vnto the doores. About which time ſir William Sentlow was called before the councell; vnto whoſe charge it was laid, that he knew of Wiats rebellion. Which he ſtoutlie denied, proteſting that he was a true man, both to God and his prince, defieng all traitors and rebels: but being ſtrictlie examined, he was in concluſion committed to the tower.

The fridaie before Palmeſundaie, the biſhop of Wincheſter, with nineteene others of the councell (who ſhall be here nameleſſe) came vnto hir grace from the queenes maieſtie, and burdened hir with Wiats conſpiracie: which ſhe vtterlie denied, affirming that ſhe was altogither giltleſſe therein. They being not contented with this, charged hir grace with buſineſſe made by ſir Peter Carew, and the reſt of the gentlemen of the weſt countrie: which alſo

ſhe

*Amen.

The hiſtorie of the ladie Elizabeth.

*These references by the page wherein ſoeuer they fall in this diſcourſe of Q. Elizabeth are ment of the impreſſion publiſhed 1583

Sir Richard Southwell, ſir Edward Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, ſent to fetch by ladie Elizabeth, with whom alſo afterward was ſent the lord William Howard, &c.

The vnmanerlineſſe of the knights.

M. Marie penſife for the loſſe of Calis.

The death of queen Marie.

The bleſſed protection of almightie God in preſerning the ladie Elizabeth in hir manifold dangers and troubles.

The troubles of ladie Elizabeth in Q. Maries time.

A ſtrait commiſſion from the queene to bring the ladie Elizabeth either quicke or dead.

The gentlenelle of queene Marie to ſend hir horſſlitter to bring hir ſiſter to trouble.

Ladie Elizabeth taketh hir iournie toward the queene.

Ladie Elizabeth brought vp to Lond.

Sir william Sentlow committed to the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth charged with ſir Thomas Wiats conſpiracie.

Ladie Elizabeth charged with the buſineſſe of Peter Carew.

the diterlie denieng, cleared hir innocencie therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto hir, that it was the quéenes will and pleasure that she should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she being agast, said, that she trusted the quéenes maiestie would be more gratious ladie vnto hir, and that hir highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of hir, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherin they had burdened hir; and desired them therefore to be a further meane to the quéene hir sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and déed towards hir maiestie, might not be committed to so notorious & dolefull a place: protesting that she would request no mercie at hir hand, if she should be proued to haue consented vnto anie such kind of matter, as they had laid vnto hir charge: and therefore in fine desired their lordships to thinke of hir that she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt withall for hir truth.

Ladie Elizabeth threatned to go to the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth purgeth hir selfe to the lords.

Wherevnto the lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the quéenes maiestie was fullie determined that she should go vnto the tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging ouer their eies. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid lords of the councell, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord Steward, the earle of Sussex, with the gard, who warding the next chamber to hir, secluded all hir gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, sauing that for one gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, and two groomes of hir chamber, were appointed in their roomes three other men of the quéenes, and three waiting women to giue attendance vpon hir, that none should haue accesse to hir grace. At which time there were an hundred of northerne souldiers in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certeine lords watching there also with their band and companie.

Ladie Elizabeths seruãts remoued from hir.

The quéenes men, and waiting women attendant vpõ ladie Elizabeth.

Vpon saturdate following, two lords of the councell (the one was the earle of Sussex, the other shall be nameles) came and certified hir grace, that forthwith she must go vnto the tower, the barge being prepared for hir, and the tide now readie, which tarieth for no bodie. In heauie mood hir grace requested the lords that she might tarie another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that nether tide nor time was to be delaied. And when hir grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the quéenes maiestie, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit hir grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and fauorable (who was the earle of Sussex) kneeling downe, said she should haue libertie to write; and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the quéenes highnesse, & bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came thereof. Wherevpon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the quéene to hir great discomfort, being no offendor against the quéenes maiestie.

The hard dealing of a certeine lord with the ladie Elizabeth.

The earle of Sussex gentle to the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth writeth to the quéene but it would not serue.

And thus the tide and time passed awaie for that season, they priuilie appointing all things readie that she should go the next tide which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staied till the next date, being Palmesundate, when about nine of the clocke these two returned againe, declaring that it was time for hir grace to depart; she answering: If there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the lords to go before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast vp hir eies toward the window, thinking to haue séene the quéene, which she could not. Whereat she said she marueled much what the nobilitie of the realme meant, which in that sort would suffer hir to be led into captiuitie, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the meane time commandement was giuen in all London, that euerie one should kéepe the church and carie their palmes, while in the meane season she might be conueied without all recourse of people into the tower.

After all this, she tooke hir barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the quéenes gentlewomen, and three of hir owne, hir gentleman vsher, and two of hir grooms, lieng & houering vpon the water a certeine space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being verie vnwilling to shoot the same so soone as they bad, bicause of the danger therof: for the sterne of the boat stroke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being vnder the bridge, there staied againe a while. At landing, she first staied, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offendors customablie vsed to land, neither well could she vnlesse she should go ouer hir shoo. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to hir, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be nameless, that she should not chose: and bicause it did then raine, he offered to hir his cloke, which she (putting it backe with hir hand with a good dash) refused. So she comming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, said; Here landeth as true a subiect being prisoner, as euer landed at these staires: and before thée O God I speake it, hauing none other frends but thée alone.

Ladie Elizabeth sent to the tower.

The bishop of winchester enimie to ladie Elizabeth.

The words of ladie Elizabeth entring the tower.

Ladie Elisabeth examined by the bishop of winchester.

To whome the same lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for hir. At hir landing there was a great multitude of their seruants and warders standing in their order; What néeded all this said she: It is the vse (said some) so to be when anie prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Wherat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired God to preserue hir grace, who the next daie were released of their cold coats. After this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested hir selfe. To whom the lieutenant then being, said; Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholesomelie. She then replieng, answered againe: Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that hir gentleman vsher wept: she demanding of him what he meant so vncomfortable to vse hir, seeing she tooke him to be hir comforter, and not to dismaie hir, especiallie for that she knew hir truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for hir. But forth she went into the prison.

The friendlie speach of the earle of Arundell to the ladie Elisabeth.

The doores were locked and bolted vpon hir: which did not a little discomfort and dismaie hir grace. At what time she called to hir gentlewoman for hir booke, desiring God not to suffer hir to build hir foundation vpon the sands but vpon the rocke, whereby all the blasts of bluttering weather should haue no power against hir. The doores being thus locked, and the close shut vp, the lords had great conference how to kéepe ward and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing strictlie and circumspectlie to kéepe hir. Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex swearing, said: My lords, let vs take héed, and do no more than our commission will beare vs, what soeuer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king our masters daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing,

The christian prayer of ladie Elizabeth.

Sir James Croftes examined touching the ladie Elisabeth.

The lord of Sussex speaketh for ladie Elizabeth.

These were not officers of the tower, but such as went in white and greene.

dealing, that we may answer vnto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for iust dealing (quoth he) is alwaies answerable: Whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two daies, commandement was that she should haue masse within hir house. One maister Pong was then hir chapleine: and because there was none of hir men so well learned to helpe the priest to saie masse, the masse staied for that daie.

The nert daie two of hir yeomen, who had gone long to schole before, and were learned, had two abcies prouided and deliuered them, so that vpon the abcies they should helpe the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyries eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer that no further. It would make a pitifull and a strange storie, here by the waie to touch and recite what examinations and rackings of poore men there were, to find out that knife which should cut hir throte: what gaping among my lords of the clergie, to see the daie wherein they might wash their goodlie white rochets in hir innocent bloud, but especiallie the bishop of Winchester Stephan Gardiner, then lord chancellor, ruler of the rost, who then within fiue daies after came vnto hir, with diuerse others of the councell, and examined hir of the talke that was at Ashridge, betwixt hir and sir James Acroft, touching hir remouing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring hir to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first, she being so suddenlie asked, did not well remember anie such house: but within a while, well aduising hir selfe, she said; In deed (quoth she) I do now remember that I haue such a place, but I neuer laie in it in all my life. And as for anie that hath moued me thereunto, I do not remember: When to inforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of hir what she said to that man: She answered, that she had little to saie to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. But my lords (quoth she) you do examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great iniurie. If they haue done euill and offended the quéenes maiestie, let them answer to it accordinglie. I beséech you my lords, ioine not me in this sort with anie of these offendors. And as concerning my going vnto Dunnington castle, I do remember that maister Hobbie and mine officers and you sir James Acroft, had such talke: but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times?

The lord of Arundell kneeling downe, said: Your grace saith true, & certeinlie we are verie sorie that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: My lords, you do sith me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgiue you all. At their departure, sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorie to see the daie in which he should be brought as a witnesse against hir grace. But I assure your grace (said he) I haue bene marueilouslie tossed and examined touching your highnesse, which the lord knoweth is verie strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honors, I do not know anie thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will therupon take my death, if I should be driuen to so strict a triall.

That daie, or thereabouts, diuerse of hir owne officers, who had made prouision for hir diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the tower, the common rascall souldiers receiuing it: which was no small greefe vnto the gentlemen the bringers thereof. Wherfore they required to speake with the lord chamberleine, being then constable of the tower. Who comming before his presence, declared vnto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring hir graces diet, and to deliuer it to such common and desperate persons as they were which did receiue it: beseeching his honor to consider hir grace, and to giue such order, that hir wants might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Masters (said he) who appointed you this office? They answered, hir graces councell. Councell (quoth he) There is none of them which hath to do, either in that case, or anie thing else within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be serued with the lieutenants men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more fauor at his hands, considering his personage, saieng; that they misliked not, but that the queene and hir councell might be better to hir grace than so, and therwith shewed themselues to be offended at the vngratefull words of the lord chamberleine towards their ladie and mistresse.

At this he sware by God, striking himselfe vpon the breast, that if they did either frowne or chyng at him, he would set them where they should neither see sunne nor mone. Thus taking their leaue, they desired God to bring him in a better mind towards hir grace, and so departed from him. Vpon the occasion whereof, hir graces officers made great sute vnto the quéenes councell, that some might be appointed to bring hir diet to hir, & that it might no more be deliuered in to the common souldiers of the tower. Which being reasonablie considered, was by them granted. Whereupon were appointed one of hir gentlemen, hir clearke of hir kitchin, and hir two purueiors to bring in hir prouision once a day; all which was done the warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof. The lord chamberleine himselfe being alwaies with them, circumspectlie and narrowlie watched, and searched what they brought: and gaue héed that they should haue no talke with anie of hir graces waiting seruants, and so warded them both in and out. At the said sute of hir officers were sent by the commandement of the councell, to wait vpon hir grace, two yeomen of hir chamber, one of hir robes, two of hir pantrie and ewrie, one of hir buttrie, another of hir cellar, two of hir kitchin, and one of hir larder, all which continued with hir the time of hir trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not verie well pleased with the comming in of such a compasnie against his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with hir graces men. Which hir seruants at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented: for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he brake out into these threatning words: Well (said he) I will handle you well inough. Then went he into the kitchin, and there would néeds haue his meat rosted with hir graces meat, & said that his cooke should come thither and dresse it. To that hir graces cooke answered; My lord, I will neuer suffer anie stranger to come about hir diet, but hir owne swornemen, so long as I liue. He said they shuld. But the cooke said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble hir poore seruants verie stoutlie: though afterwards he were otherwise aduised, and they more courteoulie vsed at his hands. And good cause why, for he had good cheare, and fared of the best; and hir grace paied well for it. Wherefore he vsed himselfe afterwards more reuerentlie toward hir grace.

After this sort, hauing lien a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therwithall, she sent for the lord chamberleine, and the lord Shandois,

Ladie Elizabeths seruãts restreined for bringing hir diet to the tower.

Dispicasure betweene the lord chamberleine and ladie Elisabeths men.

Ladie Elisabeths watchmen in the tower.

Variance betweene the lord chamberleine & ladie Elisabeths seruants.

The bishop of winchester examineth ladie Elizabeth.

The words of ladie Elizabeth entring the tower.

Ladie Elisabeth examined by the bishop of winchester.

The friendlie speach of the earle of Arundell to the ladie Elisabeth.

The christian prayer of ladie Elizabeth.

Sir James Acroft examined touching the ladie Elisabeth.

The lord of Shuller speaketh for ladie Elizabeth.

These were not officers of the tower, but such as went in white and greene.

Shandois, to come and speake with hir. Who comming, she requested them that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, for that she felt hirselfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sorie that they could not satisfie hir graces request, for that they had commandement to the contrarie, which they durst not in anie wise breake. Further more, she desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walke but into the queenes lodging. No nor yet that (they answered) could by anie meanes be obteined without a further suite to the queens and hir councell. Well (said she) my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued vnto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me, I trow to they departed, she remaining in hir old dungeon still, without anie kind of comfort but onelie God.

Ladie Elisabeth denied the libertie of the tower.

The next daie after, the lord Shandois came againe vnto hir grace, declaring vnto hir that he had sued vnto the councell for further libertie. Some of them consented there vnto, diuerse other dissented, for that there were so manie prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion they did all agree, that hir grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he & the lord chamberleine, and three of the queenes gentlewomen did accompanie hir, the windowes being shut, and she not suffered to looke out at anie of them: wherewith she contented hirselfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwards there was libertie granted to hir grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shut vp, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort vnto hir, as the walke in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of hir walking there, the prisoners on that side strictlie were commanded not to speake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till hir grace were gone out againe, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus hir grace with this small libertie contented hir selfe in God, to whome be praise therefore.

Libertie granted to ladie Elisabeth to walke in a little garden.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans child in the tower to resort vnto their chambers, and manie times to bring hir grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon naughtie and suspicious heads thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child vnto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had beene with the earle of Deuonshire, not ignorant of the childs wonted frequenting vnto him. The boy answered that he would go by and by thither. Further they demanded of him, when he was with the ladie Elisabeths grace? He answered: Euerie daie. Furthermore they examined him, what the lord of Deuonshire sent by him to hir grace? The child said: I will go know what he will giue to carie to hir. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure years of age. This same is a craftie boy, quoth the lord chamberleine, how saie you my lord Shandois? I praie you my lord (quoth the boy) giue me the figs you promised me. No marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come anie more to the ladie Elisabeth, or the lord Courtneie. The boy answered: I will bring my ladie and mistresse more flowers. Whereupon the childs father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

Suspicious heads.

A young child examined for bringing flowers to the ladie Elisabeth.

The next daie, as hir grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried vnto hir, saieng: Mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, vnderstanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberleine rebuked highlie his father, commanding him to put him out of the house.

Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue (quoth the lord chamberleine) let me see him heere no more. The gift of whaie the constable was discharged of his office of the tower, & one sir Henrie Benefield placed in his roome, a man vnknowne to hir grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sudden mutation was vnto hir no little amaze. She brought with hir an hundred soldiors in blew coted, wherewith she was maruellouslie discomforted, and demanded of such as were about hir, whether the ladie Jane & she were taken awaie or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue plaied hir part. To whome answer was made, that the scaffolds was taken awaie, and that hir grace needed not to doubt of anie such tyrannie: for God would not suffer anie such treason against hir person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogither satisfied, she asked what sir Henrie Benefield was, and whether he was of that conscience or no, that if hir murthering were secretlie committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof? She was answered, that they were ignorant what maner of man he was. Howbeit they perswaded hir that God would not suffer such wicked deuise to proceed: Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou O God canst mollifie all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes: and I beseech thee to beare me thy creature, which am thy seruant, and at thy commandement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

The constable of the tower discharged of his office.

Sir Henrie Benefield with his companie placed about the lady Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

Ladie Elisabeth in doubt of sir Henrie Benefield.

About which time it was spread abroad, that hir grace should be carried from thense by this new souldiour captein and his souldiors: but whither, it could not be learned. Which was vnto hir a great griefe, especiallie for that such a companie was appointed to hir gard; requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thense with such a sort of rascals. At last plaine answer was made by the lord Shandois, that there was no remedie, but from thense she must needs depart to the manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demanded of hir for what cause? For that (quoth he) the tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith? He answered, with such matter as the queene and councell were determined in that behalfe, whereof he had no knowledge: and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie sundaie being the nineteenth daie of Maie, she was remoued from the tower, the lord treasurer being then there for the lading of hir carts, and discharging the place of the same. Where sir Henrie Benefield (being appointed hir gailor) did receiue hir with a companie of rakehels to gard hir, beside the lord of Marbies band, waiting in the countrie about for the moonelight in the water. Vnto whome at length came my lord of Tame, ioined in commission with the said sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of hir to prison: and they together conueied hir grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth. The first daie they conducted hir to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restreined of hir owne men, which were lodged in outchambers, and sir Henrie Benefields souldiors appointed in their roomes to giue attendance on hir person. Whereat she being maruellouslie dismaied, thinking verelie some secret mischiefe to be a working towards hir, called hir gentleman vsher, and desired him, with the rest of his companie, to praie for hir. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said: God forbid that anie such wickednesse should be pretended against your grace. So comforting hir as well as he could, at last he burst out into teares, & went from hir downe into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame and sir Henrie

Ladie Elisabeth remoued from the tower to Woodstocke.

Ladie Elisabeth secluded from hir seruants.

Ladie Elisabeth in despaire of hir life.

rie Benefield.

When he comming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a word or two. Unto whome he familiarlie said, he should with all his heart. Which when sir Henrie standing by heard, he asked what the matter was? To whome the gentleman wher answered: No great matter sir (said he) but to speake with my lord a word or two. Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: My lord (quoth he) you haue beene alwaies my good lord, and so I beseech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, vnfeinedlie to declare vnto me whether anie danger is meant towards my mistresse this night, or no, that I and my poore fellowes may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certeinlie we will rather die, than she should secretlie and innocentlie miscarie. Marie (said the lord of Tame) God forbid that anie such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are readie to die at hir foot also: and (so praised be God) they passed that dolfull night, with no little heauinesse of heart. Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond, going towards Windsore, hir grace espied certeine of hir poore seruants standing on the other side, which were verie desirous to see hir. Whome when she beheld, turning to one of hir men standing by, she said: Yonder I see certeine of my men, go to them and say these words from me: *Tanquam ouis.*

Tanquam ouis, i. Like a sheepe vnto slaughter.

So the passing forward to Windsore, was lodged there that night in the deane of Windsors house, a place more meet in deed for a priest than for a princesse. And from thense hir grace was garded and brought the next night to maister Dormers house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to hir one gift, and some another: so that sir Henrie was greatlie moued therewith, and troubled the poore people verie sore, for shewing their loning hearts in such a maner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words. Besides, as she passed thorough the villages, the townesmen rang the bels, as being ioyfull of hir comming, thinking verelie it had beene otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequele proued after to the said poore men. For immediatlie the said sir Henrie hearing the same, sent his souldiors thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vncourteouslie misusing other some for their good wils.

On the morrow hir grace passing from maister Dormers (where was for the time of hir abode there a strict watch kept) came to the lord of Tames house where she late all night, being verie princelie interteined, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Wherat sir Henrie Benefield grunted, and was highlie offended, saieng vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer to their doings in that behalfe; letting them to vnderstand that she was the queens maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise: aduising them therfore to take heed & beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well aduised of his doings, being ioined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that hir grace might and should in his house be merrie. The next daie as she should take hir iournie from Richmond towards Woodstocke, the lord of Tame, with an other gentleman being at tables, plaieng, and dropping vie crownes, the ladie Elizabeth passing by, staied & said she would see the game plaied out, which sir Henrie Benefield would scarse permit. The game running long about, and they plaieng drop vie crownes; Come on saith he: I will tarie saith she, and will see this game out.

After this, sir Henrie went vp into a chamber, where was appointed for hir grace a chaire, two cushions, and a fot carpet verie faire and princelike, wherein presumptuoulie he sat, and called one Barwike his man to pull off his boots. Which as sone as it was knowen among the ladies and gentles, euerie one mused thereat, & laughed him to scorne, obseruing his vndiscreet maners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselues euerie one to his lodging, marualling much that he would permit there such a companie, considering so great a charge committed to him. Sir Henrie (quoth my lord) content your selfe, all shall be voided, your men and all. Nay my souldiors, (quoth sir Henrie) shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, It shall not need. Well said he, Need or need not, they shall so do: mistrusting belike the companie, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next daie hir grace tooke hir iournie from thense to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiors garding and warding both within & without the wals, euerie daie to the number of three score, and in the night without the wals fortie, during the time of hir imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for hir walke, which was verie comfortable to hir grace. But alwaies when she did recreat hir selfe therein, the doores were fast locked vp, in as strict maner as they were in the tower, being at the least fiue or six locks betweene hir lodging and hir walks: sir Henrie himselfe keeping the keies, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him hir gailor: and he kneeling downe, desired hir grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of hir officers. From such officers (quoth she) good Lord deliuer me. And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite a matter incident, & yet not impertinent to the same: occasion heere moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certeine merie conceited man, being then about hir grace: who noting the strict & strange keeping of his ladie & mistres by the said sir Henrie Benefield, with so manie locks & doores, with such watch and ward about hir, as was strange and wonderfull, spied a goat in the ward where hir grace was. And whether to refresh hir oppressed mind, or to notifie hir strict handling by sir Henrie, either else both; he tooke it vp on his necke, and followed hir grace therewith as she was going into hir lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing to let it alone. Unto whome the said partie answered: No by saint Marie (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the queens friends or no. I will carie him to sir Henrie Benefield (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing hir grace, he went with the goat on his necke, and caried it to sir Henrie Benefield. Who when he saw him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there. Unto whome the partie answered, saieng: Sir (quoth he) I can not tell what he is, I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my ladies grace was walking, and what talke they had I can not tell. For I vnderstand him not, but he should seeme to me to be some stranger, & I thinke verelie a Welshman, for he hath a white freese coat on his backe. And forsomuch as I being the queens subiect, and perceiuing the strict charge committed to you of hir keeping, that no stranger should haue accesse to hir without

The constrable of ye tower discharged of his office.

Sir Henrie Benefield with his companie, placed about the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

The ladie Elizabeths talke with the lord of Tame.

The gentle heart of the lord of Tame to ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth in doubt of sir Henrie Benefield.

Ladie Elizabeth honourablie receiued and beloued of the people.

The gentle intertainment of ladie Elizabeth at the lord of Tames hoale.

Sir Benefield grudgeth at the gentle intertainment of ladie Elizabeth.

The rude and vngentlemanlie behauiour of sir Henrie Benefield.

Ladie Elizabeth remoued from the tower to Woodstocke.

Ladie Elizabeth seclused from hir seruants.

Ladie Elizabeth in despaire of hir life.

Ladie Elizabeth commeth to woodstocke.

The strict watch kept at woodstocke.

Ladie Elizabeth garded and warded for starting awaie.

A merie storie concerning the strict keeping of the ladie Elizabeth.

The strictnes of sir Henrie Benefield merilie noted.

sufficient licence, I haue here found a stranger (what he is I can not tell) in place where hir grace was walking: and therefore for the necessarie discharge of my dutie, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause: and so he set him downe. At which his words sir Henrie seemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I see: and so they departed.

Now to returne to the matter from whence we haue digressed. After hir grace had bene there a time she made suit to the councell that she might be suffered to write to the queene, which at last was permitted. So that sir Henrie Benefield brought hir pen, inke, and paper; and standing by hir while she wrote (which he strictlie obserued) alwaies she being wearie, he would carie awaie hir letters, and bring them againe when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would haue béene messenger to the queene of the same. Whose request hir grace denied, saieng one of hir owne men should carie them, and that she would neither trust him nor none of his therein. Then he answering againe said; None of them durst be so bold (he trowed) to carie hir letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I haue none so dishonest that would denie my request in that behalfe, but will be as willing to serue me now as before. Well (said he) my commission is to the contrarie, and I maie not so suffer it. Hir grace replieng againe said; You charge me verie often with your commission, I praie God you maie iustlie answer the cruell dealing you vse towards me.

The cruell dealing of sir Henrie Benefield to the ladie Elizabeth reproued.

Then he kneeling downe, desired hir grace to thinke and consider how he was a seruant, and put in trust there by the queene to serue hir maiestie, protesting that if the case were hirs, he would as willinglie serue hir grace, as now he did the queenes highnesse. For the which his answer hir grace thanked him, desiring God that she might neuer haue need of such seruants as he was; declaring further to him, that his dooings towards hir were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henrie replied & said, that there was no remedie but his dooings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moued hir grace so to saie, was for that he would not permit hir letters to be caried foure or fiue daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for hir gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of hir graces letters to the queene or no. And he answered; Yea sir, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Wherevpon sir Henrie halfe against his stomach toke them vnto him. Then about the eight of June came downe doctor Owen & doctor Wendie, sent by the queene to hir grace, for that she was sicklie; who ministring to hir, and letting hir bloud, carried there and attended on hir grace fiue or six daies. Then she being well amended, they returned againe to the court, making their good report to the queene and the councell of hir graces behauior and humblenesse towards the queenes highnesse. Which hir maiestie hearing, toke verie thankfullie: but the bishops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and told the queene, they maruelled that she submitted not hir selfe to hir maiesties mercie, considering that she had offended hir highnesse.

The letters of the ladie Elizabeth sent to the queene.

Doctor Owen and doctor Wendie queen Maries physicians sent to the ladie Elizabeth.

The popish prelats repined against the ladie Elizabeth.

About this time hir grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit hir selfe to the queenes maiestie, which would be verie well taken, and to hir great quiet and commoditie. Unto whome she answered, that she would neuer submit hir selfe to them whome she neuer offended. For (quoth shée) if I haue offended and am guiltie, I then craue no mercie, but the law, which I am certeine (quoth she) I should haue had per this, if it could be proued by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the perill of mine enimies, & then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted vp within walls and doores as I am. God giue them a better mind when it pleaseth him. About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for hir grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realme with hir portion; some saieng one thing, and some another.

Ladie Elizabeth requested to submit hir selfe to the queene.

Counsell of the papists to marrie the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

A lord (who shall be here nameless) being there at last said, that the king should neuer haue ante quiet common wealth in England, vnlesse hir head were stricken from the shoulders. Wherevnto the Spaniards answered saieng; God forbid that the king and maister should haue that mind to consent to such a mischéefe. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne countrie. From that daie the Spaniards neuer left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should neuer obteine, as he should in deliuering the ladie Elizabeths grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happilie released from the same. Here is a plaine and euident example of the good clemencie and nature of the king and his councellors towards hir grace (praised be God therefore) who moued their harts therein. Then herevpon she was sent for shortlie after to come to Hampton court.

wicked counsell giuen of the Lord Paget against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards more fauourable to ladie Elizabeth than some Englishmen.

But before hir remouing awaie from Woodstocke, we will a little staie to declare in what dangers hir life was during this time she there remained. First thorough fire, which began to kindle betweene the boords & séeling vnder the chamber where she laie, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a cranie, or whether of purpose by some that meant hir no good, the Lord doth know. Neuertheless a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire, which was there ioined the same time with sir Henrie Benefield in kéeping that ladie (who then toke vp the boords and quenched the fire) verelie supposed it to be done of purpose. Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Penie a kéeper of Woodstocke, a notorious ruffian and a butcherlie wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said ladie Elizabeth, who both saw the man being often in hir sight, and also knew thereof.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Another time one of the priuie chamber, a great man about the queene, and chiefe darling of Stephan Gardiner, named maister James Wallet came to Blandenbrige a mile from Woodstocke, with twentie or thirtie priuie cotes, and sent for sir Henrie Benefield to come and speake with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will; so it happened, that a little before the said sir Henrie Benefield was sent for by post to the councell, leauing strict word behind him with his brother, that no man what soeuer he were, though comming with a bill of the queenes hand, or anie other warrant, should haue accesse to hir before his returne againe. By reason whereof it so fell out, that maister Benefields brother comming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case approch in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murther the innocent ladie. In the life of Stephan Gardiner we declared before, pag. 1787, how that the ladie Elizabeth, being in the tower, a writ came downe subscribed with certeine hands of the councell for hir execution. Which if it were certeine (as it is reported) Winchester (no dout) was deuiser of that mischéeuous drift. And doubtlesse the same

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of killing.

Another conspiracie of murther against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth preserued by the lords prouidence from execution in the tower.

Achitophell had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie prouidence of almightie God (who is euer stronger than the diuell) stirred vp maister Bridges lieutenant at that time of the tower, to come in hast to the quéene, to giue certificat therof, & to know further hir consent touching hir sisters death. Wherupon it folowed, that all that deuise was disappointed, & Winchesters diuelish platforme which he said he had cast, thorough the Lords great goodnes came to no effect. Where moreouer is to be noted, that during the prisonment of this ladie and princesse, one maister Edmund Tremaine was on the racke, and maister Smithwike, and diuerse other in the tower were examined, and diuerse offers made to them to accuse the giltlesse ladie, being in hir captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proued by all examinations, as the the same time lieng at Woodstocke had certeine intelligence, by the meanes of one John Gaier, who vnder a colorable pretense of a letter vnto mistresse Cleue from hir father, was let in, and so gaue them secretlie to vnderstand of all this matter. Wherevpon the ladie Elizabeth at hir departing out from Woodstocke, wrote these verses with hir diamond in a glasse window verie legiblie as here followeth:

Winchesters platforme marueilous: whereof read before pa. 1787

Much suspected by me,
Nothing proued can be:
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

Verses written by ladie Elisabeth in the glasse window.

And thus much touching the troubles of ladie Elisabeth at Woodstocke. Wherevnto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had labored to the quéene, and became suretie for hir, to haue hir from Woodstocke to his house, and had obteined grant thereof. Wherevpon preparation was made accordinglie, and all things readie in expectation of hir comming. But through the procurement either of maister Benefield, or by the owing of Winchester hir mortall enimie, letters came ouer night to the contrarie: whereby hir iornie was stopped. Thus this worthie ladie oppressed with continuall sorrow, could not be permitted to haue recourse to anie friends she had; but still in the hands of hir enimies was left desolate, and vtterlie destitute of all that might refresh a dolfull hart, fraught full of terror and thraldome. Wherevpon no maruell, if she hearing vpon a time out of hir garden at Woodstocke, a certeine milkmaid singing pleasantlie, wished hir selfe to be a milkemaid as she was, saieng that hir case was better, and life more merier than was hirs in that state as she was.

Ladie Elizabeth not suffered to come to the lord of Tames house.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Ladie Elizabeth wisheth hir selfe to be a milkemaid.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of killing.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further where we left before, sir Henrie Benefield and his soldiors, with the lord of Tame, and sir Rafe Chamberleine, garding and waiting vpon hir, the first night from Woodstocke she came to Ricot. In which iourneie such a mightie wind did blow, that hir seruants were faine to hold down hir clothes about hir: in so much that hir hood was twise or thrise blowen from hir head. Wherevpon she desirous to returne to a certeine gentlemans house there neere, could not be suffered by sir Henrie Benefield so to do: but was constreined vnder an hedge to trim hir head as well as she could. After this, the next night they iourneied to maister Dormers, & so to Colbrooke, where she laie all that night at the George: and by the waie comming to Colbrooke, certeine of hir graces gentlemen and yeomen met hir to the number of three score, much to all their comforts, which had not séene hir grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the quéenes name immediatlie to depart the towne, to both their and hir graces no little heauinesse, who could not be suffered once to speake with them. So that night all hir men were taken from hir saue hir gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, two groomes, and one of hir wardrobe, the soldiors watching and warding about the house, and she close shut vp within hir prison.

Another conspiracie of murther against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth remoued from woodstocke to Hampton court.

The next date following, hir grace entred Hampton court on the backeside, into the princes lodging, the doores being shut to hir: and she garded with soldiors, as before, laie there a fortnight at the least, yer euer anie had recourse vnto hir. At length came the lord William Howard, who marueilous honourablie vsed hir grace. Wherat she toke much comfort, & requested him to be a meane that she might speake with some of the councell. To whome (not long after) came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundell, the lord of Shrewesburie, and secretarie Peter, who with great humilitie humbled themselues vnto hir grace. She againe likewise saluting them, said: My lords (quoth she) I am glad to see you: for me thinke I haue béene kept a great while from you desolatelie alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane to the king and quéenes maiesties, that I male be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue béene kept a long space, as to you my lords it is not vnknowne.

Lord William Howard gentle and fauourable to ladie Elisabeth.

When she had spoken, Stephan Gardiner the bishop of Winchester kneeled downe, and requested that she would submit hir selfe to the quéenes grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that hir maiestie would be good vnto hir. She making answer that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the daies of hir life, adding that she craued no mercie at hir maiesties hand, but rather desired the law, if euer she did offend hir maiestie in thought, word, or déed. And besides this, in yeelding (quoth she) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offendor, which neuer was towards hir maiestie: by occasion whereof the king and the quéene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: and therefore I saie my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare hir message to the quéene.

Ladie Elisabeth requested by winchester to submit hir selfe to the quéenes mercie.

Ladie Elisabeth standeth to be tried by the law.

On the next date the bishop of Winchester came againe vnto hir grace, and kneeling downe, declared that the quéene marueiled that she would so stoutlie vse hir selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should séeme the quéenes maiestie wrongfullie to haue imprisoned hir grace. Nate (quoth the ladie Elisabeth) it pleaseth hir to punish me as she thinketh good. Well quoth Gardiner, hir maiestie willeth me to tell you, that you must tell an other tale yet that you be set libertie. Hir grace answered, that she had as lefe be in prison with honestie and truth, as to be abroad suspected of hir maiestie: and this that I haue said, I will (said she) stand vnto, for I will neuer bélie my selfe. Winchester againe kneeled down and said: Then your grace hath the vantage of me and other the lords for your long and wrong imprisonment. What vantage I haue (quoth she) you know, taking God to record I séeke no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgiue you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring hir grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked vp againe. A seuen nights after, the quéene sent for hir grace at ten of the clocke in the night to speake with hir: for she had not séene hir in two yeares before. Yet for all that she was amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had béene worse than afterwards it proued, and desired hir gentlemen and gentlewomen to praie for hir, for that she could not tell whether euer she should see them againe or no.

Talke againe betweene Winchester & ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth denied to confesse anie fault done to the quéene.

Ladie Elisabeth sent for to the quéene.

Ladie Elisabeth brought to the quenes bedchamber.

At which time sir Henrie Benefield with mistresse Clarencius comming in, hir grace was brought into the garden vnto a staires foot that went into the

Lord William Howard gentle and fauourable to ladie Elisabeth.

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Another conspiracie of murther against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth preserued by the lords prouidence from execution in the tower.

quænes lodging, hir graces gentlewomen waiting vpon hir, hir gentleman vsher and hir gromes going before with torches, where hir gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to staie all sauing one woman, mistresse Clarencius conducted hir to the quænes bedchamber where hir maiestie was. At the sight of whome hir grace knéeled downe, and desired God to preserue hir maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should trie hir selfe as true a subiect towards hir maiestie, as euer did ante, and desired hir maiestie euen so to iudge of hir: and said that she should not find hir to the contrarie, whatsoeuer report otherwise had gone of hir. To whome the quæne answered: You will not confesse your offense, but stand stoutlie to your truth: I praie God it maie so fall out. If it doth not, quoth the ladie Elisabeth, I request neither fauour nor pardon at your maiesties hands. Well said the quæne, you stirlie still perseuere in your truth. Belike you will not confesse but that you haue béene wrongfullie punished. I muſt not saie so (if it please your maiestie) to you.

Talke betweene the quæne and ladie Elisabeth.

Why then (said the quæne) belike you will to others. No, if it please your maiestie (quoth she) I haue borne the burthen, and must beare it; I humblie beséech your maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true subiect, not onelie from the beginning hitherto, but for euer, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with verie few comfortable words of the quæne, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not séene, and that he shewed himselfe a verie friend in that matter, &c. Thus hir grace departing, went vnto hir lodging againe, and the seauenth night after was released of sir Henrie Benefield hir gailor (as she tearmed him) and his soldiors, and so hir grace being set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the countrie, and had appointed to go with hir sir Thomas pope, one of quéene Maries councellors, and one of hir gentlemen vshers, maister Gage, and thus strictlie was she loked vnto all quéene Maries time. And this is the discourse of hir highnesse imprisonment.

Small comfort at the quænes hand toward hir sister.

King Philip thought to be a friend to ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth by Gods prouidence set at libertie.

Sir Henrie Benefield discharged.

Then there came to Lamheire, maister Gerningham, and maister Norris gentleman vsher, quéene Maries men, who tooke awaie from hir grace mistresse Athlete to the Fléet, and three other of hir gentlewomen to the tower: which thing was no little trouble to hir grace, saieng: that she thought they would fetch all awaie at the end. But God be praised, shortlie after was fetched awaie Gardiner thorough the mercifull prouidence of the Lords goodnesse, by occasion of whose opportune deceasse (as is partlie touched in this storie before, pag. 1705) the life of this excellent princesse, the wealth of all England, was preserued. For this is credible to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this onelie mark bent all his deuises, to bring this our happie and deere souereigne out of the waie, as both by his words and doings before notified maie sufficientlie appeare.

Mistresse Athlete sent to the Fléet.

Three gentlewomen of ladie Elisabeths sent to the tower.

Note the wonderfull working of the Lords prouidence in sauing of ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth deliuered by the death of Stephan Gardiner.

But such was the gratious and fauourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preseruation not onlie of hir roiall maiestie, but also the miserable and wofull state of this whole Iland, and poore subiects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and péeuish practises of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsell laid against an other, were turned to a net to catch himselfe, according to the prouerbe: *Malum consilium consultori pessimum*. After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping awaie of other hir enimies, whereby by little and little hir ieopardie decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloud. And albeit as yet hir grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle interteinment dailie did grow vnto hir, till at length to the moneth of November, and seauentéenth daie of the same, three yeares after the death of Stephan Gardiner, followed the death of quéene Marie, as heretofore at large hath béene trulie declared. Although this historie following be not directlie appertaining to the former matter, yet the same maie here not vnaptlie be inserted, for that it doth discouer and shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this vertuous quéene our souereigne ladie in the time of quéene Marie hir sister, which is reported as a truth credible told by sundrie honest persons, of whome some are yet aliue, and do testifie the same. The matter whereof is this.

A note of a storie declaring the malignant hearts of the papists towards ladie Elisabeth.

Soone after the stirre of Wiat and the troubles that happened to this quæne for that cause: it fortuned one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London, dwelling neere vnto Newgate market, in a certeine morning to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he was seldome absent) and falling to his common drinke, as he was euer accustomed, and hauing in his companie three other companions like vnto himselfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shirtffe grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come into the said tauerne, and finding there the said Farrer (to whome of long time he had borne good will) sat downe in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer hauing in his full cups, and not hauing consideration who were present began to talke at large, and namelie against the ladie Elisabeth, and said: That gill hath béene one of the chiefe doers of this rebellion of Wiat, and before all be done, she and all the heretikes hir partakers shall well vnderstand of it. Some of them hope that she shall haue the crowne, but the and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headlesse, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

Robert Farrer of London a sore enimie to ladie Elisabeth.

Laurence Shirtffe, sworne friend and seruant to ladie Elisabeth his mistresse.

Robert Farrer raileth against ladie Elisabeth.

The aforesaid Laurence Shirtffe grocer, being then seruant vnto the said ladie Elisabeth, & sworne vnto hir grace, could no longer forbeare his old acquaintance and neighbor Farrer in speaking so vnreuerentlie of his mistresse, but said to him: Farrer, I haue loued thée as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thée, but hearing of thée that I now heare, I defie thée: and I tell thée I am hir graces sworne seruant, and she is a princesse, and the daughter of a noble king, and it euill becommeth thée to call hir a gill, and for thy so saieng, I saie thou art a knaue, & I will complaine vpon thée. Do thy worst said Farrer, for that I said, I will saie againe: and so Shirtffe came from his companie. Shortlie after, the said Shirtffe taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complaine: the which commissioners sat then at Boner the bishop of Londons house beside Pauls, and there were present Boner then being the chiefe commissioner, the lord Mordant, sir John Baker, doctor Werbithire chancellor to the bishop, doctor *Storie, doctor Harpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Shirtffe comming before them, declared the maner of the said Robert Farrers talke against the ladie Elisabeth. Boner answered, Peraduenture you take him worse than he meant. Yea my lord (said doctor Storie) if you knew the man as I do, you would saie that there is not a better catholike, nor an honester man in the citie of London.

The part of a good trustie seruant.

Robert Farrer complained of to the commissioners, but no redresse was had.

*I knaue.

Well, said Shirtffe, my lord, she is my gratious ladie and mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a princesse by the name of a gill: and I saw yesterdate in the court that my lord cardinall Pole méeting hir in the

How the Lord here began to worke for ladie Elisabeth.

the chamber of presence, kneeled downe on his knees and kissed his hand: and I saw also that king Philip meeting hir, made hir such obeisance that his knee touched the ground: and then (me thinketh) it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call hir gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish hir grace to inioie the possession of the crowne when God shall send it vnto hir as in the right of hir inheritance. Yea! Staie there (quoth Boner.) When God sendeth it vnto hir, let hir inioie it. But trulie (said he) the man that spake the words that you haue reported, meant nothing against the ladie Elisabeth your mistresse, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which euerie good man ought to feare: and therfore (said Boner) good man go your waies home and report well of vs towards your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and vndiscréet words, and we trust he will not do the like againe. And thus Shirtffe came awaie, and Farrer had a flap with a fox taile. Now that ye maie be fullie informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whome doctor Storie praised for so good a man, ye shall vnderstand that the same Farrer, hauing two daughters, being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a summe of monie he himselfe deliuered vnto sir Richard Cholmleie to be at his commandement; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Gwddolphin to be at his commandement: whome he made his lackie and so carried hir with him, being apparelled in mans apparell to Bullongne, and the said Farrer followed the campe. He also was a great and a horrible blasphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of these catholiks to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

But of this matter enough and too much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of quéene Marie. After whose decease succéeded hir foresaid sister ladie Elisabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after so long restreinement, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous stormes ouerblowne, so manie iniuries digested and wrongs sustained by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath béene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from dread to dignitie, from miserie to maiestie, from mourning to ruling; briefflie, of a prisoner made a princesse, and placed in hir throne royall, proclamed now quéene, with as manie glad hearts of hir subiects, as euer was anie king or quéene in this realme before hir, or euer shall be (I dare saie) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, hir princelie reigne and peaceable gouernement, with other things diuerse and sundrie incident to the same, and especiallie touching the great stirres and alterations which haue happened in other forren nations, and also partlie among our selues here at home, forsomuch as the tractation hereof requireth an huge volume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next booke or section insuing: wherein (if the Lord so please to sustéine me with leaue and life) I maie haue to discourse of all and singular such matters done and atchiued in these our latter daies and memorie, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this realme, from the first beginning of quéene Maries reigne, wherein so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned and in prisons starued, diuerse exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driuen from house to house, so manie weeping eies, so manie sobbing harts, so manie children made fatherlesse, so manie fathers bereft of their wiues and children, so manie vexed in conscience, and diuerse against conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloudie persecution: after all this (I saie) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the seuentéenth of Nouember, which daie as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborsous writing, by the death I meane of quéene Marie, who being long sicke before vpon the said seuentéenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said, about three or foure of the clocke in the morning, yéelded hir life to nature, and hir kingdome to quéene Elisabeth hir sister.

Nouemb. 17. quéene Marie endeth.

Quéene Elisabeth beginneth hir reigne.

As touching the maner of whose death, some saie that she died of a timpanie, some by hir much sighing before hir death supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon hir councell séeing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation vnto hir, feared (as they said) that she toke some thought for the kings maiestie hir husband, which was gone from hir. To whome she answering againe; In deed (said she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind: but what that was she would not expresse to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Rise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Rise himselfe) who then being most familiar with hir, and most bold about hir, told hir that they feared she toke thought for king Philips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lieng in my hart, &c. Which one supposing to be true, hath left this report:

*Hispani *oppidulo amisso contabuit vxor,*
Quam cruciatu ægro confecerat anxia cura.

* *Calete.*

The maner of quéene Maries death.

Q. Marie toke thought for the losse of Calis.

And here an end of quéene Marie, and of hir persecution, during the time of hir misgouernment. Of which quéene this truth may be affirmed and left in storie for a perpetuall memoriall or epitaph for all kings and quénes that shall succéed hir to be noted, that before hir neuer was read in storie of anie king or quéene of England since the time of king Lucius, vnder whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning: so much christian bloud, so manie Englishmens liues were spilled within this realme, as vnder the said quéene Marie for the space of foure yeares was to be séene, and I beseech the Lord neuer may be séene hereafter.

More English bloud spilled in quéene Maries time, than euer was in anie kings reigne before hir.

Now, for so much as quéene Marie, during all the time of hir reigne, was such a vehement aduersarie and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his gospell: for the which there be manie which do highlie magnifie and approue hir doings therein, reputing hir religion to be sound and catholike, and hir procéedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almightie God: to the intent therfore that all men may vnderstand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not onelie not procéed with hir procéedings; but contrarie, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought against hir, in plaging both hir and hir realme, and in subuerting all hir counsels and attempts, what soeuer she toke in hand: we will bestow a litle time therein, to perpend and surueie the whole course of hir doings and cheuances: and consider what successe she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall find neuer no reigne of anie prince in this land, or anie other, which had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so manie arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be séene in the reigne of this quéene Marie,

The reigne of quéene Marie how vnprosperous it was both to hir & hir realme in all respects.

How bishop Boner and Doctor Storie deale with him that railed against ladie Elisabeth.

Note the vnspotted life of these catholiks.

Ladie Elisabeth proclamed quéene the same daie that quéene Marie died.

The Lord make England thankefull to him for his great benefits.

He meaneth his owne bookes; not this volume or anie part thereof.

Queene Marie neuer had good successe in anie thing she went about.

whether we behold the shortnesse of hir time, or the vnfortunate euent of all hir purposes? Who seemed neuer to purpose anie thing that came luckilie to passe, neither did anie thing frame to hir purpose, what soeuer she tooke in hand touching hir owne priuat affaires.

A good king alwaies maketh a flourishing realme.

Of good kings we read in the scripture, in shewing mercie and pitie, in seeking Gods will in his word, and subuerting the monuments of idolatrie, how God blessed their waies, increased their honors, and mightilie prospered all their procedings: as we se in king Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Iosaphat, Ezechias, with such others. Manasses made the streets of Hierusalem to swim with the bloud of his subiects, but what came of it the text doth testifie. Of

Comparison betweene the reigne of Q. Marie and queene Elisabeth.

quéne Elisabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we must néeds saie, which we se, that she in sparing the bloud, not onelie of Gods seruants, but also of Gods enimies, hath doubled now the reigne of quéne Marie hir sister, with such aboundance of peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to saie, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in quéne Maries time, or of Gods fauour and mercie in these so blessed and peaceable daies of quéne Elisabeth.

Gamaliels reason. Acts. 5.

Gamaliell speaking his mind in the councell of the Pharisels concerning Christes religion, gaue this reason, that if it were of God, it should continue, who soeuer said naie: if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of quéne Marie and hir Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholike as they pretend, and the contrarie faith of the gospellers were so detestable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this so catholike a quéne, such a necessarie piller of his spouse the church continued no longer, till she had vtterlie rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it rather, that almightie God, to spare these poore heretikes, rooted out quéne Marie so soone from hir throne, after she had reigned but onelie fiue yeares and fiue moneths?

Quéne Marie prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

Now further more, how God blessed hir waies and indeuors in the meane time, while she thus persecuted the true seruants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where first this is to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospell,

Q. Maries promise to the gospellers broken.

but had promised hir faith to the Suffolke men, to maintteine the religion left by king Edward hir brother, so long God went with hir, aduanced hir, and by the means of the gospellers brought hir to the possession of the realme. But after that she breaking hir promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephan Gardiner, and had giuen ouer hir supremasie vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left hir, neither did anie thing well thriue with hir afterward during the whole time of hir regiment. For

The ship called the great Harrie burned.

first incontinentlie the fairest and greatest ship she had, called great Harrie, was burned: such a vessell as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be matched.

Q. Maries mariage with a stranger. Q. Marie disappointed of hir purpose in crowning king Philip. Q. Marie stopped of hir will in restoring abbeie lands.

When would she néeds bring in king Philip, and by hir strange marriage with him, make the whole realme of England subiect vnto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, either that she did or was able to do, she could not bring to passe to set the crowne of England vpon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish masse: with whome also hir purpose was to restore againe the monks and nunnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the vttermost of hir abilitie: and yet therein also God stopt hir of hir will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in hir time here in hir land, the like whereof hath not lightlie in England béene seene, in so much that in sundrie places hir poore subiects were faine to féed of acorns for want of corne?

The victorie of king Edward the first in Scotland.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowmed by some worthie victorie and prowesse by them atchiued, let vs now se what valiant victorie was gotten in quéene Maries daies. King Edward the first hir blessed brother, how manie rebellions did he suppresse in Deuonshire, in Norffolke, in Oxfordshire, and else where? What a famous victorie in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular worke king (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand rather than by anie expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleuenth king from the conquest) by

The ill lucke of Q. Marie in losing of Calis.

The eleuenth king from the conquest got Calis, and the eleuenth againe after him lost it.

princelie puissance purchased Calis vnto England, which hath béene kept English euer since, till at length came quéene Marie, the eleuenth likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calis from England againe: so that the winnings of this quéene were verie small; what the losses were, let other men iudge.

The ill lucke of quéene Marie in hir childbirth.

Hitherto the affaires of quéene Marie haue had no great good successe, as you haue heard. But neuer worse successe had anie woman, than had she in hir childbirth. For séeing one of these two must néeds be granted, that either she was with child or not with child; if she were with child and did trauell, why was it not séene? if she were not, how was all the realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the praiers, the solemne processions, the deuout masses of the catholike cleargie? Why did they not preuaile with God, if their religion were so godlie as they pretended? If their masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Christ from heauen, & to reach downe to purgatorie, how chanced then they could not reach to the queens chamber, to helpe hir in hir trauell, if she had béene with child in déed? If not, how then came it to passe, that all the catholike church of England did so erre, and was so déepelie deceiued? Quéene Marie, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficientlie admonish hir of Gods displeasure prouoked against hir, would not yet ceasse hir persecution, but still continued more & more to reuenge hir catholike zeale vpon the lords faithfull people, setting fire to their poore bodies by dozens & halfe dozens together. Whereupon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more against hir, ceassed not to touch hir more neare with priuat misfortunes and calamities.

Q. Marie left desolate of K. Philip hir husband.

For after that he had taken from hir the fruit of children (which chieflie and aboue all things she desired) then he bereft hir of that, which of all earthlie things should haue béene hir chiefe staie of honour, and staffe of comfort; that is, withdrew from hir the affection and companie euen of hir owne husband, by whose mariage she had promised before to hirselfe whole heapes of such ioy and felicitie. But now the omnipotent gouernour of all things, so turned the wheele of hir owne spinning against hir, that hir high buildings of such toies and felicities came all to a cast fell come downe, hir hopes being confounded, hir purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who seemed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the hearts of hir subiects, nor yet the loue of hir husband: who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now inioy him whome she had maried, neither yet was in libertie to marrie anie other whome she might inioy. Marke here (christian reader) the woefull aduersitie of this queene, & learne withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulnes will néeds resist him, and will not be ruled.

The ill lucke of Q. Marie with hir husband.

The finall end and death of Q. Marie.

At last, when all these faire admonitions would take no place with the quéene, nor moue hir to reuoke hir bloudie lawes, nor to staie the tyrannie of hir priests, nor yet to spare hir owne subiects; but that

Q. Marie reigned fiue yeares & fiue moneths. The shortnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

Ex Simone Schardio de capto Calecto, pag. 1968.

An admonition to all christian rulers.

The death of cardinall Pole.

The description of cardinall Pole.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. martyrologio.

that the poore seruants of God were drawne dailie by heapes most pittifullie as sheepe to the slaughter, it so pleased the heauenlie maiestie of almightie God, when no other remedie would serue, by death to cut hir off, which in hir life so little regarded the life of others: giuing hir throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christs church and people, to another, who more temperatlie and quietlie could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of fiue yeares and fiue moneths. The shortnesse of which yeares and reigne, vneth we find in anie other storie of king or quéene since the conquest or before (being come to their owne gouernement) saue onelie in king Richard the third. Which reigne was so rough and rigorous, notwithstanding the shortnesse of the same, that it became a verie spectacle to all christendome; and the maner of dealing vsed vnder hir gouernment was so detestable, that as it was rare, so it raised vp a rare report, euen among strangers, whose heads being fuller of matter than their pens full of inke, wrote in tearmes broade inough of the tumults and slaughters happening in hir vnhappie daies: among whome I will set downe for a taste a few verses drawne out of an hundred and od, presented to Henrie the French king of that name the second, touching the conquest of Calis, whereat for ioy the French were rauished. Thus therfore he saith:

Q. Marie reigned fiue yeares & fiue moneths.

The shortnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

Ex Simone Schardio de capto Caleto, pag. 1968.

Regina pacem nescia perpeti,
Iam spreta mœret fœdera, iam Dei
Iram pauet sibi imminentem,
Vindicis & furiæ flagellum.
Ciues & hostes iam pariter suos
Odit pauétq; & ciuium & hostium
Hirudo communis, cruorem
Aequè auidè sitiens vtrinque.
Huic luce terror Martius assonat,
Diræq; cædis mens sibi conscia,
Pmbræq; nocturnæ quietem
Terrificis agitant figuris.

These short verses were thus subscribed. La. B. Te.

And thus much here, as in the closing vp of this storie, I thought to insinuat, touching the vnluckie and rufull reigne of quéene Marie: not for anie detraction to hir place and state roiall, whereonto she was called of the Lord: but to this onlie intent and effect, that forsomuch as she would néeds set hirselfe so confidentlie to worke and striue against the Lord and his procéedings, all readers and rulers not onelie maie sée how the Lord did worke against hir therfore, but also by hir maie be aduertised and learne what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authoritie, vpon blind zeale and opinion, to stirre vp persecution in Christs church, to the effusion of christian bloud, least it prooue in the end with them (as it did here) that while they thinke to persecute heretikes, they stumble at the same stone as did the Iewes in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their owne confusion and destruction.]

The ill lucke of Q. Marie in losing of Calis.

The eleuenth king from the conquest got Calis, and the eleuenth againe after him lost it.

The ill lucke of quéene Marie in hir childbirth.

In admonition to all christian rulers.

Q. Marie left desolate of K. Philip hir husband.

Leauing quéene Marie being dead & gone, you are to vnderstand and note, that the same euening, or (as some haue written) the next daie after the said queens death, Cardinall Pole the bishop of Romes legat departed out of this life, hauing béene not long afore made archbishop of Canturburie: he died at his house ouer against Westminster commonlie called Lambeth, and was buried in Christs church at Canturburie. This cardinall was descended of the noble house of Clarence, that is to saie, of one of the yonger sonnes of Margaret countesse of Salisburie, daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother to K. Edward the fourth. ¶ So that hereby you haue a proofe of the nobleneſſe of his birth, but how barbarous he was of behauiour, and how vnnaturall in the course of his life (which blemished the honour of his descent) it maie appeare by the order and maner of his visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking vp, and burning both the bones and bookes of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, as also by the despitefull handling and madnesse of the papists towards Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, taken vp from hir graue at the commandement of the said cardinall, and after buried in a dunghill: so that in his actions he shewed himselfe (as he is noted) earnest in burning the bodies of the dead. And for further testimonie of his crueltie, it shall not be impertinent out of maister Fox, here to adioine and set forth to the eies of the world, the blind and bloudie articles set out by cardinall Pole, to be inquired vpon within his dioces of Canturburie. Whereby it maie the better appeare what pokes and snares of fond and fruitlesse traditions were laid vpon the poore flocke of Christ, to intangle and oppresse them with losse of life and libertie. By the which wise men haue to sée what godlie fruits procéeded from that catholike church and sée of Rome. In which albeit thou séest (good reader) some good articles insparsed withall, let that nothing moue thée: for else how could such poison be ministred, but it must haue some honie to relish the readers taſt?

Cardinall Pole earnest in burning the bones of the dead.

The death of cardinall Pole.

The ill lucke of Q. Marie with hir husband.

The description of cardinall Pole.

Abr. Fl. ex I.F. martyrologio.

The finall end and death of Q. Marie.

Here follow the articles set forth by cardinall Poole, to be inquired in his ordinarie visitation, within his dioces of Canturburie.

Touching the cleargie.

Articles of the cardinall to be inquired in his visitation of Kent.

FIrſt, whether the diuine seruice in the church at times, dates and houres, be obserued and kept dulie or no.

2 Item, whether the parsons, vicars, and curats, doo comlie and decentlie in their maners and doings behaue themselues or no.

3 Item, whether they doo reuerentlie and dulie minister the sacraments or sacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether anie of their parishioners doo die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curats or no.

5 Item, whether the said parsons, vicars or curats, doo haunt tauerns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamie and slander or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the midwiues how to christen children in time of necessitie, according to the canons of the church or no.

7 Item, whether they sée that the font be comelie kept, and haue holie water alwaies readie for children to be christened.

8 Item, if they doo kéepe a booke of all the names of them that be reconciled to the dutie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be anie priests, that late vnlawfullie had women vnder pretensed mariage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they doo diligentlie teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, & the ten commandements.

11 Item, whether they doo decentlie obserue those things that doo concerne the seruice of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and christian life, according to the canons of the church.

12 Item, whether they doo deuoutlie in their praiers praie for the prosperous estate of the king and queens maiesties.

13 Item, whether the said parsons and vicars doo sufficientlie repare their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and doo kéepe and maintaine them sufficientlie repared and amended.

14 Item, whether anie of them doo preach or teach anie erronious doctrine, contrarie to the catholike faith and vnitie of the church.

15 Item,

15 Item, whether anie of them dŏ saie the diuine seruice, or dŏ minister the sacraments in the English tong, contrarie to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether anie of them dŏ suspicioustie kæpe anie women in their houses, or dŏ kæpe companie with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether anie of them that were vnder pretense of lawfull matrimonie maried, and now reconciled, dŏ priuilie resort to their pretensed wiues, or that the said women dŏ priuilie resort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they go decentlie apparelled, as it becommeth sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they haue their crowns and beards shaven.

19 Item, whether anie of them dŏ vse anie vnlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, wherby they grow to slander and euill report.

20 Item, whether they dŏ kæpe residence and hospitalitie vpon their benefices, and dŏ make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they dŏ kæpe the booke or register of christening, burieng, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the laie people.

Articles of cardinal Pole to be inquired vpon touching the laitie.

FIrst, whether anie maner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he be, dŏ hold, mainteine, or affirme anie heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrarie to the lawes ecclesiasticall, and the vnitie of the catholike church.

2 Item, whether anie person dŏ hold, affirme, or saie, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not conteined the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by anie maner of meanes dŏ contemne and despise the said blessed sacrament, or dŏ refuse to dŏ reuerence or worship therevnto.

3 Item, whether they dŏ contemne or despise by anie maner of means anie other of the sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or dŏ refuse or denie auricular confession.

4 Item, whether anie dŏ absent or refraine, without vrgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the church, and reuerentlie to heare diuine seruice vpon sundaies and holie daies.

5 Item, whether being in the church, they dŏ not applie themselues to heare the diuine seruice, and to be contemplatiue in holie praier, and not to walke, iangle or talke in the time of the diuine seruice.

6 Item, whether anie be fornicators, adulterers, or dŏ commit incest, or be bawds and receiuers of euill persons, or be vehementlie suspected of anie of them.

7 Item, whether anie dŏ blaspheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether anie be periured, or haue committed simonie or vsurie, or dŏ still remaine in the same.

9 Item, whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestlie repared and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the churches be sufficientlie garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessarie, & whether they haue a rod in their church of a decent stature, with Marie and Iohn, and an image of the patrone of the same church.

11 Item, whether anie dŏ withhold, or doth draw from the church anie maner of monie or goods, or that dŏ withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12 Item, whether anie be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of euill liuing, or dŏ exercise anie lewd passimes, especiallie in the time of diuine seruice.

13 Item, if there be anie that dŏ practise or exercise anie arts of magike, or necromancie, or dŏ vse or practise anie incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehementlie suspected thereof.

14 Item, whether anie be maried in the degrees of affinitie, or consanguinitie, prohibited by the laws of holie church, or that dŏ marie, the banes not asked, or dŏ make anie priuie contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, anie were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did vnreuerentlie behaue themselues in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether anie dŏ kæpe anie secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether anie dŏ now not duelie kæpe the fasting and embring daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the sacrament be caried deuoutlie to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common schooles be well kept, and that the schoolemaisters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholike, and men of good and vpright iudgement, and that they be examined and approued by the ordinarie.

21 Item, whether anie dŏ take vpon them to minister the goods of those that be dead, without authoritie from the ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poore people in euerie parish be charitablie prouided for.

23 Item, whether there dŏ burne a lampe or a candle before the sacrament: and if there dŏ not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient time.

25 Item, whether anie dŏ kæpe or haue in their custodie anie erronious or vnlawfull books.

26 Item, whether anie dŏ withhold anie monie or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high waies, or anie other charitable deed.

27 Item, whether anie haue put away their wiues, or anie wiues dŏ withdraw themselues from their husbands, being not lawfullie diuorsed.

28 Item, whether anie dŏ violat or breake the sundaies and holie daies, doing their dailie labors and exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the tauerns or alehouses, vpon the sundaies and holie daies, in the time of masse, matins, and euensong, dŏ kæpe open their doores, and dŏ receiue people into their houses to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in comming to church.

30 Item, whether anie haue, or dŏ depraue or contemne the authoritie or iurisdiction of the popes holinesse, or the see of Rome.

31 Item, whether anie minstrels, or anie other persons dŏ vse to sing anie songs against the holie sacraments, or anie other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be anie hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be dulie and trulie obserued and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordinglie.

33 Item, whether anie goods, plate, iewels, or possessions be taken awaie, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whome.]

Thus you see of what a malignant nature the cardinall was: neuertheless, of more lentitie than manie other popelings, sauoring of the like lewd leuen of antichristianisme. For at what time two and twentie prisoners for their conscience were appre-

hended

Cardinall Poles vnkindnesse to king Henrie that brought him vp.

beſides his peſtilent treaſon, his vnkindneſſe againſt the kings maieſtie, who brought him vp of a child, and promoted both him, and reſtored his blood being attainted, to be of the péeres of this realme, and gaue him monie yéerelie out of his coffers, to find him honorablie at ſtudie, maketh his treaſon much more deteſtable to all the world, and him to be reputed more wild and cruell than anie tiger.

Séene more thereof before pag. 1134.

Thus much out of Cuthert Cunſtals ſermon printed *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum ſolum*, by Thomas Berthelet, the yeare aboue named. Now it reſteth to conclude this diſcourſe concerning cardinall Pole with a briefe epitome of his laſt will and teſtament, which he made not long before he let his life, wherein he profeſſeth him ſelfe reſolute to die in the ſame faith and obedience of the Romiſh church wherein he liued; willing & ordeining his bodie to be buried in his cathedrall church of Canturburie (as he termeth it) in the ſame chapell where the head of the moſt bleſſed martyr Thomas Becket, whilome archbiſhop of the ſaid church was kept: with maſſes & dirges, &c. to be ſaid for his ſoule, the ſoules of his parents, and of all the faithfull departed out of this life, &c.

A traitor he liued, a traitor he died.

The diſtribution of his goods.

As for patrimoniall goods, ſith he had none whereby he ought to haue had regard of his kindred, therefore ſuch goods as he had he willed to be diſtributed among ſuch perſons as had well deſerued of him, and vpon godlie vſes. He made one Aloiſius Priolus a Venetian his heire and executor of all his goods and chattels, as well within England as without, in Spaine, Italie, Rome, Venice, or elſewhere, &c. And for dilapidations, there is no reaſon (ſaith he) that my ſucceſſor in the ſée of Canturburie ſhould demand anie thing, becauſe I haue beſtowed more than a thouſand pounds within theſe few yéeres, in repairing & making better ſuch houſes as belonged to the ſaid ſée, ſince I came to it (which was no long time by our computation.) The ouerſéers and defenders of this his laſt will he made Nicholas archbiſhop of Yorke chancellor of England, Thomas biſhop of Elie, his coſſine the lord Edward Haſtings the kings chamberleine, ſir John Boral the quéenes ſecretarie, ſir Edward Cordall maſter of the rolles, and maſter Henrie Cole his vicar generall in his ſpiritualties. All theſe he beſought to giue quéene Marie knowledge of this his laſt will, and with all reuerence to beſéech hir, that what good will and fauor ſhe ſhewed him in all cauſes and affaires whiles he was aliue; the ſame ſhe would vouchſafe to exhibit and beſtow vpon him being dead, and gratiouſlie prouide that all lets and impediments to the execution of this his laſt will & teſtament might be remoued and vtterlie taken awaie: and to euerie one of his ouerſéers for their paines taking herein, he gaue fiftie pounds a peece by will. This teſtament was ſubſcribed with his owne hand, and ſigned with his owne ſeale, in preſence of a number of witneſſes there vndernamed. All which, with the tenor of his ſaid laſt will at large, are remembred by Schardius *in epitome rerum geſtarum ſub Ferdinando imperatore.* And thus much of cardinall Pole.

Touching dilapidations.

He is deſirous that quéene Marie ſhould haue knowledge of this his laſt will.

Upon whoſe diſcourſe preſentlie ended, as hath béene done in the treatiſe of high conſtables * at the duke of Buckinghams beheadding, and of the lord protectors * at the duke of Summerſets ſuffering (in which two honorable perſonages thoſe two offices had their end) ſo here we are to infer a collection of Engliſh cardinals, which order ceaſed when Reginald Pole died. After which treatiſe ended, according to the purpoſed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this quéenes reigne annexed, it remaineth that quéene Elizabeth ſhew hir ſelfe in hir triumphs at hir gratious and glorious coronation.

* Séepa. 861.

* Séeps. 1069.

The cardinals of England collected *by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our* Lord, 1585.

THis cardinall Pole being the laſt cardinall in England, and ſo likelie to be, as the ſtate of our preſent time doth earneſtlie with; doth here offer occaſion to treat of all ſuch Engliſhmen as haue poſſeſſed that honor. Which I onelie do, for that I would haue all whatſoeuer monuments of antiquitie preſerued, leaſt *Pereat memoria eorum cum ſonitu.* Wherefore thus I begin.

Adrian the fourth of that name biſhop of Rome (called before that time Nicholas Breakeſpeare) being borne in England about ſaint Albons (whome Onuphrius affirmeth to be borne in the towne of Malmesberie, in the dominions of ſaint Albons, in the dioces of Bath, ſomewhat like a ſtranger miſtaking the names of places and perſons, as he often doth) was for the pouertie of his father (who after became a monke in ſaint Albons) not able to be maintained here at learning. Whereupon he goeth into Prouince to the monaſterie of ſaint Rufus, whereof in time he was made a canon, and after abbat of that houſe; but in the end miſliked of the couent, they appealed him to Rome before Eugenius the third then pope: who for that time pacifieng the matter betweene them, they did after fall at variance againe, and ſo called him before the pope the ſecond time. Eugenius ſéeing theſe continuall braules, wearie to heare them, and fauoring this Nicholas, made them chooſe an other abbat, and appointed Nicholas to the biſhoprike of Alba, and to the honor of a cardinall, ſending him legat into Denmarke and Norweie: where he remained ſome yeares. But at length returning to Rome after the death of Eugenius and his ſucceſſor Anaſtaſius, this Nicholas was aduanced from a cardinall to a pope, and called Adrian the fourth. Who died in the fift yeare of Henrie the ſecond king of England, in the yeare of Chriſt 1159.

Adrian the fourth pope of Rome. *Will. Parua lib. 2. cap. 26.* Onuphrius. Matt. Parker. Ranulph Higden.

Boſa, an Engliſhman and cardinall, was not that Boſa which was biſhop of Yorke, of whome Beda maketh mention, lib. 4. cap. 13. and cap. 23. of his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, where he ſaith that the ſame Boſa was made biſhop of the ſame ſée, in the yeare of Chriſt 678. And therefore being long before this Boſa, our cardinall could not be the ſame man, as ſome vnconſideratlie haue ſtiflie maintained. For this our Boſa was a cardinall deacon, and the nephue to pope Adrian the fourth before named; and intituled a deacon cardinall of the title of Coſma and Damian, in the yeare of Chriſt 1155, being after made a prieſt cardinall of the title of ſaint Prudentian, by pope Alexander the third, in the yeare of Chriſt 1163, before which he was chamberleine to the church of Rome, being created to the firſt cardinalſhip and office of chamberleine by his vncle the ſaid pope Adrian the fourth.

Boſa. Matt. Parker. Onuphrius.

Robert Curſon, a man excellentlie learned both in diuine & humane letters, comming from Rome, grew in ſuch eſtimation, that in the end he became a cardinall, of whom we find recorded in this ſort. At the taking of Dameta in Egypt, there was with Pelagius the popes legat, maiſter Robert Curſon an Engliſhman a moſt famous clearke, borne of a noble houſe, and cardinall of the church of Rome.

Robert Curſon. Matt. Parker. Matt. Paris. Matt. Weſt. Holinſhed.

Stephan Laughton made prieſt cardinall, in the yeare of Chriſt 1213, and the ſixteenth yeare of pope Innocent the third, of the title of ſaint Chryſogon, was archbiſhop of Canturburie, for whoſe cauſe and contention betweene king Iohn and him, the realme

Stephan Laughton. Matt. Parker. Matt. Paris. Holinſhed. Onuphrius.

of

of England was long interdicted, the nobilitie was slaine, the king deposed, his kingdome made feodarie to Rome, and Pandolph the cardinall sent hither to receiue the crowne of K. John. This Stephan departed the world, in the twelfe yeare of Henrie the third, and in the yeare of our redemption 1238.

Robert Somercot a cardinall, a man well esteemed for his vertue and learning, a graue writer, and well beloued of all men, departed from the vanities of this life, in the yeare of our saluation 1241, being the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third.

Robert Somercot. Holinshed. Matt. Paris. Fol. 772.

Ancherus citizen and archdeacon of London, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Pyramidis, by pope Urban the second, in the yeare that the world beginne fleth 1262, and the yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, the foure and fortith.

Ancherus. Onuphrius. Matt. Parker.

Robert de Kilwarbie, whome Onuphrius calleth Robert Biliberie frier preacher, doctor of diuinitie was remoued from the archbishoprike of Canturburie to be bishop of Portus, and afterward was made cardinall of saint Rufinian by pope Nicholas the third, in the yeare of Christ as some saie 1277, and as others haue 1278, or 1273; being about the first yeare of Edward the first of that name king of England; who died vnder the same pope Nicholas, in the yeare of Christ 1280, as hath Onuphrius.

Robert de Kilwarbie. Matt. Parker. Hen. of Leceſt. Onuphrius.

Barnard de Anguiscelle was remoued from the archbishoprike of Arras, and made bishop of Portua and cardinall of saint Rufinian, being a bishop cardinall, and aduanced to that principalitie by pope Martine the fourth of that name, in the yeare of our redemption 1291, being about the nintéenth yeare of the said Edward the first: whome Onuphrius much mistaking himselfe maketh a Frenchman: and Matthew Parker rightlie setteth him downe as an Englishman.

Barnard de Anguiscelle. Matt. Parker.

Hugh Attrat priest cardinall, of the title of saint Laurence in Lucina was created cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeere of our Lord 1281: he was also called Hugh of Euesham, and died at Rome in the yeere of Christ 1287, whilest the see was vacant, being about the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the first.

Hugh Attrat. Matthew Parker. Rafe Baldocke. Onuphrius.

Berard or rather Bernard a cardinall of Pyrelina was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall by Nicholas the fourth of that name bishop of Rome in the yeere (as I suppose) 1298, though some saie in the yeere 1288, the error whereof I gather to be in the printer.

Bernard. Matthew Parker.

Leonard Guercine bishop, cardinall of Alba was receiued to the scarlet hat and robe by pope Bonifacius the eight, in the yéere of Christ 1300, being the eight and twentith of Edward the first.

Leonard Guercine. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius. William. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius. Walsingham.

William one of the order of the frier preachers doctor of diuinitie in Oxford, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, to which place he was adopted by pope Benedict the eleuenth, in the yéere 1303, being the one and thirtith yeere of Edward the first, in which yeere he died in England.

Walter Winterborne (that came in place of William last before named) doctor of diuinitie of the order of frier preachers, confessor to Edward the first, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, was by the said Benedict the eleuenth admitted to the college of cardinals in the yeere of Christ 1304, being the one and thirtith yeere of Edward the first, which Walter small time inioied that place. For going with other cardinals into France, & so into Italie, he died at Genoa or Gene, whose bodie being carried into England, was buried in the church of the frier preachers in the yeere of Christ 1305, being the three and thirtith yeere of Edward the first.

Walter Winterborne. Matthew Parker. Nic. Triuet. Onuphrius.

Thomas Ioyze a frier preacher doctor of diuinitie of Oxford, confessor to Edward the first, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina was created by pope Clement the fift in the yeere of Christ 1305; being the three and thirtith yéere of Edward the first, or (as saith Walsingham) a little before Christmasse in the yéere of Christ 1306, who by him is also named Ioyza. This man (as hath Onuphrius) died in the iourneie he made as ambassador into Italie to Henrie the seuenth of that name emperour in the yéere 1311, & the seuenth yeere of the popedome of Clement the fift, who sent him in that ambassage: his bodie was carried into England, and buried at Oxford in a monasterie of the frier preachers.

Thomas Ioyze. Walsingham. Nic. Triuet. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Simon Langham abbat of Westminster, treasuror of England, bishop of Elie and of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was elected to the honor of the purple hat and cardinall dignitie, in the yéere of our redemption 1368, being the two and fortith yéere of king Edward the third. And here because I would not set it downe in a distinct place, as receiuing it for truth, sith by search I find it not so, what authoritie soeuer they that wrote the same had to lead them to it: I will note an ouersight passed the fingers of Fabian, Holinshed, and Grafton, all writers of our age, who affirme that the bishop of Winchester, in the fiue and fortith yéere of king Edward the third, being a cardinall (for so I gather by the words and circumstance of the storie) with the bishop of Beauois likewise a cardinall, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the king of England and France. But because I can not find in Onuphrius nor in Matthew Parker anie such cardinall set downe, I do not at this time imbrace it, vntill I maie find better proofe thereof than the authoritie of Grafton, Fabian, and those before named; especiallie sith that he which was then bishop of Winchester in the said fiue and fortith yéere of Edward the third, and all they which were bishops of Winchester from the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, vntill the yeare of Christ 1404, in which Henrie Beaufort was bishop of Winchester, were neuer cardinals: the said bishops in orderlie succession thus named: Adam Orletie, William de Edington, William Wickham, and then Henrie Beaufort, who was a cardinall. But these writers mistaking perchance the yeare of the king, and the name of the bishops see, in the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third (in which yeare John Thorsbie was cardinall as after followeth) haue (in setting downe Winchester for Worcester committed a fault) so easie it is for the printer or anie other to misplace and misname the one bishoprike for the other.

Simon Langham.

John Thorsbie bishop of saint Dauids in Wales chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, and after bishop of Yorke, was made cardinall by Urban the fift then bishop of Rome (as I suppose) before the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third. This man surrendred his life in the yeare of our redemption 1374, being the eight and fortith yeare of king Edward the third.

John Thorsbie. Holinshed and other authors.

Adam priest cardinall of the title of saint Cecilia, was inuested with the dignitie of a scarlet hat in the yeare of our redemption 1378, about the first yeare of Richard the second. Holinshed mentioneth one Adam Eston to be a cardinall, who (considering the time when he liued) must néeds be this man, of whome he writeth in this sort. Adam Eston well seene in all the tongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleuenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Genoa (in the yeare of our redemption 1383, being about the seauenth yeare of Richard the second) and by contemplation

Adam. Onuphrius, Matthew Parker. Holinshed.

plation of the said king Richard, was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered, vntill the daies of Boniface the ninth, who(in the yeare of our redemption 1389, about the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second) restored the said Adam to his former dignitie: all which Holinshed speaketh of him amongst the writers of England, except the yeares of the Lord which I haue added out of Onuphrius, and the yeares of the king which I haue ioined of my selfe. Which Onuphrius maketh this Adam to be bishop of London, and to die in Rome the third calends of Maie, in the yeere of our sauior 1397, being the one and twentith of Richard the second, vnder Boniface the ninth pope of that name, and was buried in the place whereof he was intituled to the honor of a cardinall.

Philip de Repindone. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Philip de Repindone bishop of Lincolne and doctor of diuinitie, was by pope Gregorie the twelfe, then bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1408, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth created cardinall of the title of saint Nereus and Achilleus.

Thomas. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Liber Dunel.

Thomas bishop of Durham was made (as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our redemption 1411 by Iohn the two and twentith, commonlie called Iohn the three and twentith) priest cardinall. Touching which matter there is no mention made in the life of Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham, and liuing at this time that this Langleie was a cardinall: for this Thomas Langleie was made bishop of Durham in the yeare of our Lord 1406, and continued in that see one and thirtie yeares, departing the world 1437, and so the creation of this Thomas bishop of Durham mentioned by Onuphrius and Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1411 must needes fall in the life of this Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Robert. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Robert bishop of Salisburie priest cardinall (although it be not shewed of what title) was preferred to that place by pope Iohn the three and twentith in the yeare of our redemption 1411, being about the twelfe yere of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, of whom Onuphrius writeth in this sort: *Roberti episcopi Sarisburiensis presbyteri cardinalis, & Egidij de campis presbyteri cardinalis gesta & exitus, quod nunquam Romanam curiam adierint, incerti & obscuri omnino sunt. Satis tamen constat, eos ante papæ Martini electionem mortuos fuisse.*

Henrie Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, sonne vnto Iohn of Gant and Katharine Swinesord, being bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, tooke the state of a cardinall (of the title of saint Eusebius) at Calis, being absent (as hath Matthew Parker) in the yeare of our redemption 1426: in the fift yeare of king Henrie the first. He was called the rich cardinall of Winchester, being aduanced to that honor by Martine the third, commonlie called Martine the fift then pope of Rome. This Henrie died vnder pope Nicholas the fift in the yeare of Christ 1447: being about the six & twentith yeare of the miserable reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Stafford. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

John Stafford bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, after bishop of Canturburie, was created priest cardinall by Eugenius then bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the world became fleth 1434: being the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Kempe. Holinshed. Polydor. Onuphrius.

John Kempe bishop of London, twise lord chancellour of England, bishop of Yorke, and after that archbishop of Canturburie, was by Eugenius the fourth then archbishop of Rome, made cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, as saith Holinshed, otherwise by Onuphrius called Salbina: contrarie to Polydor, who in his three and twentith booke of the historie of England, affirmeth him to be cardinalited by pope Nicholas the fift. He died (as saith Onuphrius) in the yeare that the godhead was united to the manhood, to wit, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, vnder pope Nicholas the first, which yeare of our Lord met with the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Thomas Bourcher. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Holinshed. Polydor.

Thomas Bourcher (borne of the noble house of the earles of Essex, being chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, from thence removed to Elie, from that Ile aduanced to the metropolitan see of Canturburie, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sixtus (or the Baths) was honored with the scarlet hat and siluer pillers, by pope Paule the second of that name, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie toke vpon him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred sixtie fiue, being the fift yeare of the reigne of the noble prince king Edward the fourth.

John Morton. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Polydor. Holinshed.

John Morton bishop of Elie chancellor of England & archbishop of Canturburie, being priest cardinall of the title of saint Anastasius, was honored with a scarlet hat by Alexander the first of that name (then gouernour of the seat of Peter at Rome) in the yeare from the birth of Christ 1493, being the ninth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seauenth. He died as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and fiue hundred, being about the eight yeare of Alexander the first still pope of Rome, and the sixteenth yeare of the said Henrie the seauenth then king of England.

Christopher Bembridge. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Christopher Bembridge a gentleman borne, was archbishop of Yorke, & priest cardinall of the title of S. Pyrrhus, was aduanced to that scarlet dignitie by pope Julius the second, in the yere that the virgin was deliuered of our sauiour one thousand fiue hundred & eleuen, being the third yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight. He died at Rome, (as saith Onuphrius) by poison, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene yeares (being the eleuenth yeare, when Leo the tenth did hold the sterne of the Romane bishoprike, & the fift yeare when the said Henrie the eight did rule the scepter of England) and was buried at Rome in the church of the holie trinitie of the English nation.

Thomas Wolsie.

Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner, deane of Yorke, abbat of saint Albons, and of saint Austins, bishop of Lincolne, Winchester, and Yorke, chancellour of England: all which or all saue two he held at one time in his owne hands, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Cicilie, whereunto he was promoted by pope Leo the tenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and sixteene, being the seauenth yeere of the reigne of the famous king Henrie the eight, of whome Onuphrius somewhat misliking the pronuntiation of his name thus writeth: *Thomas Wlcer ex oppido Sufforth diœcesis Norduicensis, &c.* wherein like a stranger to our countrimen he misliketh both name, towne, place, and the prouince of Suffolke for the towne of Ipswich. For this cardinall Wolseie being descended of meane parentage, was borne in the towne of Gipswich now called Ipswich in the prouince or countrie of Suffolke in the diocesse of the bishoprike of Norwich.

John Fisher.

John Fisher bishop of Rochester priest cardinall of the title of saint Vitalis, was (although he neuer came at Rome, nor for anie thing that I can learne was euer out of England) created cardinall at Rome, by Paule the third of that name, then wearing the triple crowned miter, and being bishop of Rome. But this Fisher neuer ware his scarlet hat: for after this high dignitie and before he might couer his priestlie crowne with the same, he lost his head, in the yeare from which the angels sang at the birth of the Messias one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and fiue,

Dom. 1558.

Thomas Bourcher. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Holinshed. Polydor.

John Hoo-ton, Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Polydor. Holinshed.

Christopher Wembridge. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Thomas Wolsie.

John Fisher.

fiue, being the seauen and twentith of the reigne of that king Henrie the eight, which deliuered his kingdome from all subiection to the bishop of Rome Clement the seauenth of that name.

Reginald Pole. Reginald Poole, noblie borne, & yong sonne to sir Richard Poole knight of the garter, by his wife Margaret countesse of Salisburie, daughter to George duke of Clarence brother to K. Edward the fourth, was made deacon cardinall of the title of saint Marie in Colmeden, by pope Paule the third of that name, in the yeare that the mother of God brought forth the sonne of man 1536, being the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight. This man legat of pope Julius the third, comming into England in the yeare of our Lord 1554, being the second yeare of quéene Maries reigne, was after made bishop of Canturburie, on the fiue and twentith of March, in the yeare of Christ 1556, being the third yeare of the reigne of the said quéene Marie, and died the seauentéenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ 1558, being the last date of the reigne of the said quéene Marie, or rather the next daie erlie in the morning, at his house at Lambeth, and was honorablie conueied to Canturburie, where he was buried. This man was the last English cardinall that liued and inioied that title of honour in England. For although the English cardinall which followeth were created after him, yet I suppose that he died much before him: but he liued not in England at the same time that cardinall Poole died, as farre as I can lerne. Wherfore I still make this cardinall Poole the last English cardinall that was liuing in England.

Peter Peto. Peter Peto, borne of an ancient familie, and one of the order of the frier minors obseruants (whome Onuphrius calleth *Angliæ legatus*) was created cardinall by Paule the fourth of that name, chéefe bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1557, being the fift yeare of quéene Marie. Besides this number of thirtie cardinals, there haue bin manie other to the number of ten or more, before the time that pope Innocent the first of that name did weald the charge of the Romane bishoprike, as Matthew Parker late bishop of Canturburie a worthie antiquarie doth witnesse, and I my selfe haue obserued, besides those which Onuphrius and the said Matthew Parker (in the Latine booke of the archbishops of his owne sée) haue recited. But bicause neither they nor I haue yet atteined to their names, we must and do omit them: and yet it may be that these three which follow, named by Onuphrius being English names, were Englishmen, and part of the said number of ten cardinals, whose names we do not know, which three cardinals were Hugh Foliot, Peter Mortimer, and Simon Beale. But bicause I cannot certeinlie gather out of Onuphrius that they were Englishmen, I dare not presume so to make them; though in mine owne conceit I verelie suppose that they were borne in England: for in vncerteine matters I dare not set downe anie certeintie.

Wherefore to set end to this cardinals discourse, I will knit vp this matter with one onelie note drawne out of Matthew Parkers beforenamed booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, which is as followeth: That this number and remembrance of our cardinals is not so wonderfull as is that computation of the Romane bishops, which pope John the two and twentith of that name hath gathered of his predecessors. For he doth recite that out of the order of saint Benet or Benedict (whereof himselfe was) there haue issued foure and twentie popes, 183 cardinals, 1464 archbishops, 3502 bishops, and abbats innumerable. Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke intituled the Pantographie of England, conteining the vniuersall description of all memorable places and persons, aswell temporall as spirituall) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the wheele of George Ripleie canon of Bridlington, after the order of circulation in alchimicall art, and by a geometricall circle in naturall philosophie doth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Poole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis tooke occasion to pase about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme.]

Learned men in quéene Maries reigne.

Of such learned men as had written and did liue in the reigne of quéene Marie there were manie, of whome no small number ended their liues also during that short time of hir reigne, some by fire, and others in exile. John Rogers borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises, translated the bible into English with notes, and published the same vnder the name of Thomas Matthew, he suffred in Smithfield the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare 1555. Nicholas Ridleie bishop first of Rochester, and after of London, suffered at Oxford in the said yeare 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leicestershire, sometime bishop of Worcester, a notable preacher, and a most reuerend father, suffered at the same place, and in the same daie and yeare with bishop Ridleie. John Hooper borne in Summersetshire, bishop first of Glocester, and after of Worcester, suffered at Glocester in the yeare of our Lord 1555. John Bradford, borne in Manchester, a notable towne in Lancashire, a sober, mild, and discréet learned man, suffered at London the first of Julie in the said yeare 1555.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester borne in the towne of saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke, of king Henrie the eights councell, and in king Edwards daies committed to ward within the tower, released by quéene Marie, made lord chancellor, and so died a stout champion in defense of the popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the professours of the gospell. John Philpot borne in Hamshire, sonne to sir Peter Philpot knight, was archdeacon of Winchester, ended his life by fire in the yeare aforesaid 1555, the 18 of December, going then on the foure & fortith yeare of his age. Thomas Cranmer borne in Nottinghamshire, archbishop of Canturburie, a worthie prelat, in sundrie vertues right commendable, suffered at Oxford the one and twentith of March, one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and six. Richard Morison knight, borne in Oxfordshire, wrote diuerse treatises, and deceased at Strausburge the 17 of March 1556. John Poinet borne in Kent, bishop of Rochester first, & after of Winchester, deceased likewise at Strausburgh, about the tenth or eleauenth of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1556.

Robert Record a doctor of physicke, and an excellent philosopher, in arithmetike, astrologie, cosmographie, and geometrie most skilfull, he was borne in Wales, descended of a good familie, and finallie departed this life in the daies of quéene Marie. Bartholomew Traheron descended of a worshipfull house in the west parts of England, deane of Chichester, departed this life in Germanie, where he liued in exile, about the latter end of quéen Maries reigne. Cuthert Tunstall, bishop first of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancashire of a right worshipfull familie, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it may appeare, doctor of both the lawes, departed this life in the yeare 1559. Richard Sampson bishop of Couentrie & Lichfield wrote certeine treatises, & departed this life 1555. Lucas Shepherd borne in Colchester in Esser, an English poet. Jane Dudleie

daughter vnto Henrie Oreie duke of Suffolke, wrote diuerse things highlie to hir commendation, of whome yée haue heard more before heere in this historie; William Thomas a Welshman borne, of whome yée haue likewise heard how he suffered for treason, wrote the historie of Italie, and other things verie eloquentlie; James Brookes a doctor of diuinitie, John Standish a doctor likewise of the same profession, great defenders of the popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth; William Perine a blacke frier by profession, and a doctor also of diuinitie, wrote in defense of the masse, and preached sermons which were printed of like stuffe; John Baret borne in Lin, a doctor of diuinitie, and sometime a Carmelit frier, but reuolting from the popes religion, he became an earnest setter forth of the gospell, but e ffsones he fell off, and returned to his former opinions now in the daies of quéene Marie; Henrie lord Stafford, sonne to Edward duke of Buckingham, amongst other things which he wrote, he translated a booke out of Latine into English, intituled *Vtriusque potestatis differentia*, that is, The difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as some thinke) was first compiled and set forth by Edward Fox bishop of Hereford; John Hopkins translated diuerse psalmes of the psalter into English méeter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the churches of England.

Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight.

The resolution of the lords to declare ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The words of doctor Heath lord chancellor, vttered in the parlement house touching the proclaming of the ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The



The peaceable and prosperous regiment of blessed Queene Elisabeth,

second daughter to king Henrie the eight.



AFter all the stormie, tempestuous, and blustering windie weather of quéene Marie was ouerblowne, the darkesome clouds of discomfort dispersed, the palpable fogs and mists of most intollerable miserie consumed, and the dashing showers of persecution ouerpast: it pleased God to send England a calme and quiet season, a cleare and louelie sunshine, a quittest from former broiles of a turbulent estate, and a world of blessings by good quéene Elisabeth: into whose gratious reigne we are now to make an happie entrance as followeth.

When true knowledge was had that quéene Marie was deceased, who left hir life in this world the seuentéenth daie of Nouember, as is before mentioned in the latter end of hir historie: in the time of a parlement, the lords that were assembled in the vpper house, being resolued according to the lawes of the land, to declare the ladie Elisabeth sister to the said quéene to be verie true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatlie to the speaker of the parlement, willing him with the knights and burgesses of the neather house, without delaie to repaire vnto them into the vpper house, for their assents in a case of great importance. Who being come thither, after silence made (as the maner is) the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, whose name was Nicholas Heth, doctor in diuinitie, stood vp and pronounced in effect these words following.

The resolution of the lords to declare ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The words of doctor Heath lord chancellor, mooued in the parlement house touching the proclaiming of the ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The cause of your calling hither at this time, is to signifie vnto you, that all the lords here present are certeinlie certified, that God this present morning hath called to his mercie our late souereigne ladie quéene Marie. Which hap as it is most heauie and grieuous vnto vs, so haue we no lesse cause another waie to reioise with praise to almightie God, for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritrice to the crowne of this realme, which is the ladie Elisabeth, second daughter to our late souereigne lord of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and sister to our said late quéene, of whose most lawfull right and title in the succession of the crowne (thanks be to God) we néed not to doubt. Wherefore the lords of this house haue determined with your assents and consents, to passe from hence into the palace, and there to proclame the said ladie Elisabeth quéene of this realme, without further trac of time. Whereto the whole house answered with euident appearance of ioy, God saue quéene Elisabeth, long may quéene Elisabeth reigne ouer vs. And so this present parlement being dissolued by the act of God, the said lords immediatlie calling vnto them the kings and principall heralds at armes, went into the palace of Westminster, and directlie before the hall doore in the foore noone of the same daie, after seuerall soundings of trumpets made, in most solemne maner, proclamed the new quéene, by this name and title: *Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.*: to the great comfort and reioising of the people, as by their maners and countenances well appeared. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the said lords, to wit the duke of Norfolke, the lord treasuror, the earle of Oxford, and diuerse other lords and bishops, with all spéed repaired into the citie of London, where the like proclamation was made in the presence of them, and also of the lord maior and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, at the crosse in Cheape, with no lesse vniuersall ioy and thanksgiuing to God of all the hearers. And so our most gratious souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth began hir happie reigne ouer this realme of England, to the great comfort and gladnesse of all estates christianlie minded and disposed, vpon the foresaid seuentéenth day of Nouember,

The ladie Elisabeth proclamed quéen.

The beginning of quéene Elisabeths prosperous reigne.

——(lux hæc venerabilis Anglis,
Hæc est illa dies albo signanda lapillo

saith the poet) in the yeare after the creation of the world, fiue thousand, fiue hundred, twentie and fiue, after the birth of our sauiour one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and eight; of the empire of Ferdinando the first emperor of Rome bearing that name, the first; in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of Henrie the second of that name French king; and in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scotland. 1558

On wednesdaie the three and twentith of Nouember, the quéenes maiestie remoued from Hatfield vnto the Charter house in London, where she lodged in the lord Noths house: in which remouing, and comming thus to the citie, it might well appeare how comfortable hir presence was to them that went to receiue hir on the waie, and likewise to the great multitudes of people that came abroad to sée hir grace, shewing their reioising harts in countenance and words, with hartie praiers for hir maiesties prosperous estate and preseruation: which no doubt were acceptable to God, as by the sequele of things it may certenlie be beleeued, sith his diuine maiestie hath so directed hir doings, that if euer the commonwealth of this land hath flourished, it may rightlie be said, that in hir most happie reigne it hath béene most flourishing, in peace, quietnesse, and due administration of iustice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, so as those which cannot content themselues with the pre-

The quénes remouing frō Hatfield.

The flourishing estate of this land vnder quéene Elisabeth.

sent state of things vnder hir rule, no doubt they are such factious creatures, as will not rest satisfied with anie kind of gouernement, be it neuer so iust and commendable. From the which sort of men the Lord deliuer hir roiall maiestie, and all hir true and louing subiects, and preserue hir in long life to all our comforts, and continue hir in such happie proceedings as she hath begun, to the end.

Hir grace remoueth to the tower.

On mondaie the eight and twentith of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, hir grace remoued againe, and taking hir chariot, rode from my lord Mouths house alongst Barbican, and entring by Criplegate into the citie, kept along the wall to Bishops gate, and so by blanch Chapelton vnto Parke lane. At hir entring into blanch Chapleton, the artillerie in the tower began to go off, continuallis shoting for the space almost of halfe an houre, but yet had made an end before hir maiestie was aduanced to Berkin church, and so with great ioie and preasse of people, of whom all the streets were full as she passed, declaring their inward reioisings by gesture, words, and countenance, she entered the tower, where she continued till the first of December being mondaie, on the which daie, she remoued by water vnto Summerset place in the Strond, where she arriued about ten of the clocke in the forenoone the same daie.

Hir remoouing to Summerset house.

Abr. Fl. ex manuscripto Hen. Tennant.

¶ On thursdaie betweene two and three in the morning the eight of December 1558 in the first yeare of our souereigne ladie queene Elisabeths reigne died in the tower of London, that honorable man sir Thomas Cheineie knight of the order, treasuror of hir maiesties most honorable houshold, warden of the cinque ports, & of hir highnesse priuie councell, whose pulses (by the report of his surgeon) laboured more than three quarters of an houre after his death, so stronglie as though life had not beene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the sweetest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eies, hands, or feet were vncomelie vsed in the changing of this his life.

The death of sir Thomas Cheinie lord warden of the cinque ports.

His honest & honorable care for his men that serued him.

His liberalitie.

His worthie seruice which proued him to be a louer of chiualrie.

For twentie yeares before his departure, he kept in his stable continuallie winter and summer twentie great horsse at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixteene or seuenteene geldings which were kept at grasse, and had in a readinesse furniture for them all to serue in the field: and no one of the same horsse or geldings but he was able and readie for anie man at armes to serue vpon. Beside this he kept so bountifull a house, and was so liberall and good to his men, that well was that noble mans son, gentlemans sonne, or other that might happen to be preferred into his seruice. And againe, the number of his seruants to whom he gaue liueries were 205, whereof in houshold were sir score, besides strangers that were dailie comming and going. And his seruants had no iust cause, either for lacke of great wages truelie paid them euerie quarter, and bordwages euerie sundaie, or plentie of meat and drinke, & lodging on good featherbeds to liue out of order. And such commoditie as might by chance fall within the iurisdiction of his office of wardenrie, being a thing fit for his men, he neuer turned the same to his owne vse; but alwaies gaue it them. Whether this realme hath not lost a worthie subiect, and specialliie his men a good maister, let all men iudge that knew him.

The like is reported of cardinall Wolsete when he was in the floure of his prosperitie.

His minstralles of his friends at his death.

But how manie be there now that will giue away the profits of their office to their seruants?

Before his departure out of this world, he seemed to haue a great care for his men, thinking least without some prouision for them, they would after his death run at random and liue disorderlie, which like a noble man he preuented after this liberall sort as followeth. In his last will and testament, to some he gaue annuities during life, and to others a whole yeares wages after his death; but both to the one sort and the other he prouided that all things which he owght them might be paid: and also so long as they vsed themselues like honest men, and were not retained in seruice, they should haue meat, drinke, and lodging at his house, till his sonne now lord Cheinie came to his lawfull age, which was the space of three yeares, in no lesse or worsse maner than they were wont and accustomed to haue in his life time. In his last will he also remembred some of his frends, as well those of nobilitie and worthip, as others, some with one gift and some with an other, desiring them to assist his executors for the performance of his last will.

His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in seruice was such, as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth vsed him as one of all their priuie councell, and was treasuror of all their honorable households during his life. He was brought vp in king Henrie the seuenths house, & was one of his henchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had serued three kings, and two queenes. His truth was such to all these princes, that he euer liued towards them *Sine macula*, seruing in the court three score years. And although he bare this great saile, yet prouided he to paie euerie man iustlie that he owght them. His bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and courtesie to diuerse noble men, gentlemen and others, attending in the court was such, that they were euer glad to haue him there amongst them; and his stoutnesse & haltie courage was such, and so well knowen to the Frenchmen, as they both feared and loued him wonderfullie. In the end he was so worthie a gentleman, and such a necessarie member in the commonwealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English harts. But the almightie must be serued when his good will and pleasure is.]

Sir Thomas Cheinie an old seruitor in court. See more of him before, pag. 973, 974.

A commendation of his courtesie, bountifulnes, and sparkle stoutnesse.

The thirteenth of December being tuesdaie, the corps of queene Marie was right honorablie conueied from hir manor of S. James, vnto the abbeie of Westminster. Hir picture was laid on the coffin, apparelled in hir roiall robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof, after a solemne manner. In the abbeie was a rich and sumptuous hearse prepared and set vp with wax, and richlie decked with penons, baners, and scutchions, of the armes of England and France, vnder which hearse the corpse rested all that night, and the next daie it was brought into the new chappell, where king Henrie the seuenth lieth, and was interred there in the chappell on the north side.

Queene Marie buried.

The foure and twentith of December, being the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a solemne obsequie kept in the abbeie church of Westminster, for Charles the seuenth late emperour, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentith of the same moneth, in the monasterie of S. Justus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a six and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, aboue fortie yeares.

In obsequie kept for the emperour.

Moreouer in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said emperors sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the empire, to wit, queene Leonor, first maried vnto Emanuell king of Portugall, and after his decease vnto the French king Francis the first of that name: she deceased in Februarie last past. His other sister Marie, queene of Hungarie, late regent of the low countries, deceased on saint Lukes daie, the eightenth of October last past. And so the one preuenting him, the other

The decease of the queene of France.

The decease of the queene of Hungarie.

taried

tied not long after him, in so much that king Philip did celebrate the exequies in the towne of Brusels, of his father the emperour, of his aunt Marie quæne of Hungarie, and of his wife Marie quæne of England, in this present moneth of December subsequentlie, after the most pompous and solemne manner.

On sundaie the first of Januarie, by vertue of the quænes proclamation, the English letanie was read accordinglie as was vsed in hir graces chappell in churches through the citie of London. And likewise the epistle and gospell of the daie began to be read in the same churches at masse time in the English tong, by commandement giuen by the lord maior, according to the tenour of the same proclamation published the thirtith of the last month. On thursdaie the twelfe of Januarie, the quænes maiestie removed from hir palace of Westminster by water vnto the tower of London, the lord maior and aldermen in their barge, and all the citizens with their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners of their mysteries accordinglie attending on hir grace.

The bachellers barge of the lord maiors companie, to wit, the mercers had their barge with a foist trimmed with three tops, and artillerie aboord, gallantlie appointed to wait vpon them, shooting off lustilie as they went, with great and pleasant melodie of instruments, which plaied in most sweet and beautifull manner. Hir grace shut the bridge about two of the clocke in the after noone, at the still of the ebbe, the lord maior and the rest following after hir barge, attending the same, till hir maiestie tooke land at the priuie staires at the tower wharfe, and then she said lord maior with the other barges returned, passing through the bridge againe with the flood, and landed at the wharfe of the three cranes in the Vintrie. Vpon saturdaie, which was the fourteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1558, about two of the clocke at after noone, the most noble and christian princesse, our most dread soueraigne ladie, Elisabeth, by the grace of God quæne of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. marched from the tower, to passe thorough the citie of London toward Westminster, richlie furnished, and most honourablie accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme, as also with a notable traine of goodlie and beautifull ladies, richlie appointed.

At hir entring the citie, she was of the people receiued marvellous intierlie, as appeared by the assemblies, prayers, wishes, welcommings, cries, tender words, and all other signes, which argued a wonderfull earnest loue of most obedient subiects towards their soueraigne. And on the other side, hir grace by holding vp hir hands, & merrie countenance to such as stood farre off, and most tender and gentle language to those that stood nigh vnto hir grace, did declare hirselfe no lesse thankefullie to receiue hir peoples good will, than they louinglie offered it vnto hir. To all that wished hir grace well, she gaue heartie thanks; & to such as had God saue hir grace, she said againe God saue them all, and thanked them with all hir hart. So that on the other side there was nothing but gladnesse, nothing but prayer, nothing but comfort. The quænes maiestie reioised maruellouslie to see that so exceedinglie she wan towards hir hir grace, which all good princes haue euer desired, I meane so earnest loue of subiects, so euidentlie declared euen to hir graces owne person, being caried in the midst of them.

The people againe were wonderfullie rauished with the louing answers and gestures of their princesse, like to the which they had before tried at hir first comming to the tower from Hatfield. This hir graces louing behauiour preconceiued in the peoples heads, vpon their considerations was then throughlie confirmed, and in deed implanted a wonderfull hope in them touching hir worthie gouernment in the rest of hir reigne. For in all hir passage she did not onelie shew hir most gratious loue toward the people in generall, but also priuatlie if the baser personages had either offered hir grace anie flowers, or such like, as a signification of their good will, or moued to hir anie suite; the most gentle, to the common reioising of all the lookers on, and priuat comfort of that partie, staied hir chariot, and heard their requests. So that if a man would saie well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage, wherein was shewed the wonderfull spectacle of a noble hearted princesse towards hir most louing people, and the peoples exceeding comfort in beholding so worthie a souereigne, & hearing so princelike a voice, which could not but haue set the enimie on fire, sith the vertue is in the enimie alwaie commended, much more could not but inflame hir naturall, obedient, and most louing people, whose weale leaneth onelie vpon hir grace, and hir gouernment.

Thus therefore the quænes maiestie passed from the tower, till she came to Fanchurch, the people on each side ioifullie beholding the view of so gratious a ladie their quæne, and hir grace no lesse gladlie noting and obseruing the same. Nere vnto Fanchurch was erected a scaffold richlie furnished, whereon stood a noise of instruments, and a child in costlie apparell, which was appointed to welcome the quænes maiestie in the whole cities behalfe. Against which place when hir grace came, of hir owne will she commanded the chariot to be staied, and that the noise might be appeased, till the child had vttered his welcoming oration, which he spake in English as here followeth;

O peereles souereigne queene,
behold what this thy towne
Hath thee presented with,
at thy first entrance heere:
Behold with how rich hope
she leades thee to thy crowne,
Behold with what two gifts,
she comforteth thy cheere.
The first is blessing toongs,
which manie a welcome saie,
Which praie thou maist doo well,
which praise thee to the skie.
Which wish to thee long life,
which blesse this happie daie,
Which to thy kingdome heapes
all that in toongs can lie.
The second is true hearts,
which loue thee from their root,
Whose sute is triumph now,
and ruleth all the game,
Which faithfulnesse haue woone,
and all vntruth driuen out,
Which skip for ioy, when as
they heare thy happie name.
Welcome therefore o queene,
as much as heart can thinke,
Welcome againe o queene,
as much as toong can tell;
Welcome to ioyous toongs,
and hearts that will not shrinke,
God thee preserue we praie,
and wish thee euer well.

At which words of the last line, all the people gaue a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said. And the quæns maiestie thanked most heartilie both the citie for this hir gentle receiuing at the first, & also the people for confirming the same.

1559. The letanie. The epistle and gospell in English.

The quæne removeth from Westminster to the tower by water.

Sir Thomas Cheinie an old seruitor in court. See more of him before, pag. 973, 974.

A commendation of his courtelie, bountifulnes, and warrilike stoutnesse.

Quæne Marie buried.

The quæne passeth from the tower to Westminster through the citie.

An obsequie kept for the emperour.

The quæne saluteth them that salute hir.

The decease of the quæne of France.

The peoples hearts wholie set vpon Elisabeth.

The decease of the quæne of Hungarie.

His honest & honorable care for his men that serued him.

His mindfulnes of his friends at his death.

The citie of London a stage for the time of this solemnitie.

A scaffold set vp at Fanchurch with melodie, &c.

These verses were vttered by a child to the quæne who gaue good eare to them.

Here was noted in the quéenes maiesties countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiuenesse in hir face, a maruellous change in loke, as the childs words either touched hir person, or the peoples tongs and hearts. So that the with reioising village did euidentlie declare that the words toke no lesse place in hir mind, than they were most heartilie pronounced by the child, as from all the hearts of hir most hearttie citizens. The same verses were talkened vp in a table vpon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses in another table, as hereafter insueth:

The verses in Latine which the child pronounced to quéene in English.

Verbs tua quæ ingressu dederit tibi munera primo,
O regina parem non habitura, vide.
Ad, diadema tuum, te sic quam diuite mittat,
Quæ duo lætitiæ det tibi dona, vide.
Munus habes primum, linguas bona multa precantes,
Quæ te quum laudant, tum pia vota sonant,
Fœlicemque diem hunc dicunt, tibi sæcula longa
Optant, & quicquid denig longa potest.
Altera dona feres, vera, & tui amantia corda,
Quorum gens ludum iam reget vna tuum.
En quibus est infracta fides, falsumq perosa,
Quæq tuo audito nomine læta salit.
Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit vllum,
Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguisq per omnia lætis
Grata venis: salnam te velit esse Deus.

Now when the child had pronounced his oration, and the quéenes highnesse so thankefullie had receiued it, she marched forward toward Gratious street, where at the vper end before the signe of the eagle, the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arch as here followeth. A stage was made which extended from the one side of the street to the other, richlie vawted with battlements conteining three parts, and ouer the middlemost was aduanced three seuerall stages in degrées.

A great stage arched and verie sumptuous at Gratious street.

Upon the lowest stage was made one seat roiall, wherein were placed two personages, representing king Henrie the seuenth, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of king Edward the fourth; either of these two princes sitting vnder one cloth of estate in their seates, none otherwise diuided, but that the one of them which was king Henrie the seuenth, proceeding out of the house of Lancaster, was inclosed in a red rose, and the other which was quéene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, inclosed with a white rose, each of them roiallie crowned, and decentlie apparelled, as appertaineth to princes, with scepters in their hands, and one vawt surmounting their heads, wherein aptlie were placed two tables, each conteining the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them ioined hands with the other, with the ring of matrimonie perceiued on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed vpward to the second stage or degrée, wherein was placed one representing the valiant & noble prince king Henrie the eight, which sprang out of the former stocke, crowned with a crowne imperiall, and by him sat one representing the right worthie ladie quéene Anne, wife to the said king Henrie the eight, and mother to our most souereigne ladie quéene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with scepters and diadems, and other furniture due to the state of a king and quéene, and two tables surmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

The vnitie of the white rose and the red.

Vertuous quéene Anne mother to gratious quéene Elizabeth.

From their seat also proceeded vpwards one branch, directed to the third and vppermost stage or degrée, wherein likewise was planted a seat roiall, in the which was set one representing the highnes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, now our most dread souereigne ladie, crowned and apparelled as the other princes were. Out of the fore part of this pageant was made a standing for a child, which at the quéens maiesties comming declared vnto hir the whole meaning of the said pageant. The two sides of the same were filled with lowd noises of musicke. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning vnitie, and the whole pageant garnished with red roses and white. And in the fore front of the same pageant, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the same, which was; The vniting of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke. This pageant was grounded vpon the quéens maiesties name. For like as the long warre betweene the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster then ended, when Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth married in marriage with Henrie the seuenth, heire to the house of Lancaster: so euen that the quéenes maiesties name was Elizabeth, & for somuch as she is the onelie heire of Henrie the eight, which came of both the houses, as the knitting vp of concord: it was deuised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concord, so the another Elizabeth, might maintein the same among hir subiects, so that vnitie was the end whereat the whole deuise shot, as the quéenes maiesties name moued the first ground.

The same verses in Latine.

The poet vpon planning the shew set forth in colors.

These verses concerne concord and discord.

Vnitie the marke whereat the deuise of the pageant was directed.

The pageant now against the quéenes maiesties comming was addressed with children, representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture due vnto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared costlie and sumptuouslie set forth, as the beholders can beare witnesse. Now the quéenes maiestie drew nére vnto the said pageant. And for so much as the noise was great, by reason of the preasse of people, so that she could scarse heare the child which did interpret the said pageant, and hir chariot was pulled so far forwards, that she could not well view the personages representing the kings & quéenes aboue named: she required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they signified, with the end of vnitie and ground of hir name, according as is before expressed. For the sight whereof hir grace caused hir chariot to be remoued backe, and yet perdie could she se, because the children were set somewhat with the hir their in. But after that hir grace had vnderstood the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praised the faithfulnesse of the worke, and promised that she would do hir whole indeuor for the continuall preseruation of concord, as the pageant did import. The child appointed in the standing aboue named, to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these words vnto hir grace:

The queen is desirous to know the meaning of euerie representation.

The meaning of the pageant opened by the speech of a child.

The two princes that sit,
Vnder one cloth of state,
The man in the red rose,
And the woman in the white:
Henrie the seuenth, and
Queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage,
As man and wife vnite:
Both heires to both their bloods,
To Lancaster the king,
The queene to Yorke, in one
The two houses did ring,
Of whome as here to both,
Henrie the eight did spring,
In whose feate sits the heire,
And queene Elizabeth his daughter,
Therefore as sure as truth,
And head of bloud did take,
When these two houses were
United into one,
So how shall there be warre,

The condute in Cornehill decked, and a noise of loud instruments on the top of the same.

The deuise of the pageant in Cornehill.

and

and quietnesse increase.
We trust, o noble queene,
thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latine verses, and both drawen in two tables vpon the fore front of the foresaid pageant, as hereafter orderlie followeth:

The same verses in Latine.

Hij quos iungit idem solium, quos annulus idem;
Hac albente nitens, ille rubente rosa:
Septimus Henricus rex, regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet hæredes gentis vterque suæ.
Hæc Eboracensis, Lancastrius ille dederunt
Connubio, e geminis quo foret vna domus.
Excipit hos hæres Henricus copula regum
Octauus, magni regis imago potens,
Regibus hinc succedit auis regique parenti,
Patris iusta hæres Elizabetha tui.

Sentences placed therein concerning vnitie.

These verses concerne concord and discord.

Nullæ concordes animos vires domant.
Qui iuncti terrent, deiuncti timent.
Discordes animi soluunt, concordes ligant.
Augentur parua pace, magna bello cadunt.
Coniunctæ manus fortius tollunt onus.
Regno pro mœnibus æneis ciuium concordia.
Qui diu pugnant diutius lugent.
Dissidentes principes subditorum lues.
Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datus.
Filia concordiæ copia, neptis quies.
Dissentiens respublica hostibus patet.
Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.
Regnum diuisum facilè dissoluitur.
Ciuitas concors armis frustrà tentatur.
Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem, &c.

Whitte the end whereat the deuise of the pageant was directed.

These verses and other prætie sentences were drawen in void places of this pageant, all tending to one end, that quietnes might be mainteined, and all dissention displaced: and that by the quénes maiestie heire to agreement, and agreeing in name with hir, which tofore had ioined those houses, which had béene the occasion of much debate and ciuill war within this realme, as maie appéere to such as will search chronicles, but be not to be touched herein; onelie declaring hir graces passage through the citie, and what prouision the citie made therefore. And yet the quénes maiestie came within hearing of this pageant, she sent certeine as also at all the other pageants, to require the people to be silent. For hir maiestie was disposed to heare all that should be said vnto hir.

The quéne is desirous to know the meaning of euerie representation.

When the quénes maiestie had heard the childs oration, and vnderstood the meaning of the pageant at large, she marched forward to ward Cornehill, alwaie receiued with like reioising of the people. And there as hir grace palled by the conduit, which was curiouslie trimmed against that same time, with rich banners adorned, and a noise of lowd instruments vpon the top thereof, she spied the second pageant. And bicause she feared for the peoples noise, that she should not heare the child which did expound the same, she inquired what that pageant was yet that she came to it; and there vnderstood, that there was a child representing hir maiesties person, placed in a seat of gouernement, supported by certeine vertues which suppressed their contrarie vices vnder their feet, and so forth, as in the description of the said pageant shall hereafter appere.

The meaning of the pageant opened by the speech of a child.

The conduit in Cornehill decked, and a noise of lowd instruments on the top of the same.

This pageant standing in the nether end of Cornehill, was extended from the one side of the street to the other. And in the same pageant was deuised three gates all open, and ouer the middle part thereof was erected one chaire or seate roiall, with a cloth of estate to the same apperteining, wherein was placed a child representing the quénes highnesse, with diuersitie had for place conuenient for a table, which conteined hir name and title: and in a comelie wreath artificiallie & well deuised, with perfect sight and vnderstanding to the people.

The deuise of the pageant in Cornehill.

In the front of the same pageant was written the name and title thereof, which is, The seat of worthie gouernance. Which seat was made in such artificiall maner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the fore part seemed to haue no staie, & therefore of force was staied by liuelie personages, which personages were in number foure, standing and staieng the fore front of the same seat roiall, each hauing his face to the quéene and people, whereof euerie one had a table to expresse their effects, which are vertues, namelie Pure religion, Loue of subiects, Wisedome and Iustice, which did tread their contrarie vices vnder their feet, that is to wit; Pure religion did tread vpon Superstition and Ignorance, Loue of subiects did tread vpon Rebellion and Insolencie, Wisedome did tread vpon Follie and Vaine glorie, Iustice did tread vpon Adulation and Briberie. Each of these personages according to their proper names and properties, had not onelie their names in plaine and perfect writing set vpon their breasts easilie to be read of all: but also euerie of them was aptlie and properlie apparelled, so that his apparell and name did agree to expresse the same person, that in title he represented.

Liuelie workmanship and right commendable.

A proper moorall.

This part of the pageant was thus appointed and furnished. The two sides ouer the two side parts had in them placed a noise of instruments, which immediatlie after the childs speech, gaue an heauenlie melodie. Vpon the top or vpermost part of the said pageant, stood the armes of England, roiallie purtraitured with the proper beasts to vphold the same. One representing the quénes highnesse sat in this seat crowned with an imperiall crowne, and before hir seat was a conuenient place appointed for one child, which did interpret and applie the said pageant, as hereafter shall be declared. Euerie void place was furnished with proper sentences, commending the seat supported by vertues, and defacing the vices, to the vtter extirpation of rebellion, and to euerlasting continuance of quietnesse and peace. The quénes maiestie approching nigh vnto this pageant thus beautified and furnished in all points, caused hir charriot to be drawne nigh thereunto, that hir grace might heare the childs short oration, which was this:

How the pageant was appointed and furnished.

The quéene draweth néere the pagent to heare the childs oration.

While that religion true,
shall ignorance suppresse,
And with hir weightie foot,
breake superstitions head:
While loue of subiects shall
rebellion distresse,
And with zeale to the prince,
insolencie downe tread.
While iustice flattering tongs,
and briberie can deface,
While follie and vaine glorie,
to wisedome yeeld their hands:
So long shall gouernment
not swarue from hir right race,
But wrong decaieth still,
and right wisenesse vp stands.
Now all thy subiects hearts,
o prince of peerelesse fame,
Do trust these vertues shall
maintaine vp thy throne:
And vice be kept downe still,
the wicked put to shame,
That good with good may ioy,
and naught with naught may mone.

Which verses were painted vpon the right side of the same pageant, and the Latine thereof on the left side

in

in another table, which were these here insuing:

The same verses in Latine painted on a table.

Quæ subnixa abit solio regina superbo est,
Effigiem sanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam ciuilis amor fulcit, sapientia firmat,
Iustitia illustrat, religioque beat,
Vana superstitio & crassa ignorantia frontis
Pressæ sub pura religione iacent.
Regis amor domat efferos animosque rebelles,
Iustus adulantes dominorosque terret.
Cum regit imperium sapiens, sine luce sedebunt
Stultitia, atque hæres numen inane honor.

Beside these verses, there were placed in euerie void roome of the pagent, both in English & Latine, such sentences as aduanced the seat of gouernance vpholden by vertue. The ground of this pageant was, that like as by vertues (which do abundantlie appeare in hir grace) the quænes maiestie was established in the seat of gouernment: so she should sit fast in the same, so long as she imbraced vertue, and held vice vnder foot. For if vice once got vp the head, it would put the seat of gouernement in perill of falling.

The ground or morall of the pageant.

The quænes maiestie when she had heard the child, and vnderstood the pageant at full, gaue the citie also thanks therefore, & most gratiouslie promised hir good indeuor for the maintenance of the said vertues, and suppression of vices, and so marched on, till she came against the great conduit in Cheape, which was beautified with pictures and sentences accordinglie, against hir graces comming thither. Against Soper lane end was ertended from the one side of the street to the other, a pageant which had three gates all open: ouer the middlemost whereof were erected three seuerall stages, whereon sat eight children, as hereafter followeth. On the vppermost one child, on the middle three, on the lowest foure, each hauing the proper name of the blessing that they did represent, written in a table, & placed aboue their head.

The quænes promise with thanks to the citie.

A pageant at Soper lane end.

In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did represent the blessings, was a conuenient standing cast out for a child to stand, which did expound the said pageant vnto the quænes maiestie, as was done in the other before. Euerie of these children were appointed and apparelled, according vnto the blessing which he did represent. And on the fore part of the said pageant was written in faire letters the name of the foresaid pageant in this manner:

The inscription fixed or set vpon the front of the said pageant.

The eight beatitudes expressed in the fift chapter of the gospell of saint Matthew, applied to our souereigne ladie quæne Elisabeth.

Ouer the two side posts was placed a noise of instruments. And all the void places in the pageant were furnished with prettie saiengs, commending & touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was the promises & blessings of almightie God, made to his people. Before that the quænes highnesse came vnto this pageant, she required the matter somwhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderstand, what should afterward by the child be said vnto hir. Which so was, that the citie had there erected the pageant with eight children, representing the eight blessings touched in the fift chapter of saint Matthew. Whereof euerie one vpon iust considerations, was applied vnto hir highnesse, and that the people thereby put hir grace in mind, that as hir good doings before had giuen iust occasion, why that these blessings might fall vpon hir, that so if hir grace did continue in hir goodnesse as she had entered, she should hope for the fruit of these promises due vnto them that do exercise themselues in the blessings: which hir grace heard maruellous gratiouslie, and required that the charriot might be remoued towards the pageant, that she might better perceiue the childs words, which were these, the quænes maiestie giuing most attentiue eare, and requiring that the peoples noise might be staid. The verses were as follow:

The meaning of the pageant.

The quæne giueth attentiue eare to the childs words.

Thou hast beene eight times blest,
O queene of worthie fame,
By meekenesse of thy spirit,
when care did thee beset,
By mourning in thy griefe,
by mildnesse in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirst,
and iustice couldst none get.
By mercie shewd, not felt,
by cleannesse of thine heart,
By seeking peace alwaies,
by persecution wrong.
Therefore trust thou in God,
sith he hath helpt thy smart,
That as his promise is,
so he will make thee strong.

When these words were spoken, all the people wished, that as the child had vttered, so God would strengthen hir grace against all hir aduersaries, whome the quænes maiestie did most gentlie thanke for their so louing wish. These verses were painted on the left side of the said pageant, and other in Latine on the other side, which were these here insuing:

A consent on all sides of prince, people, and children.

Qui lugent hilares fient, qui mitia gestant
Pectora, multa soli iugera culta metent:
Iustitiam esuriens sitiénsue replebitur: ipsum
Fas hominis puro corde videre Deum:
Quem alterius miseret, Dominus miserebitur huius:
Pacificus quisquis, filius ille Dei est:
Propter iustitiam quisquis patietur habétque
Demissam mentem cælica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi terram, mare, sidera, vouit
Omnipotens, horum quisque beatus erit.

Besides these, euerie void place in the pageant was furnished with sentences touching the matter and ground of the said pageant. When all that was to be said in this pageant was ended, the quænes maiestie passed on forwards in Cheapside. At the standard in Cheape, which was dressed faire against the time, was placed a noise of trumpets, with banners and other furniture. The crosse likewise was also made faire, and well trimmed. And nere vnto the same, vpon the porch of saint Peters church doore, stood the waits of the citie, which did giue a pleasant noise with their instruments, as the quænes maiestie did passe by, which on euerie side cast hir countenance, and wished well to all hir most louing people.

The standard and crosse in Cheape adorned and trimmed.

Some after that hir grace passed the crosse, she had espied the pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifie. And it was told hir grace, that there was placed Time. Time, quoth she: And time hath brought me hither. And so forth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as hereafter shall be declared in the description of the pageant.

A pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape.

But in the opening, when hir grace vnderstood that the bible in English should be deliuered vnto hir by Truth, which was therein represented by a child: she thanked the citie for that gift, and said, that she would oftentimes read ouer that booke, commanding sir Iohn Portrat, one of the knights which held vp hir canopie, to go before, and to receiue the booke. But learning that it should be deliuered vnto hir grace downe by a silken lace, she caused him to stale, and so passed forward till she came against the alderman in the high end of Cheape before the little conduit, where the companies of the citie ended, which began at Fanchurch, & stood along the streets, one by an other inclosed with railes, hanged with cloths, and themselues well apparelled with mvnie rich

The quæne promiseth the citie often to read ouer the bible.

rich furres, and their liuerie hoods vpon their ſhoulders in comelis and ſeemelie maner, hauing before them ſundrie perſons well apparelled in ſilks and chains of gold: as wiflers and gardes of the ſaid companies, beſides a number of rich hangings, as well of tapiſtrie, arras, cloths of gold, ſiluer, veluet, damaſke, ſattin, and other ſilks plentifullie hanged all the waie, as the queenes highneſſe paſſed from the tower thorough the citie.

The ſeuerall companies of the citie ſhewed their ioifull hearts at the queenes comming.

Out at the windowes and penthouſes of euerie houſe did hang a number of rich and coſtlie banners and ſtremers, till hir grace came to the vpper end of Cheape. Where by appointment, the right worſhipfull maſter Randulph Cholmelie recorder of the citie, preſented to the quéenes maieſtie a purſſe of crimſon ſattin, richlie wrought with gold, wherein the citie gaue vnto the quéens maieſtie a thouſand marks in gold, as maſter recorder did declare briefelie vnto the quéens maieſtie, whoſe words tended to this end; that the lord maior, his brethren, and communaltie of the citie, to declare their gladneſſe and goodwill towards the quéenes maieſtie, did preſent hir grace with that gold, deſiring hir grace to continue their good and gratious queene, and not to eſteeme the value of the gift, but the mind of the giuers. The quéens maieſtie with both hir hands toke the purſſe, and anſwered to him againe maruellous pithilie; and ſo pithilie, that the ſtanders by, as they imbraced intirelie hir gratious anſwer, ſo they maruelled at the couching thereof, which was in words truelie reported theſe. I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you all. And whereas your requeſt is that I ſhould continue your good ladie and quéene, be yée aſſured, that I will be as good vnto you, as euer quéene was to hir people. No will in me can lacke, neither doo I truſt ſhall there lacke ante power. And perſuade your ſelues, that for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of you all, I will not ſpare (if néed be) to ſpend my bloud. God thanke you all. Which anſwer of ſo noble an hearted princeſſe, if it moued a maruellous ſhout & reioiſſing, it is nothing to be maruelled at, ſith both the haltineſſe thereof was ſo wonderfull, and the words ſo ſointlie knit.

The citie gaueth a thouſand marks to the quéene in a purſſe.

The verie words of the quéene directed to the lord maior, &c.

When hir grace had thus anſwered the recorder, ſhe marched toward the little conduit, where was erected a pageant with ſquare proportion, ſtanding directlie before the ſame conduit, with battlements accordinglie. And in the ſame pageant was aduanced two hilles or mounteins of conuenient height. The one of them being on the north ſide of the ſame pageant, was made cragged, barren, and ſtonie, in the which was erected one tree, artificiallie made, all withered and dead, with branches accordinglie. And vnder the ſame tree at the foot thereof ſat one in homelie and rude apparrell crokedlie, and in mourning maner, hauing ouer his head in a table, written in Latine and Engliſh, his name which was *Ruinoſa reſpublica*, A decaied commonweale. And vpon the ſame withered tree were fixed certeine tables, wherein were written proper ſentences, expreſſing the cauſes of the decaie of a commonweale. The other hill on the ſouth ſide was made faire, freſh, greene and beautifull, the ground thereof full of floures and beautie, and on the ſame was erected alſo one tree, verie freſh and faire, vnder the which ſtood vpright one freſh perſonage well apparelled and appointed, whoſe name alſo was written both in Engliſh and Latine, which was, *Reſpublica bene inſtituta*, A flouriſhing commonweale.

A pageant of a ſquare proportion, and what things the ſame had repreſented in it.

Reſpublica ruinoſa.

Reſpublica bene inſtituta.

And vpon the ſame tree alſo were fixed certeine tables conteining ſentences, which expreſſed the cauſes of a flouriſhing commonweale. In the middle betweene the ſaid hils, was made artificiallie one hollow place or caue, with doore and locke incloſed, out of the which, a little before the quéenes highneſſe comming thither, iſſued one perſonage, whoſe name was Time, apparelled as an old man, with a ſieth in his hand, hauing wings artificiallie made, leading a perſonage of leſſer ſtature than himſelfe, which was finelie and well apparrelled, all clad in white ſilke, and directlie ouer hir head was ſet hir name and title in Latine and Engliſh, *Temporis filia*, The daughter of Time. Which two ſo appointed, went forwards toward the ſouth ſide of the pageant. And on hir breſt was written hir proper name, which was *Veritas*, Truth, who held a booke in hir hand, vpon the which was written *Verbum veritatis*, The word of truth. And out of the ſouth ſide of the pageant was caſt a ſtanding for a child, which ſhould interpret the ſame pageant. Againſt whome when the quéenes maieſtie came, he ſpake vnto hir grace theſe ſweet words:

Veritas temporis filia, expounded to the quéene.

The interpretation of the pageant deliuered in ſpéech to the quéene by a child.

This old man with the ſieth,
old father Time they call,
And hir his daughter Truth,
which holdeth yonder booke:
Whome he out of his rocke,
hath brought forth to vs all,
From whence this manie yeares
ſhe durſt not once out looke.
The ruthfull wight that ſits
vnder the barren tree,
Reſembleth to vs the forme,
when common weales decaie:
But when they be in ſtate
triumphant, you may ſee
By him in freſh attire,
that ſits vnder the baie.
Now ſith that Time againe,
his daughter Truth hath brought,
We truſt ô worthie queene,
thou wilt this truth imbrace,
And ſith thou vnderſtandſt,
the good eſtate and naught,
We truſt wealth thou wilt plant,
and barrennes diſplace.
But for to heale the ſore,
and cure that is not ſeene,
Which thing the booke of truth,
doth teach in writing plaine:
Shee doth preſent to thee
the ſame, ô worthie queene,
For that, that words doo flie,
but written doth remaine.

When the child had thus ended his ſpéech, he reached his booke towards the quéenes maieſtie, which a little before Truth had let downe vnto him from the hill, which by ſir John Parrat was receiued, and deliuered vnto the quéene. But ſhée as ſoone as ſhe had receiued the booke, kiſſed it, and with both hir hands held vp the ſame, and ſo laid it vpon hir breſt, with great thanks to the citie therefore: and ſo went forward towards Paules churchyard. The former matter which was rehearſed vnto the quéenes maieſtie, was written in two tables, on either ſide the pageant eight verſes, and in the middeſt, theſe in Latine:

The quéene receiueth *Verbum Dei*, kiſſeth it, and laieth it in hir lap.

Ille, vides falcem læua qui ſuſtinet vncam,
Tempus is eſt, cui ſtat filia vera comes:
Hanc pater exeſa deductam rupe reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat antè diu.
Qui ſedet à læua cultu malè triſtis inepto
Quem durùs creſcens cantibus orbis obit,
Nos monet effigie quæ ſit reſpublica, quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget.
Ille docet iuuenis forma ſpectandus, amictu
Scitus, & æterna laurea fronde virens.

The ſentences written in Latine and Engliſh vpon both the trées, declaring the cauſes of both eſtates, and firſt of a ruinous commonweale were theſe:

theſe: Want of Gods feare, diſobedience to rulers, blindneſſe of guides, briberie in magiſtrats, rebellion in ſubiects, ciuill diſcord, flattering of princes, vnmercifulneſſe in rulers, vnthankefulneſſe in ſubiects. Cauſes of a flouriſhing commonweale are theſe: Feare of God, a wiſe prince, learned rulers, obedience to officers, obedient ſubiects, louers of the commonweale, vertue rewarded, vice chaſtened.

The meaning in briefe of this pagent.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the firſt declared hir grace to come out of the houſe of vnitie, the ſecond that ſhe is placed in the ſeat of gouernement ſtaid with vertues, to the ſuppreſſion of vices; and therefore in the third, the eight bleſſings of almightie God might well be applied vnto hir: ſo this fourth now is, to put hir grace in remembrance of the ſtate of the commonweale, which Time with Truth his daughter doth reueale: which Truth alſo hir grace hath receiued, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof. From thence, the queenes maieſtie paſſed toward Paules churchyard, and when ſhe came ouer againſt Paules ſchole, a child appointed by the ſchoolemaiſter thereof, pronounced a certeine oration in Latine, and certeine verſes, which alſo were there written as followeth:

A ſcholer of Paules vttereth an oration in Latine to the queene.

Philoſophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa præclarè ac ſapienter dicta, hoc poſteris proditum reliquit; Rempublicam illam fœliciſſ. fore, cui princeps ſophiæ ſtudioſa, virtutibuſq; ornata contigerit. Quem ſi verè dixiſſe cenſeamus (vt quidem veriſſimè) cur non terra Britannica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atque lætitiam agitaret? Immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? Quo princeps talis nobis adeſt, qualẽ priores non viderunt, qualémq; poſteritas haud facilè cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndiq; fœliciſſima. Caſti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ ſunt, vt oratione non egeant. Animi verò tot tantæq;, vt ne verbis quidem exprimi poſſint. Hæc nempe regibus ſummis orta, morum atq; animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Huius pectus Chriſti religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illuſtrabit, clypeóq; iuſtitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis & Latinis eximia, ingenioq; præpollens eſt. Hac imperante pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea ſæcula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commoda accepturi, Eliſabetham reginam noſtram celeberrimam ab ipſo Chriſto huius regni imperio deſtinatam, honore debito proſequimini. Huius imperijs animo libentiſſimo ſubditi eſtote, vóſq; tali principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus ſed precibus, officium præſtare poſſunt, nos alumni huius ſcholæ ab ipſo Coleto olim templi Paulini decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad cœlum tendentes Chriſtum Opt. Max. precaturi ſumus, vt tuam celſitudinem annos Neſtoreos ſummo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matrémq; pignoribus charis beatam reddat: Amen.

Laus Eliſabethæ regni ingum ſubeuntis.

Ad Anglorum gentem breuis adhortatio.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, reſulta,
Præſto iam vita eſt, præſidiúmq; tibi.
En tua ſpes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit iam, ſolidam qua tibi præſtat opem.
Succurrétq; tuis rebus quæ peſſum abiere,
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet.
Omnia florebunt, redeunt nunc aurea ſæcla,
In melius ſurgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergò illi totam te reddere fidam,
Cuius in acceſſu commoda tot capies.

Quenam præſtabit Eliſabetha ſuo regimine.

Salue igitur dicas, imo de pectore ſummo,
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda ſalus,
Virgo venit, veniátq; optes comitata deinceps,
Pignoribus charis, læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui cælum & terram condidit atq; regit.

Which the queenes maieſtie moſt attentiuelie hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kiſſe the oration which he had there faire written in paper, and deliuered it vnto the queenes maieſtie, which moſt gentlie receiued the ſame. And when the queenes maieſtie had heard all that was there offered to be ſpoken, then hir grace marched toward Ludgate, where ſhe was receiued with a noiſe of inſtruments, the fore front of the gate being finelie trimmed vp againſt hir maieſties comming. From thence by the way as ſhe went downe toward Flæt-bridge, one about hir grace noted the cities charge, that there was no coſt ſpared. Hir grace anſwered, that ſhe did well conſider the ſame, and that it ſhould be remembred. An honorable anſwer, worthie a noble prince, which may comfort all hir ſubiects, conſidering that there can be no point of gentleneſſe, or obedient loue ſhewed towards hir grace, which ſhe doth not moſt tenderlie accept, and gratiouſlie weie. In this maner, the people on euerie ſide reioiſing, hir grace went forward towards the conduit in Flætſtreet, where was the fift and laſt pageant erected in forme following.

The queenes maieſtie conſidered the cities charge.

From the conduit, which was beautified with painting, vnto the northſide of the ſtreet was erected a ſtage, imbatteled with foure towers, and in the ſame a ſquare plat riſing with degrees; and vpon the vppermoſt degree was placed a chaire, or ſeat roiall, and behind the ſame ſeat, in curious artificiall maner was erected a tree of reaſonable heigth, and ſo farre aduanced aboue the ſeat, as it did well and ſemelie ſhadow the ſame, without indamaging the ſight of anie part of the pageant: and the ſame tree was beautified with leaues as greene as art could deuiſe, being of a conuenient greatneſſe, and conteining thereupon the fruit of the date. And on the top of the ſame tree in a table was ſet the name thereof, which was a palme tree, and in the aforeſaid ſeat or chaire was placed * a ſeemelie and meet perſonage richlie apparelled in parlement robes, with a ſcepter in hir hand, as a queene, crowned with an open crowne, whoſe name and title was in a table fixed ouer hir head, in this ſort: Deboza the iudge and reſtorer of the houſe of Iſraell: Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on either ſide were furniſhed with ſir perſonages, two repreſenting the nobilitie, two the cleargie, & two the communaltie. And before theſe perſonages was written in a table: Deboza with hir eſtats conſulting for the good gouernment of Iſraell. At the feet of theſe, and the loweſt part of the pageant was ordeined a conuenient rome for a child to open the meaning of the pageant. When the queenes maieſtie drew neare vnto this pageant, and perceiued, as in the other, the child readie to ſpeake; hir grace required ſilence, and commanded hir chariot to be remoued nigher, that ſhe might plainlie heare the child ſpeake, which ſaid as hereafter followeth:

A pagent in Flætſtreet deſcribed.

* Alluding to the queenes maieſtie no doubt.

How willing the queene was to heare the child ſpeake.

Iabin of Canaan king,
had long by force of armes
Oppreſt the Iſraelites,
which for Gods people went:
But God minding at laſt
for to redreſſe their harmes,
The worthie Debora
as iudge among them ſent.
In warre ſhe through Gods aid,
did put hir foes to flight,

The morall of the foreſaid pagent.

The child of Chriſts hoſpitall ſpeaketh at S. Dunſtans.

Temple adorned Gogmag other gia

And

And with the dint of sword
the band of bondage brast.
In peace she, through Gods aid,
did alwaie mainteine right,
And iudged Israell
till fortie yeares were past.
A worthie president,
ô worthie queene thou hast,
A worthie woman iudge,
a woman sent for staie:
And that the like to vs
indure alwaie thou maist,
Thy louing subiects will
with true harts and toongs praie.

Which verses were written vpon the pageant, & the same in Latin also fixed in the face of the people:

Quando Dei populum Canaan, rex pressit Iaben,
Mittitur à magno Debora magna Deo:
Quæ populum eriperet, sanctum seruaret Iudan,
Militè quæ patrio frangeret hostis opes.
Hæc Domino mandante Deo lectissima fecit
Fœmina, & aduersos contudit ense viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello strenua, pace grauis:
Sic, ô sic populum bellóque & pace guberna,
Debora sis Anglis Elisabetha tuis.

The void places of this pageant were filled with prettie sentences concerning the same matter. The ground of this last pageant was, that for somuch as the next pageant before had set before hir graces eies the flourishing and desolate states of a commonweale, she might by this be put in remembrance to consult for the worthie gouernement of hir people, considering God oftentimes sent women noblie to rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Israell in peace the space of fortie yeares: and that it behoueth both men and women so ruling to vse aduise of gods councell. When the queenes maiestie had passed this pageant, she marched toward Temple bar. But at S. Dunstans church, where the children of the hospitall were appointed to stand with their gouernors, hir grace perceiuing a child offered to make an oration vnto hir, staied hir chariot, and did cast vp hir eies to heauen, as who should saie; I here see this mercifull worke toward the poore, whome I must in the middest of my roialtie needs remember: and so turned hir face toward the child, which in Latine pronounced an oration to this effect: That after the queenes highnesse had passed through the citie, and had seene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles of the citizens, which declared their most hartie receiuing, and solous welcomming of hir grace into the same: this one spectacle yet rested and remained, which was the euerlasting spectacle of mercie vnto the poore members of almightie God, furthered by that famous and most noble prince king Henrie the eight hir graces father, erected by the citie of London, & aduanced by the most godlie & vertuous prince king Edward the first, hir graces deare and louing brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the queenes most gratious clemencie, by the which they may not onelie be relieued and helped, but also stated and defended: and therefore incessantlie they would praie and crie vnto almightie God, for the long life and reigne of hir highnesse, with most prosperous victorie against hir enimies.

The child after he had ended his oration, kissed the paper wherein the same was written, & reached it to the queenes maiestie, which receiued it gratiouslie, both with words and countenance, declaring hir gratious mind toward their reliefe. From thence hir grace came to Temple bar, which was dressed finelie with the two images of Gogmagog the Albion, & Corineus the Briton, two giants, big in stature, furnished accordinglie, which held in their hands aboue the gate, a table, wherein was written in Latine verses the effect of all the pageant which the citie before had erected, which verses were these insuing:

Ecce sub aspectu iam contemplaberis vno
(O princeps populi sola columna tui)
Quicquid in immensa passim perspexeris vrbe,
Quæ cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te solio regni donauit auiti,
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppressis vitijs, domina virtute secundus,
Firmauit sedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni possint te parte beatam,
Si, qua cæpisti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, respublica lapsa quid esset,
Quæ florens staret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora, missam
Cœlitus in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuæ spes vnica gentis,
Hæc postrema vrbis suscipe vota tuæ.
Viue diu, regnáq; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi spem tueare tui.
Sic ô sic petitur cœlum, sic itur in astra:
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Quinque arcus quam significationem implicitam teneant.

Which verses were also written in English méeter, in a lesse table as hereafter plainelie followeth:

Behold here in one view,
thou maist see all that plaine,
O princesse vnto this
thy people th'onlie staie:
What eachwhere thou hast seene
in this wide towne, againe,
This one arch whatsoeuer
the rest conteind, doth saie.
The first arch as true heire
vnto thy father deere,
Did set thee in thy throne
where thy grandfather sat.
The second did confirme
thy seat as princesse heere,
Vertues now bearing swaie,
and vices bet downe flat.
The third, if that thou wouldst
go on as thou began,
Declared thee to be
blessed on euerie side.
The fourth did open truth,
and also taught thee whan
The commonweale stood well,
and when it did thence slide.
The fift, as Debora
declard thee to be sent
From heauen, a long comfort
to vs thy subiects all.
Therefore go on ô queene,
on whom our hope is bent,
And take with thee this wish
of thy towne as finall.
Liue long, and as long reigne,
adorning thy countrie
With vertues, and mainteine
thy peoples hope of thee.
For thus, thus heauen is woone,
thus must thou perse the skie,
This is by vertue wrought,
all other needs must die.

On the southside was appointed by the citie a noise of singing children, and one child richlie attired as a poet, which gaue the queenes maiestie hir farewell in the name of the whole citie, by these sweet words:

As at thine entrance first,
ô prince of high renowne,
Thou wast presented with
toongs and hearts for thy faier:

So

The queenes maiestie considered the cities charge.

A pagent in Fleetstreet described.

What the arches signifie.

The morall of the foresaid pagent.

The children of Christs hospitall stand at S. Dunstans.

* Alluding to the queenes maiestie no doubt.

How willing the queene was to heare the child speake.

Temple bar adorned with Gogmagog, & other giants.

The cities farewell to the queene going out at Temple barre.

So now sith thou must needs
depart out of this towne,
This citie sendeth thee
firme hope and earnest praier.
For all men hope in thee,
that all vertues shalt raine,
For all men hope that thou
none error wilt support,
For all men hope that thou
wilt truth restore againe,
And mend that is amisse,
to all good mens comfort.
And for this hope they praie,
thou maist continue long,
Our queene amongst vs here,
all vice for to supplant,
And for this hope they praie,
that God maie make thee strong,
As by his grace puissant,
So in his truth constant.
Farewell ô worthie queene,
and as our hope is sure,
That into errors place,
thou wilt now truth restore:
So trust we that thou wilt
our souereigne queene endure,
And louing ladie stand,
from henceforth euermore.

While these words were in saieng, and certeine wishes therein repeated for maintenance of truth, and roting out of errour, she now and then held vp hir hands towards heauen, and willed the people to saie, Amen. When the child had ended, she said; Be ye well assured I shall stand your good queene. At which saieng, hir grace departed forth through Templebarre toward Westminster, with no lesse showting and crieng of the people, than she entered the citie with a noise of ordinance which the tower shot off at hir graces enterance first into Towerstreet. The childs saieng was also in Latine verses written in a table verie faire which was hanged vp there:

The last words of the queene to the citie by waie of promise.

Carmen valedictorium a puero recitatum.

O regina potens, quum primam vrbem ingredereris,
Dona tibi linguas fidáq; corda dedit.
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena spei, votáq; plena precum.
Quippe tuis spes est in te, quod prouida virtus
Rexerit, seruare nec locus vllus erit.
Quippe tuis spes est, quod tu verum omni reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac spe freti orant, longum vt regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac spe freti orant, diuina vt gratia fortem
Et veræ fidei te velit esse basin.
Iam regina vale, & sicut nos spes tenet vna,
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit:
Sic quóq; speramus quòd eris regina benigna
Nobis per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the queenes highnesse passed through the citie, which without anie forreigne person, of it selfe beautified it selfe, and receiued hir grace at all places as hath beene before mentioned, with most tender obedience and loue, due to so gratious a queene and soueraigne a ladie. And hir grace likewise of hir side in all hir graces passage, shewed hir selfe generallie an image of a worthie ladie and gouernour. But priuatlie these especiall points were noted in hir grace, as signes of a most princelike courage, whereby hir louing subiects maie ground a sure hope for the rest of hir gratious doings hereafter.

Certein notes of the queenes maiesties great mercie,

About the nether end of Cornehill toward Cheape, one of the knights about hir grace had espied an ancient citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe, and therewith said this gentleman; Ponder is an alderman (for so he tearmed him) which weepeth, and turneth his face backeward; how maie it be interpreted that he so doth, for sorrow, or for gladnesse? The queens maiestie heard him, and said, I warrant you it is for gladnesse. A gratious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turne the doubtfull to the best. And yet it was well knowne, that as hir grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was moued for verie pure gladnesse for the sight of hir maiesties person, at the beholding whereof he take such comfort, that with teares he expressed the same. In Cheape side hir grace smiled, and being thereof demanded the cause, answered, for that she heard one saie; Remember old king Henrie the eight. A naturall child, which at the verie remembrance of hir fathers name, toke so great a ioy, that all men maie well thinke, that as she reioised at his name whome this realme doth hold of so worthie memorie: so in hir doings she will resemble the same.

Of one that wept for ioy and turned gladnesse.

When the cities charge without partialitie, and onelie the citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, she said it should not be forgotten. Which saieng might moue all naturall Englishmen hartilie to shew due obedience, and intiernesse to their so good a queene, which will in no point forget anie parcell of dutie louinglie shewed vnto hir. The answer which hir grace made vnto maister recorder of London, as the hearers know it to be true, & with melting hearts heard the same; so maie the reader thereof conceiue what kind of stomach and courage pronounced the same. What more famous thing do we read in ancient histories of old time, than that mightie princes haue gentlie receiued presents offered them by base and low personages. If that be to be wondered at (as it is paslinglie) let me see anie writer that in anie princes life is able to recount so manie presidents of this vertue, as hir grace shewed in that one passage thorough the citie.

The humblenesse of the queene intertaining base trifles of the poore subiect thankefullie.

How manie nosegales did hir grace receiue at poore women's hands? How oftentimes staid she hir chariot, when she saw anie simple bodie offer to speake to hir grace? A branch of rosemarie giuen hir grace with a supplication by a poore woman about Fleetbridge, was seene in hir chariot till hir grace came to Westminster, not without the maruellous wondering of such as knew the presenter, and noted the queens most gratious receiuing and keeping the same. What hope the poore and needie maie take for at hir graces hand, she as in all hir iournie continuallie, so in hir hearkening to the poore children of Christs hospitall with eies cast vp into heauen, did fullie declare: as that neither the wealthier estate could stand without consideration had to the pouertie, neither the pouertie be dulie considered, vnlesse they were remembred, as commended vnto vs by Gods owne mouth.

"where hir mind then was no doubt in heauen vpon God

As at hir first entrance she as it were declared hir selfe prepared to passe through a citie that most interlie loued hir: so she at hir last departing as it were bound hir selfe by promise, to continue good ladie and gouernor vnto that citie, which by outward declaration did open their loue vnto their so louing and noble prince, in such wise, as she hir selfe wondered thereat. But because princes be set in their seat by Gods appointing, and therefore they must first and chiefle tender the glorie of him, from whom their glorie issueth: it is to be noted in hir grace, that for somuch as God hath so wonderfullie placed hir in the seat of gouernement ouer this realme, she in all hir doings doth shew hir selfe most mindfull of his goodnesse & mercie shewed vnto hir. And among all other, two principall signes thereof were noted in this passage. First in the tower, where hir grace before she entred hir chariot, lifted vp hir eies to heauen, and said as followeth.

The queenes maiestie is not forgetfull to glorifie God who glorifieth hir.

The

The praier of queene Elisabeth as she went to hir coronation.

O Lord almightie and euerlasting God, I giue thee most hartie thanks, that thou hast beene so mercifull vnto me, as to spare me to behold this ioifull date. And I acknowledge that thou hast delt as wonderfullie and as mercifullie with me, as thou didst with thy true and faithfull seruant Daniell thy prophet, whome thou deliueredst out of the den from the crueltie of the greedie and raging lions: euen so was I ouerwhelmed, and onlie by thee deliuered. To thee therefore onlie be thankes, honor, and praise, for euer; Amen.

The second was the receiuing of the bible at the litle conduit in Cheape. For when hir grace had learned that the bible in English should there be offered, she thanked the citie therefore, promised the reading thereof most diligentlie, and incontinent commanded that it should be brought. At the receipt whereof, how reuerendlie did she with both hir hands take it, kisse it, and laie it vpon hir brest, to the great comfort of the lokers on? God will vndoubtedlie preserue so worthie a prince, which at his honor so reuerendlie taketh his beginning. For this saieng is true, and written in the book of truth; He that first seeketh the kingdome of God, shall haue all other things cast vnto him. Now therefore all English hearts, and hir naturall people must needs praise Gods mercie, which hath sent them so worthie a prince, and praie for hir graces long continuance amongst vs. On sundaie the fiue and twentith of Januarie, hir maiestie was with great solemnitie crowned at Westminster in the abbeie church there, by doctor Oglethorpe bishop of Carleill. She dined in Westminster hall, which was richlie hung, and euerie thing ordered in such rotall maner, as to such a regall and most solemne feast apertained.

In the meane time, whilest hir grace sat at dinner, sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by office, came riding into the hall in faire complet armor, mounted vpon a beautifull courser, richlie trapped in cloth of gold, entred the hall, and in the midst thereof cast downe his gantlet: with offer to fight with him in hir quarell, that should denie hir to be the righteous and lawfull queene of this realme. The queene taking a cup of gold full of wine, dranke to him thereof, and sent it to him for his fee, together with the couer.

Now after this, at the serning vp of the wafers, the lord maior of London went to the cupbord, and filling a cup of gold with ipocrasse, bare it to the queene: and kneeling before hir tooke the assaie, and she receiuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the cup with the couer vnto the said lord maior for his fee, which cup and couer weied sixteene ounces Troie weight. Finallie, this feast being celebrated with all rotall ceremonies, and high solemnities, due and in like cases accustomed, tooke end with great ioy and contentation to all the beholders. On wednesdaie the fiue and twentith of Januarie the parlement began, the queenes maiestie riding in hir parlement robes, from hir palace of Whitehall, vnto the abbeie church of Westminster, with the lords spirituall and temporall, attending hir likewise in their parlement robes. Doctor Cox sometime schoolemaister to king Edward the first, and now latelie returned from the parties of beyond the seas, where during the daies of queene Marie he had liued as a banished man, preached now before the estates there assembled in the beginning of the said parlement. John Stow.

In this parlement the first fruits and tenths were restored to the crowne, & also the supreame gouernment ouer the state ecclesiasticall, which queene Marie had giuen to the pope. Likewise the booke of common praier and administration of the sacraments in our mother tong was restored. The first fruits and tenths restored to the crowne.

But before this good worke was agreed vpon, there was much debating about matters touching religion, and great studie on both parties imploied, the one to retaine still, the other to impugne the doctrine and faction which before in queene Maries time had beene established. But speciallie here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industrie on the papists side, to hold fast that which they most cruellie from time to time had studied, and by all meanes practised to come by; yet notwithstanding, such was the prouidence of God at that time, that for lacke of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken awaie by death a little before, the resdue that there were left could do the lesse: and in verie deed, God be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect; although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neither will nor labor to do what they could, if their cruell abilitie there might haue serued. But namelie amongst all others, not onelie the industrious courage of doctor Storie, but also his words in this parlement are worthie to be knowne of posteritie, who like a stout and furious champion of the popes side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what he had, and would do in his maisters quarell, shamed not openlie in the said parlement house to burst out into such impudent sort of words, as was wonder to all good eares to heare, and no lesse worthie of historie. Abr. Fl. ex Iohan. Foxi martyrologio. Doctor Storie impudent and sawcie.

The summe of which his shameles talke was vttered to this effect. First beginning with himselfe, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonlie abroad, and much complained of, to haue beene a great doer, & a setter forth of such religion, orders, & proceedings, as of his late soueraigne that dead is queene Marie were set forth in this relme, he denied nothing the same: protesting moreouer that he had done nothing therein, but that both his conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also both discharge him for the same: being no lesse readie now also to do the like, and more, in case he by this queene were authorized likewise, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore as I see (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of; so lesse I see to be sorie for: but rather said that he was sorie for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those lawes, they had not beene more vehement & seuere. Wherein he said, there was no default in him, but in them whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little greeued with them, for that they labored onelie about the twig and little sprigs and twigs, while they should haue stroken at the rot, and cleane haue roted it out: &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an earewig (for so he termed it) at Vrbridge, where he tost a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes, and set a wispe full of thorns vnder his feet, a little to pricke him, with manie other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreouer sir Philip Hobbie, and an other knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whome his counsell was to pluck at, & to bring them vnder *Coram*; wherein (said he) if they had followed my aduise, they had they done well and wiselie. This or much like

The words of doctor Storie in the parlement house.

This martyr burnt at Vrbridge was maister Denlete.

As religious a princesse as queene Elisabeth as euer she was.

Hir coronation at Westminster.

Sir Edward Dimmocke knight hir champion by office.

The lord maior of London serueth the queene of ipocrasse.

Parlement.

The first day of the parlement.

The first act of the parlement.

The first fruits and tenths restored to the crowne.

The booke of common praier restored.

Abr. Fl. ex Iohan. Foxi martyrologio.

Doctor Storie impudent and sawcie.

The words of doctor Storie in the parlement house.

This martyr burnt at Vrbridge was maister Denlete.

Of one that wept for ioy and vnward gladnesse.

The humblenesse of the queene in receiuing hir offices of hir poore subiects thankefullie.

*where hir mind then was no doubt in heauen vpon God.

The queenes maiestie is not forgetfull to glorifie God who glorified hir.

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clemencie, and wisdome vttered in this speech.

if by great sute made to the councell by the lord maior of London, he had not beene pardoned and released out of prison. This penance was assigned to him by the queenes owne appointment, when to hir grace his trespasse was revealed. Whereby she gaue a taste to the people of a zealous mind to haue iustice dulie ministred, and faults accordinglie punished, namelie of those which vnder pretense of hir graces authoritie should go about to wrong and oppresse hir loving subiects.

This yeere in the Easter holidaies on the monday preached at the Spittle doctor Bill, on the tuesdaie doctor Cox, & on the wednesdaie doctor Horne: the first was hir maiesties chapleine, the other two had remained at Geneua, and in other places beyond the seas all queene Maries time. On low sundaie maister Samson made the rehearsall sermon: but when the lord maior and aldermen came to their places in Paules churchyard, the pulpit doore was locked, & the keie could not be heard of. Whervpon the lord maior sent for a smith to open the locke, which was done; and when the preacher should enter the place, it was found verie filthie and vncleanlie. Moreouer, the verger that had the custodie of the keie, which opened the doore of the place where the prelats and other vse to stand at the sermon time, would not open the doore; but the gentlemen with a some brake it open, and so came in to heare the sermon. This disorder chanced by reason that since Christmasse last past there was not a sermon preached at Paules crosse, by meanes of an inhibition sent from the councell vnto the bishop of London, that he should admit no preacher, because of the controuersie betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie that were now returned into the realme, from the parties of beyond the seas.

The last of March the parlement yet continuing, was a conference begun at Westminster concerning certeine articles of religion betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie on the one part, and certeine learned preachers of whome some had beene in dignitie in the church of England before that time on the other part. The declaration of the proceeding therin, and the cause of the breaking vp of the same conference by default and contempt of certeine bishops, parties of the said conference was published in a little treatise, and imprinted by Richard Iug and John Cawood, printers to the queenes maiestie, as here followeth. The queenes most excellent maiestie, hauing heard of diuersitie of opinions in certeine matters of religion amongst sundrie of hir louing subiects, and being verie desirous to haue the same reduced to some godlie & christian concord, thought it best by the aduise of the lords, and other of hir priuie councell, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtfull, as also for the knowledge of the verie truth in certeine matter of difference, to haue a conuenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, & to confer togither their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement.

And hereupon by hir maiesties commandement certeine of hir priuie councell declared this purpose to the archbishop of Yorke (being also one of the same priuie councell) & required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choise of eight, nine, or ten of them: and that there should be the like number named of the other part: and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soone as possible might be agreed vpon. And then after certeine daies past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed by such of the bishops, to whome he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is: to sate, foure bishops, and foure doctors, who were content at the queenes maiesties commandement to shew their opinions; and (as he termed it) render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that specialls in writing, although he said they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute vpon them.

It was hereupon fullie resolued by the queenes maiestie, with the aduise aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for auoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops should, bicause they were in authoritie and degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing: and the other number being also eight men of good degree in schooles, and some hauing beene in dignitie in the church of England, if they had anie thing to sate to the contrarie, should the same date declare their opinions in like manner. And so ech of them should deliuer their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improued therein, and the same to declare againe in writing at some other conuenient date, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fullie agreed vpon with the archbishop of Yorke, and also signified to both parties. And immediatlie hereupon, diuerse of the nobilitie and states of the realme, vnderstanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certeine matters, whereupon (the court of parlement consequentlie following) some lawes might be grounded: they made earnest meanes to hir maiestie, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tong, and that in the presence of them of the nobilitie, and others of the parlement house, for the better satisfaction and inabling of their owne iudgements, to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend hereupon.

This also being thought verie reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fullie agreed vpon, and the date appointed for the first meeting to be the fridaie in the forenoone, being the last of March at Westminster church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the queenes maiesties commandement, the lords and others of the priuie councell were present, and a great part of the nobilitie also. And notwithstanding the former order appointed, and consented vnto by both parts, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, alleging that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so onelie recited out of the booke, said their booke was not readie they written: but they were prouided to argue and dispute, and therefore would for that time repeat in speech that which they had to sate vnto the first proposition. This variation from the order, and specialls from that which themselues had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subuersion of the hearer; seemed vnto the queenes maiesties councell somewhat strange: & yet was it permitted without anie great reprehension, bicause they excused themselues with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not faile but put it in writing; and according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part. And so the said bishop of Winchester and his collegues appointed doctor Cole deane of Paules, to be the vtterer of their minds, who partlie by speech onelie, and partlie by reading of authorities written, and at certeine times being informed of his colleagues what to sate, made a declaration of their meanings, & their reasons to their first proposition. Which being ended, they were asked by the priuie councell, if anie of them

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A most excellent answer of a most excellent princesse.

Preachers at Spittle.

The pulpit at Paules croſſe all beraied and beaſſie.

The queenes promise howsoeuer God incline hir hart.

The queenes words touching an helpe to all the last part of their motion.

Conference appointed concerning religion.

The returne of the protestants from exile.

The best learned of each side to be chosen by this conference.

One set on the pillorie; and why, as punishment at the queene by hir owne mouth appointed him.

The persons chosen & the propositions made by them as hereafter follow.

Order taken for quiet conference, and regard had of the bishops according to their dignitie.

The date for the first meeting of this conference appointed.

The bishop of Winchesters waste of proceeding misliked but yet in fine followed notwithstanding the contrarie prouided.

The maner of their first entrance into this conference.

campe, trauelled most earnestlie to doo good betwixt the parties, and to bring them to a finall accord, whose endeuor therein was to the great good liking & contentation of all the said parties. After that this treatie had continued a long time, and now rested nothing to staie them frō concluding a generall peace, but onelie the article touching Calis, at length that matter was also accorded by a speciall treatie betwixt the quéenes maiestie of England, & the French king, Guido Canalcanti a gentleman of Florence being the meane to bring the same to effect. The substance of which articles was, that Calis should rest in the Frenchmens hands, for the terme of eight yéres, and at the end of that terme, they couenanted to render the same: or else for default, to forfeit vnto the quénes highnesse the summe of fiue hundred thousand crownes; and for suertie hereof, to deliuer foure hostages, such as hir maiestie should thinke sufficient. And in case the towne were not deliuered at the end of the said eight yéres, though the monie were paid according to the couenants: yet notwithstanding the right and title to the said towne and countrie adioining, should alwaies remaine and be reserued vnto the crowne and realme of England. It was further concluded also, that a peace should be firmed and had betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, such fortresses to be rased as had bæn built and made by the Scots and French on the borders towards England, as Haimouth and others.

Ludouico Guicciardine. The articles of the peace betwixt the queenes maiestie and the French king.

Sir John Mason knight, secretarie for the French tong, was sent ouer in post with instructions vnto the English commissioners, after whose comming, within two or three daies, a generall peace was concluded betwixt all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpose omitted. But now after the conclusion of this peace, the said sir John Mason returned in post with the same: and so thereupon, the seuenth of Aprill, the said peace was proclamed; to wit, betwixt the quénes maiestie on the one part, and the French king on the other, their realmes, dominions, and subiects; and likewise betwixt hir said maiestie and the king Dolphin and quéne of Scots his wife, their realmes, dominions, and subiects. This proclamation was made by Garter Norreie king at armes, accompanied with three other heralds, & fiue trumpettors: the lord maior of London & the aldermen in their scarlet gowns being also present, & riding in companie of the said heralds.

Sir John Mason knight.

A generall peace betwixt the kings of France and Spaine.

The peace proclamed.

The same time also was another proclamation made vnder the quénes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenseforth no plaies nor interludes should be exercised, till Allhallowes tide next insuing. Upon saturdaie the two and twentith of Aprill, the lord Wentworth, late deputie of Calis, was araigned at Westminster, vpon an indictment of treason found against him, in the late quéne Maries daies, for the losse of Calis: but he was acquited by his péeres, the lord marquesse of Northampton sitting that daie as cheefe steward of England, vnder the cloth of estate. The eight of Maie, the parlement brake vp; in which parlement, beside other things before recited, concluded, and passed in the same; a subsidie was granted to the quénes highnesse, of two shillings eight pence the pound of moueable goods, and foure shillings of lands, to be paid at two seuerall paiments, of euerie person spirituall and temporall, towards the better furnishing of hir maiestie with monie, for the necessarie charges which she was presentlie occasioned to sustaine, finding the treasure of the realme greatlie consumed, and the reuenues of the crowne sore diminished, and the same crowne much indebted, by taking vp of notable summes of monie by waie of loane vpon interest, as well in the daies of hir brother K. Edward, as hir sister quéne Marie. The fourtéenth of Maie being Whitsundaie, the seruice in churches began according to the booke of cómon praier, set forth and established in this last parlement, correspondent to that which was vsed in the daies of hir brother king Edward. Upon sundaie the second of Julie, the citizens of London set forth a muster before the quénes maiestie at Greenwich in the parke there, of the number of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikes, armed in fine corselets, faire hundred shot in shirts of male, with morians, & two hundred halbarders armed in Almaine riuets: these were furnished forth by the crafts and companies of the citie. Foure hundred two withers were assigned, richlie appointed and apparelled for the purpose. There were also twelue wardens of the best companies mounted on horsebacke in coats of blacke veluet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and six ensignes, all in ierkins of white sattin of Bridges, cut and lined with blacke sarsenet, and caps, hosen, and scarfs according. The sergeant Maiors, capteine Constable, and capteine Sanders, brought them in order before the quénes presence, placing them in battell arraie, euen as they should haue fought; so as the shew was verie faire, the emperours and the French kings ambassadors being present.

John Stow. A muster at Greenwich by the citizens of London in presence of the quéne.

In this moneth also, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtéene or foureténe, being called before the quénes councell, and refusing to receiue the oth touching hir maiesties supremasie, and other articles, were deprined from their bishopricks: in whose romes and places, first for cardinall Pole, succéeded doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canturburie. In the place of Heth, succeeded doctor Young. In stéed of Boner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlbie, Cunstall, Pates, Chyttoherson, Peto, Coats, Morgan, Feasie, White, Dglethorpe, &c: were placed doctor John Parkhurst in Norwich. D. Cox in Elie, Jewell in Salisburie, Pilkenton in Duresme, doctor Sands in Worcester, maister Downam in Westchester, Bentam in Couentrie and Lichfield, Dauid in S. Dauies, Allie in Excester, Horne in Winchester, Scorie in Hereford, Best in Carleill, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterburie, Bartlet in Bath, Gest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c. In like maner, were diuerse deans, archdeacons, parsons, & vicars, remoued from their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower, Fléet, Marshalsea, and Kings bench.

Bishops deprined and other succeeding. John Fox.

Moreouer, about the same time were commissioners appointed to visit in euerie diocesse within the relme, for the establishment of religion, according to the order appointed by act and statute, passed and confirmed in the last parlement. For London were appointed sir Richard Sackuill knight, Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, doctor Haie a ciuilian, and maister Sauage; who calling before them diuerse persons of euerie parish, sware them to inquire and make presentment accordinglie, vpon certeine iniunctions drawne and deuised, for the better accomplishment and execution of that which they had in charge. Furthermore, about the same time, by vertue of an act established in parlement, all such religious houses as were againe erected and set vp, were now suppressed, as the abbeies of Westminster, the houses of the nuns and brethren of the Sion and Shéene, the blacke friers of Grēenwich, &c. And on the twelfe of August being saturdaie, the high altar in Paules church, with the rood & the images of Marie and John, standing in the rood loft, were taken downe, & the prebendaries and petie canons commanded to weare no more their graie amises, but to vse onelie a surplice in seruice time. This was done by commandement

Commissioners sent abrode for establishing of religion.

Religious houses suppressed.

Images taken downe and burned in the streets.

…maiestie of … and was … the erle … rt Dud… …ycomen, …receiued of …ourt, on the …ne of abont …d, conueied …outhwarke, …ere, and re… …after home, …appeare by …Lewenclay…

…bus late …mitted to …whom a lit… …on an am… …sued to for …e the second …e notwith… …fell out) his …ter with the …Flanhellen, …reiected …knowne …ut the la… …olfe duke …Denmarke, …e Iohannes …m London …Tolseie, of …this booke …reuerend a …affaires by …can yet …condi… …ndshire, …heard) the …entleman: …England …is his bar… …rmes three …nall of his …sed to haue …and other …, whereof …night be …fluence, …ituall & …since and …ie other of… …the rols: …es, bishop …Clement …ght in the …aduanced …ters) elec… …he which …nesse of …church …ne not …till onlie …one that …the bloud …religion. …ie of this …ned (as …Yedzue, …celie erect …rd man …n a li… …brarie

then returned into England.

The quæenes maiestie sued vnto out of Denmarke about mariage.

Iohannes Lewenclaij. Fr. Thin. Description and commendation of bishop Tunstall.

The armes of Tunstall.

Tunstall bare office.

brarie in Cambridge, with manie notable both written and printed bookes: compiling also manie other bookes, aswell of diuinitie as of other sciences, whereof at this daie his arithmetike is of great estimation through Europe) but did also for the flesh & outward man build from the ground a most beautifull porch or gatehouse (with a chappell annexed thereunto) of faire stone in the castell of Durham, withall adding vnto the said castell certeine gates with iron bars and portcullices supported with strong walles of stone on each part for the more strength against the enimie: not forgetting to make a water-conduit for the ease of washing (and to serue the other offices in the house) on the left side of the entrance into the said castell. To which these sumptuous deeds (for they are verie heroicall) may be added, the gatehouse built at Alnewike, and the tolbooth in the market of Durham all of stone, with the rest of the houses of office next vnto the hinder part of the said tolbooth, which afterward (with other great liberalities) he gaue to the citizens of Durham.

Buildings framed by Tunstall, &c.

Lastlie (at his owne charge) he new repared with stonewoorke the third part of Cinbridge, which his predecessour Thomas Langleis recouered against the manor of Newcastell: and which, others his predecessors (as occasion was offered therefore) did from time to time most statelie repare. In the end about the latter reigne of Edward the sixt (being by Kinian or Ninian, Menuile or Menille, accused, for that he somewhat fauoured the Romane religion, and was not so forward in furthering of the gospell as that time required) he was for that cause depriued from his bishoprike, from all other ecclesiasticall gouernment, and committed to the tower: where he remained all the time of K. Edward. Afterward (by the benefit of quæne Marie) in the first yeare of hir reigne, he was reinuested into his see of Durham, which he possessed all the time of hir gouernement: during which he was not so seuere an executor of the Romane canons against the protestants, as the other bishops of England were.

Tunstall deprined from his bishoprike.

Tunstall restored.

But she not continuing long (such are the inconstancies of our estates & vncerteinties of our troubles) he was againe (by the noble quæne Elisabeth) depriued of his bishoprike, after disputation and conference had at Westminster: in which he defended the Roman religion, in the first yeare of the said Elisabeth, about the truth of Christs gospell: and was committed to Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, who vsed him verie honourablie, both for the grauitie, learning and age of the said Tunstall. But he not long remaining vnder the ward of the said bishop, did shortlie after the eighteenth of Nouember in the yeare 1559 depart this life at Lambeth, where he first receiued his consecration, being a man of such age, as that he atteined to the number of foure score & fiue years when he died. He was buried in the quære of the church of Lambeth, whose funerall sermon was done by Alexander Nowell, then (& now in the yeare 1586) deane of Poules. Who taking this theame to intreat vpon, Blessed are they which die in the Lord, did there deliuer such liberall & singular commendation of this man for his vertuous life, lerning, grauitie, and good seruice done to manie princes of England, that more could not be said of anie man, being spoken trulie. Such force hath vertue, that we ought to commend it euen in our enimies, ouer whose dead carcase in the said church of Lambeth is laid a faire marble, in which is ingraued this epitaph of his, deuised by doctor Walter Haddon:

Tunstalls death.

Mat. Par. in act. Cant. ca. Wil. Warham.

Anglia Cutbertum Tunstallum mœsta requirit,
Cuius summa domi laus erat atq; foris:
Rhetor, arithmeticus, iuris consultus & æqui,
Legatiss; fuit, deniq; præsul erat.
Annorum satur, & magnorum plenus honorum,
Pertitur in cineres, aureus iste senex.

This man was (as it should appeare in stories) full of contumacie and selfe will, vntractable he was and of nature rebellious. For saith maister Fox in the reigne of king Edward, being cast into the tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmasse three yeares together, more worthie of some other place without the tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to haue meant a further plague to this realme by that man. Yoiwbeit he was indued with such excellencie of lerning, and that of sundrie sutes, that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that age wherein he liued: and albeit a papist, yet not depriuable of the praise which it pleased God to prouide for him (being an enimie vnto the truth, perhaps through feare as manie more) by those rare and manifold good meanes wherewith he was adorned. Insomuch that Leland, a man of a cleare iudgement and great insight to discerne betweene substantiallie and superficiallie learned, comparing this bishop Tunstall with prosound Budeus, saith as foloweth:

John Fox.

Collatio Budei & Cuberti Tunstalli.

Quæ te nostra canet Tunstalle Britannia laude?
An qua Budæum Gallia docta suum?
Candidus ille studet Græcam celebrare Mineruam,
Græcorum celebras tu monumenta patrum.
Ille colit veteres intento pectore leges,
Sunt studij leges cura diserta tui.
Ille rudes assis docuit cognoscere partes,
Tu numeros primus verba Latina loqui.
Gallia causidicum tecum dignare Britannum
Conferri, niueis dignus vterq; notis.]

In this meane time, through controuersie raised betwirt the Scotish nobilitie, and the quæne Dowager of Scotland, which chanced especiallie about matters of religion, certeine of the lords there minding a reformation therein; and the quæne resisting them to hir power, in purpose to mainteine the old popish religion, which some name catholike; diuerse companies of souldiers and men of war were sent out of France into Scotland to aid the said quæne, where they were placed in diuerse townes and forts, to the high displeasure of the more part of the Scotish nobilitie: who lothing to be oppressed with strangers in that sort, were forced to sue vnto the quæne of England for aid to expell the French, who sought to subuert the ancient state of that realme, and to annex the same vnto the crowne of France.

Anno Reg. 2. Trouble in Scotland.

Frenchmen sent into Scotland.

The Scots sue to the quæns maiestie of England for aid against the French.

Their sute was the better liked of, for that it was doubted, least the Frenchmen (vnder pretense of bringing an armie into Scotland to appease the Scots) might attempt some inuasion here in England, considering that by procurement (as was thought) of the duke of Guise, vncle to the quæne of France and Scotland, a title should seeme to be pretended by his neece, the foresaid quæne, as might be gathered by manifest coniectures of the disturping of armes, and so forth. The names of the lords of Scotland that made sute for aid against the Frenchmen at this season, were these: the duke of Chateau le reault, the earle of Arraine his sonne, the lord James prior of saint Andrews, the earle of Argile, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Rothouse, the earle of Southerland, the earle of Mounteith, the earle of Huntleie, the earle of Cathnes, the earle of Erroll, the earle Marshall, the earle of Morton, the earle of Cassils, the earle of Eglenton, the earle of Montros, the lord Ruthuen, the lord Bold, the lord Ogletree, the lord Erskin, the lord Drmond, the lord Hume, the lord Rose, the lord Creighton, the lord Leuingston, the lord Somerwell, the maister of Lindseie, the maister of Parwell.

The lords of Scotland that were confederat togither against the French.

The quænes maiestie, with aduise of hir graces councell, considering of this weightie businesse, and withall

horsemen, the vantgard and battell, were commanded to march forth, who accordingtie passing forward alongst by the place where the duke & Scotish lords stood, held vpon their waie, till they approched neere to Lesserike.

At their comming thither, Tromboll, the quæne regents trumpet, came to my lord lieutenant, and brought with him a safe conduct, giuen vnder hir hand & seale, for the safe repaire of sir James Croft, sir George Howard, and sir others to accompanie them. Whereupon they preparing themselues to go to hir (after they had talked with my lord lieutenant, and the duke Chateau le reault) they departed towards Edenburgh, where the said quæne as then laie within the castell. There went with them maister Summerset, maister Pelham, and foure other gentlemen. Whilest they were in conference with the quæne, although an abstinence of all hostilitie by appointment taken betwixt my lord Grete and the said quæne ought to haue ceassed, the Frenchmen to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand foot, backed with fiue hundred corselets and pikes, & about fiftie horsemen, were come forth of Leith, vnder the conduction of monsieur Doisell, and the counte Martigues, coronell of the French footmen. My lord Grete vnderstanding thereof, came vp to the hill, appointed an officer at armes called Rouge Croslle, to go vnto them, with commandement from him, that they should retire their forces forth of the field into the towne of Leith: for if it were not for the promise which he had made to the quæne Dowager, he would cause them to depart, not much to their ease.

The herald doing his message, receiued answer, that they were vpon their maister and mistresse ground, and therefore meant not to remoue from it. Rouge Crosse returning with this answer, was sent againe from my lord lieutenant, to command them effsoons to go their way backe to Leith: for if they did not, he would suerlie send them awaie with a mischiefe. But scarse had the herald done this second message, when the Frenchmen stepping forth, discharged a whole volee of their shot into the field against my lord Grete and his companie. Hereupon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish, which continued for the space of foure houres and more, so hot & earnestlie maintained on both parts, that the like had not lightlie beene seene manie a day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen droue the French footmen ouer the hill, wan the crag from them, and put them from a chappell, where they had stood a great while, vsing it for a couert and safegard for them against the Englishmens shot.

Then the enimies that were in Leith shot off diuerse peeces of their great artillerie out of the towne against the Englishmen, who on the other part brought forth two field peeces, and couered them with a troope of horsemen; and hauing planted them to some aduantage, discharged the same among the enimies: who perceiuing that, gaue place, & suddenlie the English demilances gaue a charge, brake in amongst them, and slue diuerse. To conclude, they were put from their ground, and forced to retire backe into Leith, being followed vnhæere to the verie gates of that towne. There were slaine in this skirmish of the French, about a seuen score, and amongst them twelue men of name, beside some of them that remained prisoners. Of the Englishmen, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt. But if the ground had bin knowen to the Englishmen, and what aduantage was offered to them by that presumptuous comming of the enimies so far from their hold, it was thought their whole power might easilie haue beene cut off, and vtterlie distressed. After that this skirmish was ended, and the Frenchmen driuen into Leith, the armie incamped at Lesserike. The same daie the Scotish hostages were imbarked to passe into England. Towards euening, sir James Croft, and sir George Howard, returned from the quæne regent, after they had spent a long time in talke with hir.

On sundaie the seuenth of Aprill, a new trench was cast beside the crag, and thereon two peeces of ordinance planted. The same daie, sir James Croft, sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, went againe vpon assurance, to talke with the quæne Dowager. Mondaie the eight of Aprill, the Frenchmen shot at the English campe verie sore out of S. Nicholas steeple, where there were two great peeces placed for to annoie them, although they did no great hurt. But the same night, the Englishmen cast a trench beyond the crag, and placed in the same trench certeine small peeces of artillerie, which went off the next daie against the enimies: and they likewise shot off againe at the Englishmen; and so likewise on wednesdaie the tenth of Aprill, on which daie, a great part of the carriages for the great ordinance, and diuerse bullets for the same, were landed, and much thereof remoued, and brought to the innermost trench. Thursdaie the eleuenth of Aprill, the great ordinance was landed, and two peeces thereof mounted into their carriages.

The twelfe of Aprill being good fridaie, a bullet of a great peece of ordinance, being shot out of Leith earlie in the morning, did light in the campe, and slue three men. The same night, they were answered againe with foure or fiue canons, and demicanons. Saturdaie was spent in warding the trenches, and mounting the great artillerie. Sundaie the fourteenth of Aprill, being Easter daie, the Englishmen shot off in the morning all their great ordinance, and the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so they continued most part of that day, in shooting one at another. The footmen also skirmished so, that diuerse were hurt on both parts. The same day, the pile of Blacknesse was surrendred to maister Winter, vpon sight of the canon. There were within it eightæne Frenchmen, who were brought awaie prisoners, and the house deliuered to maister James Hamilton. The same daie, nine Frenchmen apparelled like women, came forth of Leith, and counterfeiting some like demeanor to the apparell wherein they were disguised, trained one of the English skouts within their danger, whome they tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set vpon the top of one of their church steeples.

Mondaie the fiftæenth of Aprill about none, there issued out of Leith a fiftie horsemen, and about fiue hundred harquebusiers: who making to the new trenches, were vpon the Englishmen that warded in such wise vpon the sudden, before they could be brought into anie order; that so entring the trenches, they slue and wounded no small number: and possessing the trenches a while, stopped and cloied the touch holes of three peeces of the artillerie, take maister Maurice Barkeleie prisoner, and his ensigne. Brian Fitz Williams was sore wounded, and a soule fright there was. The alarum being brought to the campe, sir James Croft and other repaired toward the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing the Frenchmen to be maisters of one of the trenches, he called to capteine Vaughan, commanding him with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue those that were hardlie beset of the Frenchmen.

This was done with great manhood shewed by the said Vaughan and others, who entring the trench, repelled the enimies, and slue fifteene of them that were in the trench. Capteins Summerset and capteine

The Frenchmen driuen into Leith.

Saint Nicholas Steeple planted with two great hot peeces.

Ordinance landed.

Good fridaie to some bad fridaie.

Warre maketh no difference of time.

The pile of Blackenesse surrendred.

Nine Frenchmen in womens apparell.

Blacke mondaie.

The Frenchmen win the trench.

Maister Barkeleie taken prisoner.

The Frenchmen repelled, and some of them slaine.

Dom. 1560.

lws, lard oilitie fer they de alte- o of the em, and horsles, e of an d so de- freie, Ho- ilkie- of the full two with his Argile, hus, the Ruth- Boid, the e maister bat of rd of lard hun- on foot, er cour- they en- 1, neere ncell the t night. , from . On freie, corge r cap- house d a halfe , and the ble men em into nce togi- ffer din- t to salt Hurls- , ap- bound forced es were vnto the las halfe rchebald Gream nes Co- e: they mained being n salt e from eat, the aine, the aint An- cotland, or there the com- the lord George them, ther of In the gh, the horsemen,

The earle of Arraine accompanied with other of the Scotish nobilitie.

The duke of Chateaule rault and his companie.

The English and Scotish gentlemen meet, embrace, and commune.

The Scotish pledges appointed to passe into England.

A crag called Arthurs seat.

Conference betweene the English and Scotish.

Sir James Croft, and sir George Howard, went to talke with the quæne.

My lord Greis message sent to the Frenchmen.

3 sharpe and long skirmish betweene both parts.

The Frenchmen repelled by the Englishmen.

T. Churchyard.

The number of the English and French slaine.

teine Read with their bands followed them also, as they retired, and maister Arthur Greie, with certeine of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, suddenlie came vpon them, and charging them with great courage, draue them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge maister Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder. The great artillerie in Leith was not idle, during this skirmish, discharging to the number of an hundred shot, greatlie to the annoiance of the English, and hinderance of the seruice, which else might by them haue beene atchiued. This night the Englishmen drew backe their ordinance, which the Frenchmen had cloied with nailes and wiers in the touch-holes, but the same were planted againe before daie. Moreouer, our pioners cast a new trench along by the old chapell.

Maister Arthur Greie hurt in the shoulder.

A new supplie commeth to the armie, the capteines names.

Tuesdaie the sixteenth of Aprill, a supplie of two thousand & two hundred footmen came to the campe, ouer whome were capteins, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Rowland Stanleie, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Arthur Manwering, sir Laurence Smith, maister Francis Tunstall, maister Edward Littleton, capteine Caruell, Philip Sturleie, and Dauid Morris. They were garded with fiue hundred horsemen: sir Rafe Sadler, sir Francis Leake, sir John Forster, and sir Nicholas Strange hauing charge to see them safelie conducted: who after they had brought them past all danger of enimies, left them in safetie by the waie, & were come a daie or two before them to the campe.

A hot alarum of an houres continuance.

Wednesdaie the seuententh of Aprill, it rained sore the more part of the daie; but yet the same night maister Winter caused diuerse of the shipbotes, being verie well manned, to giue a great alarum at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging manie basses and harquebusiers of Croke into the towne: the alarum was verie hot for the space of an houre. During this businesse there was a right pitifull crie made by the women and children within the towne. The pioners being applied in worke to

Ordinance planted in trenches.

make trenches, on fridaie all daie at night they placed certeine peeces of the ordinance in the trenches beside the chappell.

Saturdaie the twentith of Aprill, manie peeces were shot off out of the trenches into the towne. There issued notwithstanding out at the gates an hundred shot, which placed themselues in the holes of the bankes, to hailse such of the Englishmen as came forth to offer the skirmish. All this daie also the pioners, both Scots and English were occupied in making of a new trench nere to the towne. Sir Gernis Clifton & capteine Read with their bands garded them, and two hundred lances. The same daie the residue of the great ordinance with armour

The bishop of Valence and his companie.

was brought on land. Sundaie the one and twentith of Aprill, the bishop of Valence named Monluc, accompanied with sir Henrie Persie, and three hundred light horsemen came to Lesserike: the lord lieutenant, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, and sir Rafe Sadler met him at the further end of the ward that was set of purpose for his entring into the campe. After they had receiued him with salutations according vnto the manner, he was conducted by Rouge Croise the officer of armes from the campe into Edenburgh, and so went vp to the castell to conferre

A skirmish of two houres continuance.

with the queene Dowager. He was no sooner entred into the castell, but that there issued forth of Leith the number of two hundred Frenchmen about twelue of the clocke, and began a hot skirmish, which continued two houres, at the which diuerse were slaine on both parts.

More ordinance planted.

The same night the lord lieutenant caused nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench: so that the next daie being mondaie, the same peeces were shot off verie earlie, directlie towards the steeple of saint Anthonies church. And although those peeces late a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinance that late in the same steeple were dismounted by them; and likewise those that late in the steeple of saint Nicholas church, at the which diuerse peeces were leuied, and within six or seuen time the peeces that late in that steeple were also displaced, and a gunner slaine that stood at one of them, the peece and the gunner comming tumbling downe both together. In this church (as was reported) their store of victels and munition was laid, so that batterie was made against the same all that daie, and a great peece of the church wall beaten downe, and the steeple defaced. The bishop of Valence, after he had talked with the quéene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congregation.

The enimies ordinance displaced.

A fort raised.

Tuesdaie the three and twentith of Aprill, being saint Georges daie, the pioners Scotish and English were busilie applied in worke about the casting of trenches to make a fort; and still the artillerie went off against the towne. Wednesdaie the foure and twentith of Aprill about three of the clocke in the after noone, there issued out of Leith seauenténe horsemen, who offered the skirmish: and vnder the place called little London, where they were busie in fortifieng all that daie, three or foure hundred of their shot were placed readie to breake out, if occasion serued. At length certeine of the English lances gaue a charge vpon their horsemen, who therewith retiring, drew the Englishmen within danger of their shot. But although the Frenchmen that daie shewed themselues verie valiant in skirmishing euen in the face of the English artillerie: yet being now egerlie pursued by those lances, they were forced to retire without anie great hurt done to the Englishmen, although the skirmish continued nere hand two houres. In this last charge yong maister Browne was hurt.

A skirmish.

The French repelled.

Thursdaie the fiue and twentith of Aprill, the pioners laboured sore for the most part of the daie in finishing the new fort named Montpelham: to the gard whereof capteine Vaughan was appointed gouernor, with twelue hundred soldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of the towne, the plot whereof was cast square, with foure bulworks at euerie corner, and twelue battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the same. This thursdaie also, about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, there issued out of Leith on the east side seauentie or eightie horsemen, and two hundred harquebusiers, offering the skirmish, towards whome certeine of the English light horsemen roundlie made, and charging them, drone them backe to their footmen, who with their shot receiued the light horsemen so sharplie, that they were forced to retire. In which retire James Hamilton a Scotishman was taken prisoner, for the rescue of whome the horsemen made forward againe: but the enimies shot was so hot, that they were not able to recouer him; but yet they slue two of the French horsemen in sight.

The new fort called Montpelham.

Another skirmish.

James Hamilton taken prisoner.

During the time of this skirmish, there was great shooting off with the great ordinance on both sides, & much hurt done as well to the English as French. This daie capteine Perith, and capteine Yaies, hauing charge of a troope of light horsemen vnder sir Henrie Persie, and the lord of Grange were taken prisoners before Dunbar; and to the number of twentie or thirtie others were likewise taken or slaine the same time. The same night also, two thousand footmen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of the

Prisoners taken and slaine.

The armie remoueth from Lesse-lie to the red Braes.

the armie, which remoued the next day being fridaie, and the xx and twentith of Aprill from Lesserike downe into the valle by the said ranon milles called the red Braes, neere to the riuer side on the south part of the towne of Leith. As the armie was thus remouing from Lesserike towards the said place called the red Braes, the Frenchmen within Leith shot off manie of their great peeces of artillerie, but without doing anie great hurt. As the armie was incamping, certeine of the enimies horssemen and

A skirmish, and what was done in the same.

footmen skirmished with the English lances and light horssemen a long time, there were tvvo French men slaine and their horsses also. In the time of this skirmish two canons were conueied and planted in the new trench, which discharged diuerse shots at the enimies.

The planting of the great artillerie.

Saturdaie the seauenand twentith of Aprill, the great artillerie was planted aloft on the hill aboue the campe, within lesse than a curriers shot of the towne walles, and the pioners were set a worke to cast new trenches from the place where the same ordinance was lodged vnto Montpelham, drawing so neere vnto Leith, as the harquebus might reach them that watched and warded within the greene bulworke. There issued out of Leith vnder the west bulworke certeine of the Frenchmen, the which were chased into the towne by the lard of Grange and others. The French kept the same daie a trench which

A trench won from the enimies.

they had made without the towne, continuallie shooting at the Englishmen in the campe: but the same night the Englishmen won that trench from them, slue diuerse of them therein, togither with their scout. And this done, they gaue a great alarum to the towne both by land and water, the shipbotes shooting off against the towne verie hotlie, and they within the towne likewise at the Englishmen. The same night was the great ordinance planted, and maister Markham hurt. On sundaie the eight and

Great ordinance planted and discharged.

twentith of Aprill the said great ordinance went off, and shot continuallie the more part of that daie. The bishop of Valence departed the same daie towards Berwike: and this night sir George Howard that had beene sent backe to Berwike, to signifie to the duke of Norffolke the state of the siege, returned with sir Richard Lee, being conducted with fiue hundred horssemen.

A skirmish.

Mondaie the nine and twentith of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in shooting off verie hotlie, and the French likewise shot off theirs, and comming forth of the towne skirmished with the Englishmen. This night the pioners made new trenches toward the south bulworke. Tuesdaie the last of Aprill was spent in shooting off the great artillerie into the towne. About fiue of the clocke in the after none, a sudden fire was raised within the towne, which hugelie increased and continued the most part of that night. At the beginning when it

A fire in Leith, and augmented with shot of ordinance and powder thereto.

first appeered, the English ordinance was shot off to the place where the fire was, which shot togither with helpe of the wind, and being verie great at that present, did maruellouslie augment the same fire: yet nevertheless the French at that present time offered a skirmish, and continued the same neere hand for the space of two houres, manned their walles, and made the best prouision they might for doubt of some assault. It was indeed appointed, that certeine bands should make an alarum to the towne: in so much that captaine Vaughan with diuerse of the soldiors of Montpelham entred the ditch, and approching the walles, discouered the height of them. And notwithstanding that the French did what they could to annoie them in the diches with currier shot, yet did captaine Vaughan staie in the ditch a prettie while, and retired with his men without receiuing anie great hurt.

Captaine Vaughan.

Wednesdaie the first of Maie, the Frenchmen set vp verie earlie in the morning their Maie poles in certeine bulworks, and fourteene ensignes: the which being discouered of them in the campe, they saluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that daie. The same daie

Maie poles set vp in Leith on Maie daie.

A trench won from the French.

Iohn Brian lieutenant to captaine Capell, won a trench frō the French at the west side of the towne, and in despite of them kept it all that daie with the losse onelie of one man. Thursdaie the second of Maie, the pioners made the trenches for the artillerie to be planted in batteris. The night following they remoued and placed the same artillerie in the new trench: and the next morning being fridaie and the third of Maie, about foure of the clocke, the same batterie went off, and continued all that daie. In the

Captaine Vaughan vieweth the enimies slankers.

after none of the same daie certeine Frenchmen issued out of the west bulworke, and skirmishing with the Englishmen on that side the water, returned without anie great hurt.

The night insuing the pioners made a new trench by the citadell wherein they might lodge some shot, and captaine Vaughan with diuerse of the bands in Montpelham gaue two false assaults to the towne, entred the ditches, and viewed the slankers: whereupon the French shot off the same slankers, and manning their walles, shot off two or three volees of their small artillerie, slaieng and hurting to the number of twentie of the Englishmen. Amongother, little Norton lost his life that night, and so at length the residue returned. Saturdaie the fourth of Maie, there were three ensigns appointed to gard the new trenches, and towards night, when the ward should be releeued, and the watch set, the Frenchmen that were in the trench vnder the citadell, made a sallie vpon the sudden. Whereupon the Englishmen that

The French repelled by the English.

garded the said trench were constreined to abandon a great part thereof for a time: but yet the Englishmen efsoons taking courage, laid to them afresh, repelled them againe, & draue them backe into their owne trenches, slue foure of them in fight, and hurt manie others. This was the lot of warre, to be ouerthrowne by force of the enimie, as the poet saith:

Qui Martem experti, per vim subiguntur ab hoste.

Whilest this was in doing, the French had stuffed their bulworks and rampiers with curriers and harquebusiers of Croke, as thicke as was possible, which went off without ceassing at the Englishmen, for the space of an houre and more. The English artillerie planted in the trenches did answer them againe continuallie, and the great peeces did much hurt among them, in sight of them that watched in the same trenches. The same night the Englishmen conueied two culuerings ouer the water to scowre the mils: and before the breake of the daie they had burnt one of the same mils. Sundaie the fift of Maie

The mils burnt by the English and the French driuen from thense.

earlie in the morning at the releeuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure souldiors that belonged to the great ordinance issued out, and set fier on the other mill, which burnt verie outragiouslie without ceassing, for the space of an houre or more. The French began to assemble towards the mill, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceiued: for suddenlie the Englishmen cut two holes through their trenches, & placing in the same the two demiculuerings, shot them off at the Frenchmen, so that they were driuen to forsake the mill, and in their retire some of them were slaine.

This daie also, as foure French gentlemen came forth to discouer the English trenches, captaine Read commanded one of his souldiors to shot at them, but through mishap his peece burst, and a shiuer

thereof

The enimies ordinance displaced.

A sort raised.

A skirmish.

The French repelled.

The new fort called Montpelham.

Another skirmish.

James Hamilton taken prisoner.

Prisoners taken and slaine.

conuenient armor and weapons, as it is at this preſent. The one and twentith of March a notable Grammar ſchole was founded by the maiſter, wardens, and aſſiſtants of the right worſhipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London, in the pariſh of S. Laurence Pountneie in the ſame citie, the right worſhipfull Emanuell Lucar, Robert Roſe, William Merike, John Sparke, & Robert Duckington then maiſter and wardens of that companie.

The merchat tailors free ſchole.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Geffreie whipped, from the Marſhalſea in Southwarke, to Bedlem without Biſhops gate of London, for that he profeſſed one John Moze to be Chriſt our ſauior: on his head was ſet a paper, wherein was written as followeth: William Geffreie a moſt blaſphemous heretike, denieng Chriſt our ſauiour in heauen. The ſaid Geffreie being ſtaied at Bedlem gate, John Moze was brought forth, before whome William Geffreie was whipped, till he confeſſed Chriſt to be in heauen. Then the ſaid John Moze being examined, and anſwering ouerthwartlie, was commanded to put off his cote, doublet, and ſhirt; which he ſeemed to do verie willinglie, and after being tied to the cart, was whipped an arrowes ſhot from Bedlem, where at the laſt he alſo confeſſed Chriſt to be in heauen, and himſelfe to be a ſinfull man. Then was John Moze ſent againe into Bedlem, and Geffreie to the Marſhalſea, where they had laine priſoners nigh a yeare and a halfe, the one for profeſſing himſelfe to be Chriſt, the other a diſciple of the ſame Chriſt. On wedneſdaie the 4 of June, betweene foure & fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, the ſteeple of Paules in London being fired by lightning, braſt forth (as it ſeemed to the beholders) two or three yards beneath the fot of the croſſe, and from thence burnt downe the ſpire to the ſtonewoorke and bels, ſo terriblie, that within the ſpace of foure houres the ſame ſteeple with the roofes of the church, ſo much as was timber or otherwiſe combuſtible, were conſumed, which was a lamentable ſight and pitifull remembrance to the beholders therof. After this miſchance, the queens maieſtie being much grieued for the loſſe of ſo beautifull a monument, directed hir highneſſe letters to the maior of the citie of London, willing him to aſſemble the citizens to take ſome order for ſpeciall aid and helpe for the reparing againe of the ſaid monument. And the of hir moſt gratious diſpoſition, to giue a comfort to others for the furtherance thereof, did preſentlie giue and deliuer in gold one thouſand markes, and a warrant for a thouſand lode of timber, to be taken out of hir maieſties woods or elſewhere: and the citizens of London granted one beneuolence, and three fifteens to be forthwith paied. The clergie vnder the prouince of Canturburie granted the fortith part of the value of their benefices charged with firſt fruits, & not charged with firſt fruits the thirtith part. The clergie of the dioceſſe of London granted the thirtith part of their benefices in firſt fruits, and the twentith part out of firſt fruits. Now immediatlie by commandement of the quenes highneſſe, hir priuie councell toke order that ſix citizens of London, and two of the cleargie of the church of Paules, had charge and commandement to ouerſee and ſet forward this worke, who made ſuch erpedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole church, that is to ſaie, all the foure great roofes of the ſame were couered with boords and lead, after the maner of a falſe roofe. And the greatneſſe of the worke diſpatched in ſo ſhort time could ſcarſelie be credited of anie, but of ſuch as ſaw and knew the ſame. And the cauſe of this great haſt was for feare of raine, which might haue periſhed the bawtes, to the deſtruction of the whole church, & the people that were therein. And before the ſaid yeare was fullie ended, all the ſaid ſles of the ſaid church were made & framed of new timber, & couered with lead, & fullie finiſhed. And the ſame yeare alſo, the great roofe of the weſt end was framed, and made of new & great timber in Yorkeſhire, & brought to London by ſea, and ſet vp & couered with lead, and fullie finiſhed. And in like maner within the ſaid yeare, the whole roofe and frame of the eaſt end of the ſaid church was made in Yorkeſhire, & brought by ſea to London, and there laid readie to be raiſed when the ſeaſon of the yeare ſerued. This one thing reſteth to be told, that by eſtimation of wiſe men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted vnto it, will not perfect & finiſh the church and ſteeple in ſuch ſort as it was before the burning there of.

All the ſles of Paules made and framed of new timber.

Ten thouſand pounds inſufficient to repare Paules as it was at the firſt.

In this meane time alſo, by reaſon of the quenes maieſties letters directed to the maior and his brethren of the citie of London about the burning of Paules, there were certeine aldermen and commoners of the ſaid citie named and called togither by the authoritie of the maior, to deuiſe ſome good order and ſpedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the ſaid citie, whenſoeuer anie chance of fire hereafter ſhould happen (as God forbid) within the ſaid citie or liberties thereof. And the perſons ſo called after ſundrie meetings, and with good aduiſement and deliberation, agreed and penned a certeine order for the ſpedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie knowledge of the place, whereſoeuer the ſame fire ſhould happen, and for the ſudden extinguiſhment & ſuppreſſing of the ſame, as alſo for the ſafe keeping of the goods of ſuch perſons in whoſe houſe anie fire ſhould chance. Which orders and rules vndoubtedlie would be to the great comfort & ſafetie of the citie and citizens of the ſame, if they were publiſhed and made knowen in time, and executed accordinglie. But what ſhould I ſaie? I can but lament, not onelie for this, but alſo for manie ſuch painefull and profitable labors, which for good gouernement of this citie had beene taken. For as ſone as the talking thereof is done, and the bookes framed and deliuered, ſo ſone is it put in oblition, and nothing at all thought vpon, vntill an houre after the miſchiefe be paſt.

God orders nothing worth if they be not put in execution.

This yeare was choſen lord maior of London a worthie citizen named William Harper, one of the companie of the merchant tailors. This man wiſhing in his life time to benefit his countrie, founded a free ſchole in the towne of Bedford where he was borne, and now lieth buried, prouiding a competent ſtipend and lining for a ſcholemaiſter, there to traine vp and inſtruct children in vertue and learning forener. The fiftenth of Nouember, the quenes maieſtie publiſhed a proclamation, wherein ſhe reſtored to the realme diuerſe ſmall peeces of ſiluer monie, as the peece of ſix pence, foure pence, three pence, two pence, and a penie, three halfe pence, and three farthings. She alſo forbad all forren coines to be currant within the ſame realme, as well gold as ſiuer, calling them to hir maieſties mints, except two ſorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemmiſh crowne. Thus did hir maieſtie in all hir actions directed to common vtilitie ſhoot at a certeine perfection, pureneſſe, and ſoundneſſe, as here in hir new ſtamps and coines of all ſorts; ſo alſo in Gods religion, ſetting the materiall churches of hir dominions free from all popiſh trath: which one hath aptlie noted by waie of compariſon, ſaieng:

Free ſchole in Bedford towne founded by William Harper maior of London elect.

New coines of ſmall peeces as ſix pence, &c.

Eiectis paleis purgatur vt area multo
Vſque laborantis ſerui ſudore, reuulſis
Vt nitet ampla domus, quas ſtruxit aranea telis:
Sic prius idolis confractis, templa ſtricantur
Cuncta ſcopis, quicquid fuit, abradentibus vncis
Dentibus obſcœnum, ſpurcum, verboue repugnans
Sacro, religioque erectis cultior ibat

Iam pedibus, Christíque Dei cognoscitur agnus,
Offensas delens mundi, peccatáque tollens:
Vænalis populo non indulgentia papæ.]

Anno Reg. 4.

Monstruous births in diuerse places of England.

1562

This yeare in England were manie monstruous births. In March a mare brought forth a foale with one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile growing out betweene the two heads. Also a sow farowed a pig with foure legs like to the armes of a manchild with armes and fingers, &c. In Aprill a sow farrowed a pig with two bodies, eight feet, and but one head: manie calues and lambs were monstruous, some with collars of skin growing about their necks, like to the double ruffes of shirts and neckercthers then vsed. The foure and twentith of Maie, a manchild was borne at Chichester in Sussex, the head armes, & legs whereof were like to an anatomie, the breast and bellie monstruous big, from the nauill as it were a long string hanging: about the necke a great collar of flesh and skin growing like the ruffe of a shirt or neckercher, comming vp aboue the eares pleited and folded, &c.

France at diuision in it selfe by ciuill warres.

The realme of France being in great trouble about this season, by the means of ciuill dissention and warres that rose betwixt the house of Guise and other of that faction vpon the one side, and the prince of Conde and other that toke part with him on the contrarie side: the quéenes maiestie informed how that the duke of Guise and his partakers hauing got into their possession the person of the yong king, vnder pretext of his authoritie, sought the subuersion of manie noble men and good subiects of the crowne of France, namelie such as were knowne or suspected to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters of religion: hir maiestie ther vpon considering, that if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to be doubted that they would not so rest, but séeke to set things in broile also within this hir realme of England, and other countries nére to them adioining: first as one that had euer wished quietnesse, rather than the troubles of warre, sent ouer sir Henrie Sidneie at that present lord président of Wales (a man of such estimation as his word ought to haue deserued credit) to trie if he might doo anie good to bring the parties to some attonement. But such wilfull headinesse séemed to rest in some that were chiefe of the one faction, that their desire séemed altogither bent to enter into wars. Hir maiestie yet hoping the best, appointed to send another honourable ambassage, which by their wisedoms and good aduise might persuade the parties vnto concord, whereby all due authoritie, honor, & dignitie might be restored to the king, and euerie other degrée kéepe their romes and places as to them apperteined, but all in vaine. For this motion of a pacification to be had could take no place, neither might the will of the yong king, or of his timorous mother, as it then séemed, be regarded, otherwise than as stood with the pleasure & appointment of those that were knowne to be the chiefe authors and furtherers of all those troubles.

The quéenes maiesties mistrust of inconuenience, and the same remedied.

Sir Henrie Sidneie sent ambassador into France.

In other ambassage in Iulie directed into France.

Whilest the quéenes maiestie therefore did thus trauell in respect of the suertie which hir grace bare to hir welbeloued brother the said king, and to the commoditie and quietnesse of both the factions, an open iniurie was offered to hir maiestie: so as it might appeare what minds they bare towards hir, that had thus excluded and refused all offers & meanes to grow to some good and indifferent conclusion of peace. For whereas manie merchants, as well of London as of Excester, and other the west parts of hir realme, were sojourning for cause of traffike, in diuerse ports and hauens of Britaine; and hauing dispatched their businesse, and got their lading aboord, their ships were readie to hoise vp sailes, and to returne each one towards the place from whence he came, they were suddenlie arested, their goods seized vpon, and they themselues cast in prison: and some that in reuenge of such offered iniurie attempted to make resistance, were cruellie slaine, their ships conueied awaie, their goods confiscat, without other pretense, but onelie that it was said to them that they were Huguenots. Neither was this done by priuat persons, but by open violence of the gouernors & magistrats of those places where the same disorder was executed: so that it appeared from whence they had their commission to vse such wrongfull dealing, and how farre the same would extend, if they might once haue time and occasion to accomplish their purposed intentions.

Ships of London, Excester, & Falmouth, spoiled by the French in Britaine, the thirtith of Iulie, and nineteenth of August.

Moreouer, when complaint of such iniuries was made vnto the lawfull magistrats there, they found no redres at all. For what might the poore merchants profit by their plaints, when the packets of the ambassadors leters, directed to hir maiestie, were taken from the bearer, & no punishment had against those that committed so vnciuill an outrage? A thing that offended hir maiestie so much more, for that as she toke the matter, there wanted no good will, either in the king, or his mother, or in the king of Nauarre, the kings generall lieutenant, to sée such a presumptuous and vnrulie part punished of their people: but rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it redressed. Furthermore, it greatlie greeued hir, that the yong French king, hir déere brother was brought to such a streict, that he was nether able to defend the libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes, nor to deale vprightlie with other princes and potentats accordinglie, as by the bonds of leagues and of couenanted aliances had bene requisite. Neither did such disorder in gouernement of the kingdome of France touch anie so much and particularlie, as the queens maiestie of England.

Letters taken from the quéens ambassadors seruants.

The French troubles touch most & quéene of England.

She therefore lamenting that the king and quéene mother should be thus in the hands of them that procured all these troubles, and led vp and downe at their pleasures, and driuen to behold the spoile and sacking of diuerse his cities, and miserable slaughter of his subiects: and againe hir grace thinking it expedient to preuent that such as were knowne to beare no good will, either to hir or hir realme, should not get into their possessions such townes and hauens as late against the sea coasts of hir said realme, whereby they stuffing the same with garrisons and numbers of men of warre, might easilie vpon occasions séeke to make inuasions into this hir said realme, to the great annoiance of hir and hir louing subiects: at the request of the French themselues, thought it expedient to put in armor a certeine number of hir subiects, to passe ouer into Normandie, vnto such hauens as nére approched vnto this hir realme of England, as well for the safegard of the same, as also for the releise and preseruation of the inhabitants there: and other that professed the gospell, liuing in continuall danger to be murthered and oppressed, and therefore craning hir aid to saue and deliuer them out of the bloudie hands of their cruell aduersaries, that sought their hastie destruction.

The chiefe causes that moued the quéenes maiestie to send a power into France.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she meant to send ouer at that present, she ordeined the lord Ambrose Dudleie earle of Warwike to be hir principall lieutenant, capteine generall, chiefe leader and gouernor of hir said subiects, that should in such wise passe ouer into Normandie. Herevpon, the said erle the seuenteenth of October, in this fourth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, toke shipping at Portesmouth in the hauen there, at one a clocke in the after none, being aboord himselfe in the quéens ship, called the New barke, and setting forward, sailed all that after none, and the night following, directlie towards

The earle of Warwike sent into Normandie with an armie.

The earle of warwike landeth at Newhauen.

Light horsemen Scots.

In other receiued by the lord lieutenant, and other officers.

A skirmish betweene the Scotishmen and them of Mondeuille.

A pistle of lome to the quantitie of two hundred tuns.

An alarum in the towne of Newhauen.

wards Newhauen, but in the morning about eight a clocke, when his lordship was within twentie miles of the town of Newhauen, the wind suddenlie changed cleane contrarie to his course: so that being driuen to returne about the next midnight, he arriued in the downes, and there remained at anchor, till about eight of the clocke in the next morning being mondaie, and then was set on land by bote at Sandon castell besides Deale, and the same daie at night came to Douer, & there late till fridaie at three of the clocke at after noone; and then taking ship againe, sailed forth: but finding the wind nothing prosperous for his course, after he had lien all that night & the daie following, tossing & tumbling on the seas, he was constreined to come backe againe, and arriued in the hauen of Douer, about ten of the clocke on saturdaie at night, and so remained there till tuesdaie next insuing at three of the clocke in the after noone, and then went to shipboord againe in the said ship called the New barke: and directing his course forwards, on thursdaie morning about eight of the clocke, his lordship landed at Newhauen, where he was most ioyfullie receiued with a great peale of artillerie.

The earle of Warwike landeth at Newhauen.

The next daie, being fridaie, & the thirtith of October, there came to Newhauen from Diepe, fiftie light horsemen Scots, brought by one of maister Killigrues seruants. On saturdaie the last of October, the earle of Warwikes commission was proclamed in Latine, English, and French, by Blewmantell, pursuant at armes: which being ended, his lordship went into the church, and there sir Adrian Poinings knight marshall gaue him his oth, and then my lord gaue the said sir Adrian his oth. And after him were sworne Cutbert Vaughan controllor, John Fisher knight porter, William Bromfield maister of the ordinance, William Robinson water bailife, and capteine Thomas Wood clearke of the councell. On mondaie the second of Nouember, the earle of Warwike, with the knight marshall, and the controllor, rode out of Newhauen to Hauteuille, and so towards Mondeuille, accompanied with all the horsemen English and Scotish, and a thousand footmen. The Scotishmen & Montgomeries band passed forth, and skirmished with them of Mondeuille, and the Scots brought awaie with them a bootie of three hundred sheepe: but in the morning, they were returned backe againe by commandement of the earle of Warwike.

Light horsemen Scots.

In oth receiued by the lord lieutenant, and other officers.

The French troubles touch most & queene of England.

Skirmish betweene the Scotishmen and them of Mondeuille.

The chiefe causes that mooued the quéenes maiestie to send a power into France.

Maister controllors souldiors went as far as Harflue, and there skirmished with them of that garrison, but without anie hurt to either part. My lord lieutenant riding all about the hils, viewed the countrie, and at night returned. On wednesdaie the fourth of Nouember, a barke of Newhauen, belonging to Francis Clearke, brought into the hauen of the same towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tuns of good Gascoigne wines, which they ment to haue brought to the enimies: but being thus taken as a good prise, it was discharged in Newhauen, and sold the Englishmen and others of that towne in good stead. On fridaie the first of Nouember, about nine of the clocke in the morning, a great alarum rose in the said towne of Newhauen: for vpon the hils on the north side of the towne, the Reingraue, and the sonne of the viceadmerall of France, shewed themselues, accompanied with two thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horsemen. And herewith, the Reingraue sent a trumpetor to the towne, to aduertise the lord lieutenant, that he was on the hils there at hand; and that vnderstanding his lordship was come into the countrie, and entred into Newhauen, if it would please him to promise vpon his honor, and by the faith of a gentleman, that he might come, and returne in safetie, he would be glad to come & see him. Whereupon the lord lieutenant, taking with him certeine capteins and gentlemen, rode forth of the towne, and sent before him sir Adrian Poinings the marshall, with Stephan Medcalfe his maiesties trumpetor vnto the Reingraue, who talking with him, returned, and met with the lord lieutenant: who therewith passed forward, and meeting with the Reingraue, they imbraced each other, and conferred togither as they had occasion. And the Reingraue told the lord lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and so with such merie speech they communed togither: and after taking their leaue either of other, they returned vnto their homes.

Stephan Medcalfe trumpetor.

The earle of Warwike and the Reingraue talke togither.

The counte Montgomerie and monsieur Beauuois had some talke also with the Reingraue, casting out bitter and sharpe words in reproch of the duke of Guise, and others that were of his faction. The Reingraue comming backe to his armie the same afternoone, forraied all the countrie, and droue awaie the most part of all the cattell that they might meet with: and comming to the church of Hauteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Montgomeries band late, they skirmished with them, and in the end Montgomeries souldiors were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leauing it to the enimies; and comming awaie, withdrew the same night into Newhauen. The Almans the same euening, diuiding their armie into two parts, the one halfe of them went and lodged at Mondeuille, and the other halfe at Harflue. The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the church of Hauteuille the night before, went thither againe, tooke and kept it against the enimies, in like manner as they held it before.

The church of Hauteuille recouered.

The eleuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made in the name of the lord lieutenant, by the officer at armes Blewmantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the souldiors against the French inhabitants of the towne, & reforming of certeine grée uances, whereof the French had made complaint: as also for their comming to church to heare common praier and preaching at due times, for the auoiding of vnlawfull games, whordome, wicked othes, and other blaschemies; and likewise concerning diuerse other good orders to be obserued, and disorders to be eschewed, as was thought necessarie to giue warning of, with condigne paines apointed for punishment of such as should transgresse in the same.

A proclamation for good orders to be kept by the souldiors.

On thursdaie the twelfe of Nouember, there went out of the towne of Newhauen towards Harflue, three bands of Frenchmen, conteining about six hundred footmen; and suddenlie they were beset by the Almans and Frenchmen of the garrison of Harflue: so that the French protestants were driuen to take a village called Graville, where they maintained the skirmish for the space of two houres, till the lord lieutenant, hearing of the perill in which they stood, sent forth with the controllor the number of a thousand footmen, and monsieur Beauuois with diuerse French horsemen: who comming before Harflue, fell in skirmish with the enimies, to whose succor there issued forth of Harflue a great number of the Almans, both horsemen and footmen. But the Englishmen behaued themselues so valiantlie, that they beat them out of the field, and droue them in the end to the verie gates of their towne, with such lionlike courage, as was wonderfull: choosing rather to die in battell (if hap had so cut their cards) in an honest cause, than in their sicke beds: as moued by the poets reason not amisse for a souldior to

A skirmish before Harflue.

A pile of wines to the quantitie of two hundred tuns.

In alarum in the towne of Newhauen.

The earle of Warwike sent into Normandie with an armie.

remember and resolutelie to rest vpon, to wit:

Absumpti longis animam cruciatibus edunt
Languentes morbis: in bello pulchra paratur
Mors, homo momento pugnans extinguitur hora,
Evolat in tenues lætus cito spiritus auras.

This skirmish was stoutlie maintained and continued for the space of three long houres. Their great artillerie was shot off freshlie from the wals and bulworks. At length, when the night drew on, the retire was sounded, and the Englishmen came their waie backe to Newhauen with honor, hauing lost not past eight of their souldiors, that were slaine and sir other hurt: whereas there was one of the enimies capteins slain in sight, with twentie souldiors, and another of their capteins, with diuerse others of their numbers grieuouslie wounded. Monsieur Beauuois shewed himselfe that daie verie forward and valiant, & so likewise did the Scotishmen. The thirteenth of Nouember, a pinnesse of the Frenchmen that belonged to Newhauen, being gone forth the night before, brought into the hauen a ship laden with Rochell wines, fiue and twentie tuns, that was bound to passe vp to the enimies, and so esteemed a good prise. On the fourteenth of Nouember, another ship fraught with twentie tuns of Gascoigne wines was brought in as a prise, likewise taken by a barke of Newhauen, that belonged to a Frenchman, called Iehan de Bois, an earnest aduersarie to the papists.

The seuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made by Blewmantell, concerning orders taken and passed by the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman nor Frenchman should shot off anie harquebuse within the towne; nor that anie Frenchman, except monsieur Beauuois, or monsieur Bicquemault, or their companies, should be out of their lodgings after nine of the clocke at night till the next morning on paine of death: except in cases of alarums. The twelfe of Nouember, about six of the clocke at night, one of the mils without the gate was set on fire by some of the papists (as was thought) whereof rose a great alarum. The thirteenth of Nouember, the Reingraue was seene on the north hils of the towne, with foure score horsemen: whereupon the Scotish horsemen, and three bands of footmen issued out, marching vp towards the same hils, in hope to meet with their enimies, but they were retired towards Mondeuille, and so nothing was done. It was reported for a certeine truth, that the duke Daumale was there at that present with the Reingraue.

On wednesdaie, the fiue and twentith of Nouember, one of capteine Cocksons souldiors was hanged in the market place: and an other that was brought thither likewise to be executed had his pardon, at the suit of certeine French gentlemen. And herewith was proclamation made, that where it had beene proclamed afore, that none should take anie thing forceablie from the French on paine of death, for breach whereof, such execution was presentlie done: the lord lieutenant did by this proclamation eftsoons charge and command, that none vpon like paine should breake or spoile anie house or ship: or take anie timber, wood, or anie other thing from the French, without their good will, consent, and agreement. The same afternoone came into the hauen hoies and botes laden with wine, cider, perrie, wheate, beefe, bisquet, meale, and other prouision of vittels. Two French shallops of Newhauen had taken them besides Hunflue, and beaten backe a shallop of the enimies, slaieng ten or twelue Frenchmen that came forth of Hunflue to haue succored the hoies. The fiue and twentith of Nouember, there landed at Newhauen six hundred souldiors Esterlings, vnder the leading of Auerie Darsie, Reginald Higate, and William Twedie, each of them hauing his appointed number of two hundred to his ensigne.

The Englishmen retire to Newhauen with honor.

Monsieur Beauuois.

Prises taken and brought to Newhauen

A proclamation for harquebut shot.

An alarum vpon occasion of fier made by the papists.

Execution.

A proclamation to restreine the outrage of souldiors.

Prises brought to Newhauen.

A supplie of souldiors out of Esterlings arriue at Newhauen.

Moreouer, where as well diuerse prentises, as other Englishmen were come ouer, since the placing of the garrison in that towne of Newhauen, not offering their seruice anie waie, other than by straggling abroad to seeke pillage, whereby they fell oftentimes into the hands of the enimies, both to the dishonor of their countrie, & losse of their owne lines. For reformation hereof proclamation was made the last of Nouember, that all Englishmen within the said towne, aboue the age of sixteene yeares, and vnder three score, being not reteined in the queens maiesties paie, should at one of the clocke that present daie repaire to the bulworke called the bulworke of saint Andrewes, there to present his name & person to the comptrollor, that order might be taken how to employe them in some certeintie of seruice, vpon paine to euerie one failing hereof to suffer ten daies imprisonment, & also to be banished the towne.

A proclamation for the assembling of souldiors at saint Andrews.

A skirmish before Harflue.

The French men beaten into Harflue.

The same daie the queenes ship called the Hare, comming from Portsmouth, arriued at Newhauen; and in hir came sir John Portinarie, whose ripe skill, deepe iudgement, and great experience in matters of fortification had bred in him such knowledge, as he may worthilie be called a maister in that science. They were by the waie assailed by a French ship of foure score and ten tuns and better: but they that were aboord in the Hare, so manfullie acquited themselues, that they vanquished the enimies, tooke the same ship, & brought hir with them being laden with wines, which they meant to haue conueied to the aduersaries in some garrison. The same daie sir John Poyer landed at Newhauen, bringing ouer with him fiue hundred souldiors out of Denshire, for a supplie of the garrison there. He himselfe returned backe into England, but the souldiors were appointed to the leading of other capteins: so that Francis Summerset, brother to the earle of Worcester had three hundred of them; Oliuer Manners an hundred, and Edward Dymsbie the other hundred. On tuesdaie the eight of December monsieur de Beauuois, capteine Francis Summerset, and capteine Edward Horsleie, with diuerse other capteins, officers and gentlemen, rode to the Reingraue, lieng at a faire house not farre from Mondeuille, where they dined with him, had great and hartie cheere, and after returned againe to Newhauen. The same daie the Reingraue sent for a present vnto my lord of Warwike, a great horse, verie faire, with saddle and bridle; esteemed to be well worth an hundred pounds.

Sir John Portmans Florentine, and an excellent engiuer.

Sir John Poyer bringeth a supplie of souldiors to Newhauen out of Deuonshire.

A present sent by the Reingraue to the earle of Warwike.

Monsieur Beauuois & capteine Umfreuill hurt.

A proclamation for obseruing of orders.

The death of the lord Greie of Wilton.

Moreouer, the same daie at night, the Double Rose with certeine other botes and French shallops, passed forth of the hauen: Edward Dudleie, and capteine John Ward being aboord in the said Double Rose, with diuerse other Englishmen & Frenchmen, to the number of a hundred good souldiors, who sailing downe the riuer landed beside Tankeruille, and late close all that night in the wood. And in the morning about nine of the clocke monsieur Bimar, ensignebearer to the counte Montgomerie, with six or seauen Frenchmen vnarmed went to the castell gate, and there fell in talke with monsieur Dimenè, who was capteine of that fortresse, hauing with him about ten souldiors that were appointed to remaine with him vpon the gard of the same castell. Whilest they were thus in talke, the Englishmen and other Frenchmen comming forth of the wood that was there at hand, reared vp their ladders, which they had brought with them for that purpose, at the breach which was made the summer before by the duke Daumale;

Edward Dudleie.

The castell of Tankeruille woone by the Englishmen.

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Daumale; and entring by the same, came downe into the base court. Which thing when the French soldiors that kept talke with them within at the castell gate perceiued, they began to laugh. The capteine of the castell therwith turning his face, & beholding as good as three score armed men within the castell at his backe, he suddenlie said: Ha, ie suis vóstre, I am yours sirs, and so yéelded with his ten soldiors. And in this sort was the castell taken, & the capteine brought prisoner to Newhauen.

On the twelfe of December, at ten of the clocke in the morning, the earle of Warwike, monsieur de Beauuois, and monsieur de Brícquemault, with all their horsemen & three thousand footmen, passed forth of Newhauen vnto Harflue, out of which towne there issued seauen hundred Reisters of the retinue of the counte Reingraue, and three hundred footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and Englishmen verie hotlie: but at length the Englishmen draue them to the verie gates of Harflue, and slue them euen at the same gates, and vpon the walles of the towne; insomuch that they were constreined to shut their gates, and off went the ordinance from the gates and bulworks, discharging bullets amongst the English soldiors frælie. But yet there were not slaine past seuen of the English part, albeit diuerse were hurt and wounded, & amongst other was monsieur de Beauuois shot into the side of the necke through his gorget, and capteine Antwisell through the arme. Moreouer, whereas they carried forth with them foure barrels of gunpowder to mainteine the skirmish, through negligence by setting fire in the same, there were to the number of twentie grœuouslie burned. Of the enimies were slaine that daie aboue thirtie, and hurt aboue fiftie. Manie of their horsses were also slaine in this skirmish, which continued aboue three houres. As the Englishmen were returning backe, the Reingraue with two hundred horsses, and a certeine number of footmen, was laid fast by in an ambush, thinking to haue cut off part of their men: but he failed of his purpose. For the lord lieutenant marching with his men in battell araie, brought them home in safetie, without other impeachment. The seauentéenth of December, the counte Montgomerie, and sir Hugh Paulet arriued at Newhauen in one of the quœnes ships called the Aid.

The nintéenth of December a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued, conterning the imbarking of such soldiors as were licenced to depart by passeport or otherwise: and likewise prohibiting the taking into anie vessell anie victs fish, wine, sugar, or anie houshold stuffe without spetiall licence of the lord lieutenant. Whilest things passed thus in Normandie at Newhauen & thereabouts, where the earle of Warwike & other valiant capteines were readie to make proofe of their high prowesse in time & place as occasion might serue, there ended his life at home that honorable baron, and right famous capteine in his daies William lord Greie of Wilton, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and at that present gouernor of Werwike, and warden of the east marches against Scotland. He deceased the fiue and twentith of December, in the yeere 1562, at Chelhunt in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrie Denie esquier that had married mistresse Honor Greie, the said lord Greies onelie daughter. ¶ The six and twentith of December the counte de Montgomerie tooke shipping at Newhauen rode, accompanied with foure hundred harquebutters Frenchmen, and sailed to Dœpe, there to be gouernor of that towne. He went in an English barke belonging to Nicholas Malbie secretarie to the earle of Warwike lord lieutenant.

The third of Januarie a shallop that was sent the same morning from Newhauen, laden with bœre and other victels to passe vnto Tankeruille, was assailed about Harflue, by a shallop of Hunflue, which droue the hoie to the shore: so as the Englishmen forsoke their hoie, and came running to Newhauen, to declare what had happened. Herevpon the lord lieutenant sent forth foure French shallops by water, and the horsemen with six hundred footmen passed forth by land, and vsed such diligence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were haling vp the hoie towards Harflue: and skirmishing with the Frenchmen (being foure score good harquebutters) for the space of a long houre, at length recouered the hoie, and toke three of their shallops with their ordinance, which they brought to Newhauen, with the losse of one onelie man, an harquebutter of capteine Zouches band. The fourth of Januarie in the morning, the English scout, being thirtie good harquebutters, were set vpon by the enimies that droue them vnto the verie gates. They shot also with their harquebusses into the towne, and ouer the mount rotall among the English soldiors. They hurt at that present three of the scouts; but when they perceiued the Englishmen were in a readinesse to approch them, they departed, being in number three hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, soldiors of Dondeuille and Harflue. The fift of Januarie were apprehended capteine Blondell, capteine Poucombell, monsieur Dimense, and Vitanna with others, for some conspiracie or traitorous practise which they went about, and had maliciouslie contriued. The same daie capteine Edward Horseie with his two hundred soldiors, & capteine Francis Blunt with his hundred toke shipping at Newhauen rode, and sailed to Dœpe, there to remaine with the counte Montgomerie, whose wife the countesse Montgomerie went also with them to hir husband the same time.

On the saturdaie following, the twelfe daie after Christmasse, being the ninth of Januarie, a great tempest of wind and thunder happened in the towne of Leicester, which vncouered two and fortie baies of houses, and ouerthrew manie, renting and tearing them in peeces, in a strange and marueilous maner. The people that were assembled that daie in the market place to buie and sell their vsuall chafer, wares, and commodities, were sore amazed and astonied with the hidiousnesse of that most outragious & violent tempest. On thursdaie the 14 of Januarie at one of the clocke in the morning, there issued forth of Newhauen three score horsemen, and a thousand footmen, all English; & comming to Dondeuille, where the Reingraue laie, gaue to them within an alarum, but neither the Reisters, nor the Almane footmen, nor French that were within that towne would come forth: and therefore after the Englishmen had tarried there the space of foure houres, they returned backe againe to Newhauen.

The fiftéenth of Januarie, at one of the clocke in the afternoone, there issued forth of Newhauen three score horsemen, and fiftéene hundred footmen, which comming to Harflue, gaue a like alarum to that towne, but none of the garrison there would come forth: whereupon the Englishmen returned home againe to Newhauen. The sixteenth of Januarie, the castell of Tankeruille was surrendred to the Reingraue, after he had laine about it eight daies, with two thousand horsemen and footmen. It was now yeelded by composition (after it had béene kept by the space of thirtie eight daies) that those within should depart with bag and baggage, the gallie being sent from Newhauen to fetch them awaie. There were no more within it at that time when it

was

arriue at Newhauen.

A proclamation for the assembling of soldiors at saint Iohnes.

Skirmish before Harflue.

The French draue backe into Harflue.

Sir John Portinaries Florentine, and an excellent engineer.

Monsieur Beauuois & capteine Antwisell hurt.

Sir John More bringeth a supplie of soldiors to Newhauen out of Deuonshire.

A present sent by the Reingraue to the earle of Warwike.

The death of the lord Greie of Wilton.

Edward Dudleie.

The castell of Tankeruille yeelded vnto the Englishmen.

A hoie recouered which the French had taken.

Certeine apprehended for conspiracie.

A great tempest in Leicester.

An alarum giuen to Dondeuille.

An alarum giuen to Harflue.

The castell of Tankeruille deliuered to the Reingraue.

was thus deliuered: but capteine Iohn Ward, capteine Edward Dudleie, and capteine Saule, his lieutenant Kileie, with seuentie English souldiers, & thirtie French. The 19 of Januarie, there landed at Newhauen capteine Tremaine, with 50 horssemen verie well appointed to serue the quænes maiestie there. The foure and twentith of Januarie, Francis Clerke Frenchman arriued at Newhauen, with two tall ships of his owne, right well appointed for the wars, bringing with him three rich prises, valued at about fiftie thousand crownes, one of them was a mightie great hulke, laden with wood & allume. The 26 of Januarie, capteine Tremaine with all his horssemen, & capteine Clerke with his Scotish horsmen, and 600 footmen, went forth of Newhauen towards Pondeuille, & by the waie in a little village, there was a French capteine came forth of Pondeuille, named monsieur Emerie, hauing with him thirtie souldiers, where falling in hand to spoile the same village, the pezzants about gathered themselues togither, and set vpon him and his souldiers. Now whilest they were thus in fight, the Scotish horssemen came suddenlie vpon them, toke the said capteine sore wounded, slue twelue of his soldiers, & toke fouretæne other of them prisoners, whome with their capteine wounded (as he was) they brought home the same night vnto Newhauen.

Tremaine.

Francis Clerke Frenchman.

Prises taken by him of about 50000 crownes value.

Capteine Emerie taken by the Scotish horsmen.

The three and twentith of Januarie, a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued by the souldiers, and other resiants within the towne of Newhauen, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defense against the enimies without, as the quiet demeanor of the men of warre and inhabitants within. The fift of Februarie, two ships of Britons laden with Gascoigne wines, butter, bakon, lard, salt, and other vittels, were brought into Newhauen by a shallop of Billebeuf, that was resiant with other Frenchmen in Newhauen, serning against the papists, and had taken those two vessels, as they were going to victell the enimies.

A proclamation for the obserning of orders.

A prise brought to Newhauen.

The first of Februarie three faire mightie ships of warre, belonging to Francis Clerke, brought into Newhauen three rich prises, laden with sackes, bastards, sugar, orenges, graines, and other merchandizes. This Clerke had not beene forth past six weeks at this time, and yet he had got aboue eighténe prises, well worth by iust valuation the summe of fiftie thousand pounds. On saturdaie the first of Februarie, a souldier of capteine Appleyards band was executed in the market place; for that contrarie to order taken and published afore that time by proclamation, he had not onelie drawen his weapon against another souldier, but also maimed him, and plated other lewd parts in contempt of the lord lieutenants commandements. There was another also condemned to die, and two others adiudged to lose their hands: but the lord lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie granted to those three his pardon, for their passed offenses. On sundaie the seuenth of Februarie, was Hunflue summoned by an herald, sent from the French admerall, monsieur de Chatillon. On mondaie the eight of that moneth, the said admerall came before Hunflue, with six thousand horssemen Reisters, and other of his owne retinues, beside footmen, and a thousand horssmen of the countries thereabout. And about six of the clocke at night there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Newhauen for a welcome to the said admerall.

A souldier executed for fighting contrarie to the orders in that case giuen.

Three other pardoned.

The admerall of France commeth Hunflue.

The twelfe of Februarie, the French gallies of Newhauen passing forth, and wafting about Hunflue to seeke aduentures, in hope of suertie, by reason the lord admerall of France laie therbi at Touque, rode at an anchor: whilest some of them that were aboord in hir went on land, to gaine somwhat of the enimies. But they within Hunflue perceiuing this, made out their great gallies, with fiftie good mariners and souldiers, who comming vpon the gallies of Newhauen lieng at anchor, put hir in great danger of taking. For there were but fifténe men left aboord in hir at that present, whereof three of them were Englishmen, who perceiuing in what danger they stood, waied anchor with all speed, and drew towards the shore, to take in the rest of their companie; and getting them aboord vnto them, they manfullie stood to their defense, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuertheless, they so behaued themselues, that continuing in fight aboue a long houre, at length they ouercame their enimies, slue seuen of them outright, wounded seuen and thirtie, toke their gallie and brought hir to Newhauen, with thirténe bels, diuerse copes, and church ornaments, sheepe, and other spoiles, which they had got abroad in the countrie, togither with three and fortie good prisoners, and the artillerie which was found aboord in the foresaid great gallie, wherewith she was verie well appointed and furnished.

The great gallie of Dieppe taken.

Of the French protestants there were but three slaine and six hurt, and one of the three Englishmen was also hurt. As it hath béene crediblie reported, the French protestants might thanke those three Englishmen that were with them in their gallies for that their good hap: for if they had not manfullie stood to it at the first, and bestowed such artillerie as they had aboord with them freshlie against the enimies, the French had yælded. But by Gods good helpe, and their worthie courage, the victorie remained on their side. The fouretéenth of Februarie there came from the lord admerall of France, lieng then at Touque, monsieur de Rohen, and monsieur de Grandemont, a knight of the order, monsieur Telegnie the admerals sonne in law, and diuerse other French gentlemen, to confer with the lord lieutenant, who receiued them right gladlie, and made them great cheere. They remained in Newhauen till the eightéenth of Februarie, and then departed and went to Caen, whither the said lord admerall was remoued, & had entred the towne, & laie within it, preparing with all speed to besiege the castell.

The French beholden to the English.

Noble men sent from the admerall of France to the earle of Warwike.

The same daie that the French lords departed from Newhauen towards Caen, monsieur Briquemault, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight arriued at Newhauen in one of the quænes ships called the Aid. The admerall Chatillon being got into the towne of Caen, kept the castell besieged, within the which was inclosed the marquesse Dalbeuf. There were sent to him from Newhauen the five & twentith of Februarie, seuen canons, two demie culuerings, & one minion. On the morrow following being fridaie, and six and twentith of Februarie, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, monsieur Briquemault, and monsieur Beaupuis, with a thousand souldiers French, and as manie English, to wit, capteine Zouch, capteine Twedie, capteine Vigate, each of them with two hundred: capteine Iohn Ward, captsine Parkinson, capteine Saule, maister Wheeler, and capteine Fisher with his band, each of them with his hundred, and capteine Pelham with the labourers were imbarked in the rode at Newhauen, and sailed forth towards Caen, to come to the siege which the admerall of France had laid to the castell there.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arriueth at Newhaue.

Caen castell besieged.

The marquesse Dalbeuf his brother to the duke of Guise.

Aid sent to the siege of Caen.

The same daie as the counte Montgomerie had imbarked at the hauen of Dieppe in an English vessell, and was comming towards Newhauen, there came out from Fescampe three shallops, by the appointment of the Reingraue (as was said) which made towards Montgomerie, whose meaning when he perceiued, he set vpon the strongest of the same shallops,

The counte Montgomerie taketh a French shallop.

Montgomerie goeth to Caen to speake with the admerall.

The castell of Caen battered.

It is rendred to the admerall.

Briculx, Faleise, and S. Lo, yeelded to the admerall.

The canon laid to the castell of Hunflue.

It is yælded.

A proclamation vpon paine of death.

A proclamation in the Frech kings name.

Sir Adrian Poinings.

The French by

he vsuallie remained. On Easter euen, two souldiers that had serued vnder capteine Parkinson were hanged in the market place of Newhauen, for running awaie to the Reingraue and vnto Diepe. Another also that serued vnder capteine Turner was condemned for the like offense, but pardoned through the great clemencie of the lord lieutenant.

Execution on Easter euen.

A proclamation to be packing out of Newhauen.

The eight and twentith of Aprill, proclamation was made, that all the papists, and the wiues and children of all them that were departed forth of Newhauen, and made their abode at that present in Montreuilliers, Harflue, or elsewhere abroad in the countrie, and likewise all other, whome the last proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in anie wise touched, should depart on saturdaie then next insuing, on paine to haue their bodies arrested as prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. Other articles were conteined in the same proclamation, as well for the forreners that should come forth of the countrie to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanor of the French inhabitants of the towne, with promise of reward to such as should discouer and apprehend anie espiall, either dwelling in the towne, or comming and going to or from it. The first of Maie, Garter principall king of armes arriued at Newhauen, bringing with him the garter to the lord lieutenant, chosen on S. Georges daie last past to be one of the confréers of that most honorable order. The fourth of Maie proclamation was made, that all the French burgesses & others should bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the towne hall of Newhauen, which commandement was incontinentlie obeied and accomplished.

Garter king of armes bringeth the garter to the lord lieutenant.

A proclamation for auoiding.

The seauenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the auoiding of all such, whome the former proclamations had in anie wise touched, for their departure forth of the towne, that they should depart by tuesdaie next (the ministers of the church excepted) and that none should enter into the towne, of what condition or estate soeuer he should be, without licence of the lord lieutenant, except he were a burgesse of the towne, and of the number of those that had their names inrolled, as by the rols lastlie made it might appeare, on paine to be apprehended as good and lawfull prisoners. The twelfe of Maie it was prohibited by proclamation to all burgesses, inhabitants, and others, not to go vnto Harflue, or Montreuilliers, or elsewhere out of sight of the towne of Newhauen, on paine to be taken as lawfull prisoners. The fifteenth of Maie, a marriner of the great gallie suffered in the market place of Newhauen, for robbing and pilfering of ships there in the hauen, and three other that were condemned for the like offense had their pardons.

Ministers excepted.

Places forbidden by proclamation to be resorted vnto.

Execution for pilfering.

A proclamation for the auoiding of the French out of Newhauen.

The sixteenth of Maie was proclamation made, that all Frenchmen, being within the towne of Newhauen, otherwise called Haure de Grace, as well men, women, as children, should depart the towne, betwixt that present time and six of the clocke at night on the next daie being mondaie, except surgians, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, smiths, masons, locksmiths, carpenters, and other such artificers, vpon paine to be attached as good and lawfull prisoners, and their goods to be confiscat. By the tenor of these seuerall proclamations it maie appeare, that the lord lieutenant proceeded nothing rigorouslie against the French, in remouing them forth of the towne; although it maie be, that some which had to deale therein, dealt hardlie inough with them. But in such cases there must of necessitie be some diligent heedfulnesse vsed, for otherwise in such packing away, some might peraduenture carie with them too much, & others too litle. But howsoeuer this mater was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoid the French out of the towne. For after the duke of Guise was slaine before Orleance, and that the parties were agreed, as by edict of the pacification published in March last past it maie appeare, the whole deuises as well of them of the one religion as the other tended to this end, how to recouer the towne of Newhauen out of the Englishmens hands, either by practise or open force. And such intelligence was vsed betwixt the French within that towne, and the enimies without to bring this to passe, that the English could assure themselues no more of the one than of the other, and so were driuen for their owne safeties, to rid the towne of so doubtfull partakers.

The Englishmen for their owne securitie were forced to double their watch nightlie.

The seuen and twentith of Maie, proclamation was made, that all maner of furniture and apparell, apperteining to ships within the garrison, hauen, or rode of the towne of Newhauen, should be brought in: or a note to be giuen therof in writing to the lord lieutenant and councell there, before twelue of the cloke the next day. Saturdaie the two and twentith of Maie, about one of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue with fiue hundred horsemen, and twentie two ensignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Lheure, neere vnto the new fort, which by order of the lord lieutenant was latelie before begun to be built, sir John Portinarie being chiefe deuiser of the fortifications about the same. The enimies meaning was, to haue taken the same fort by a sudden assault: but the English scouts looking well to their charge, gaue intelligence to the lord lieutenant thereof, who incontinentlie going to the bulworke royall, set out by the posterne capteine John Ward with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Parkinson with his hundred, to passe to the fort, there to be an aid and defense to them that laie in the same.

The Reingraue with his forces.

About three of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue suddenlie with his bands of horsemen and footmen gaue them in the fort an hot alarum; and immediatlie the earle of Warwike gaue in charge to these capteins, Read, Apleyard, Cottie, Couch, Antwisell, Ward, Morton, and Parkinson, hauing with them a thousand footmen, and twentie horsemen, to set vpon the enimies in the village of Lheure, neere adioining to the said new fort, where the valiant English souldiers shewed well the wonted valure of their worthie ancestors, giuing such an hardie onset vpon their aduersaries, that greater manhood had not lightlie apeared in any incounter than was vsed by those martiall capteins, and their warlike bands at that present, to the high honor of their countrie: insomuch that they beat backe their enimies, slue and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beside thirtie faire horses, and an ensigne, which one Gallwike lieutenant to capteine Antwisell got.

An alarum giuen to the new fort by the Reingraue.

The hardie onset of the Englishmen made vpon their aduersaries.

Amongst the numbers of them that were slaine, there were found aboue thirtie handsome gentlemen and verie well appointed. To conclude, the Englishmen behaued themselues so manfullie on each side, that by plaine force of armes they drone the enimies quite out of the village, & after set it on fire, because the enimies should not come to incampe therein, as their purpose was to haue done at that present. The six and twentith of Maie, the Frenchmen in number about three thousand horsemen and footmen came downe towards the windmils, neere to the bulworke called saint Andzelles, against whom the English horsemen and footmen issued forth of the towne, giuing them a right hot skirmish, which continued for the space of two houres, insomuch that there were slaine of the French to the number of 200; beside an hundred and aboue that were hurt. On the English side that daie were lost about a dozen

The Simons put to flight.

Another skirmish.

The lord lieutenants proceeding to be gathered by his proclamations.

zen or thirteene persons, and amongst others, was capteine Tremaine slaine, and manie hurt. To conclude, the Englishmen like hardie and worthie souldiers wan and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen in the end were driuen to retire, and besides other losses which they receiued, they had aboue fiftie of their horsses killed and hurt.

The Frenchmen driuen to retire.

In this skirmish, being one of the notablest that had beene lightlie seene manie a date before, capteine Horsleie shewed worthie proofe of his most valiant courage, winning to himselfe such commendation, as the same will not be forgotten, whilest anie shall remaine aliue that beheld his manfull dealings: being such at that present, as deserue to be registred in the booke of fame, & to continue with posteritie for euer. On saturdaie the fift of June at seuen of the clocke at night, the Reinsgraue hauing laid in the village of Lheure an ambush of six hundred horssemen, and fiftéene hundred footmen, there came downe also betweéns the abbeie and the village called Englesield towards the towne, the number of a thousand footmen, which began a verie hot skirmish, first at the new fort, comming euen hard to the ditches, where the Englishmen manfullie incountered them. Herewith also the Reinsgraue apointed other to come downe, and approch the bulworks of saint Addresses, saint Francis, & saint Michaell, and to (conclude) round about the towne: so that there were of them to the number of six thousand that were imploied in this skirmish, which was maintained right fercelie for the space of two hours, with verie sharpe and cruell fight: in the end the enimies were forced to giue place, with the losse of fiue hundred of their men, Almans, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spaniards.

Capteine Horsleis valiancie.

Another skirmish.

The Reinsgraue with his forces.

The number which the French lost in this skirmish.

The Englishmen for their owne safetie were forced to double their watch nightly

The Englishmen verelie in this seruice shewed, that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient race of their noble progenitors. Besides those that were slaine on the French part, amongst whom was one of their capteins of good account amongst them, they tooke also Ballompeere an Almane, colonell ouer ten ensignes of footmen. The presence of the lord lieutenant was not wanting that date, both to incourage his worthie souldiers, and also to see them aplied with weapon and munition, so as they should not be vnprouided of anie thing that was needfull for seruice. Of Englishmen there was hurt capteine Gilbert, and capteine Pelham, and about fiftéene other hurt and slaine. The seuenth of June capteine Edward Dudleie arriued at Newhauen, with an hundred souldiers. The morrow after, the first canon shot light within the towne of Newhauen, neére to the bulworke of saint Addresses, striking into the house where capteine Wheéler was lodged, which shot being brought to my lord of Warwike by Blewmantell pursuant at armes, his honor beholding it, reioised thereat, and said, by Gods grace he would answer them againe.

Ballompeere.

Capteine Gilbert and capteine Pelham hurt.

Edward Dudleie.

In alarum giuen to the new fort by the Reingraue.

The hardie onset of the Englishmen made vpon their aduersaries.

The ninth of June arriued at Newhauen three capteins with their bands, of an hundred a peece, being of the garrison of Berwike: to wit, capteine Tremaine, capteine Cotnewall, & capteine Carew. Edward Randoll also landed there the same date, apointed to be knight marshall. For ye must vnderstand, that sir Adrian Poinings, being knight marshall vpon his returne into England, was otherwise emploid, and went not backe againe: and then was sir Thomas Finch of Kent apointed to go ouer to supplie the roome of knight marshall: who making his prouision readie, sent ouer his brother Erasmus Finch to haue charge of his band; and his kinsman Thomas Finch to be his prouost marshall, whilest staieng till he had euerie thing in a readinesse to passe ouer himselfe. At last, he imbarked in one of the

Newe supplie of Berwike souldiers.

Capteine Randoll apointed knight marshall.

Sir Thomas Finch.

The Almans put to flight.

Another skirmish.

quéenes maiesties ships called the Greiehound, hauing there aboord with him, besides three score and six of his owne retinue, fourteéne other gentlemen, two of them being brethren to the lord Wentworth, James Wentworth, and John Wentworth, with diuerse others, who in the whole (accounting the mariners) amounted vnto the number of 200 persons and vpward. And as they were on the furthest coast toward Newhauen, they were by contrarie wind and foule weather driuen backe toward the coast of England; and plieng towards Rie, they forced the capteine of the ship, a verie cunning seaman named William Maline, and also the maister and mariners, to thrust into the hauen before the tide, and so they all perished, seuen of the meaner sort onlie excepted, where of three died shortlie after they came to land.

Sir Thomas Finch drowned.

The dead bodie of sir Thomas Finch amongst others was cast on shore, & being knowne, was conueied home to his house, and there buried in his parish church. After this mischance, and losse of that worthie gentleman, the said Edward Randoll was appointed knight marshall, who ordeined a right sufficient personage, capteine John Shute, to be his prouost marshall. The fiftéenth of June, capteine Richard Sanders, and capteine William Saule, with their bands of an hundred souldiers a peéce, and capteine Drurie, with two hundred, arriued at Newhauen: and the morrow after arriued capteine Roberts with another hundred of souldiers. And on the seuenteenth of June, being thursdaie, sir Francis Knolles, vicechamberleine of the quéenes maiesties house landed there, béeing sent ouer by hir maiestie and hir councell, to view the state of the towne.

Edward Randoll prouost marshall.

A supplie of souldiers arriue at Newhauen.

Sir Francis Knolles arriuall.

On fridaie the eightéenth of June, a sergeant of capteine Blunts band, and a souldior of capteine Darcies band, were executed in the market place of Newhauen, for drawing their weapons against their capteins, and forsaking their appointed places of warding, and such other lewd parts which they had committed. The fiue and twentith of June, proclamation was made, that no souldior of the new fort should resort to the towne of Newhauen, without licence of his capteine, or some of his principall officers, on paine of death: or that anie man should presume to passe the limits of the said new fort, except vpon occasion of seruice, in companie of his capteine or lieutenant, on like paine. And this order was taken, because diuerse straggling abroad, had béene taken prisoners, and slaine by the enimies, to their owne reproch, & hinderance of the princes seruice. The eight and twentith of June, the Frenchmen came downe to the village of Lheure, & there verie neére to the fort began to skirmish with the Englishmen. There were of them ten ensignes of footmen, and two hundred horssemen. This skirmish lasted three houres, and yet there were not past foure slaine. The night following, they placed fiue canons betwixt the towne and the brickehils, and likewise they placed other péces of their artillerie at the foresaid village of Lheure, so that they shot both into the towne and fort.

Execution of souldiors for drawing vpon their capteins.

A proclamation forbidding resort of souldiors to Newhauen without licence.

A long skirmish without anie great hurt.

Canons placed to beate the towne.

The first of July about midnight, they issued forth of their trenches, and skirmished with the English scouts, drone them vnder the bulworke of saint Addresses, and there perceiuing that the Englishmen had a priuie sallie out, after a long skirmish they retired. They had meant to haue set the mils belonging to the towne on fire: but they had such plate made them, that about three of the clocke in the morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Englishmen in rest, hauing done to them little or no hurt at all. The great ordinance on both sides was not idle, whilest this skirmish was in hand. The se-

cond

Six hundred out of Northfolke, and three hundred out of Suffolke.

cond and third of Julie, there landed nine hundred souldiors that came forth of Northfolke and Suffolke, yellow clokes and blew clokes verie well appointed, having to their capteins Ferdinando Liggens, Philip Sturlete, John Highfield, and Edward Dyuer. Also there came the same time fiftie carpenters, sixteene sawyers, and eight smiths in hir woorks. Moreouer, on the third daie of Julie, about ten of the clocke at night, the French gaue a great alarum to the towne, beat in the scouts: but incontinentlie issued forth fiue hundred souldiors out at the salliens place, vnder the greene bulwoorke, and beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and kept them waking all that night.

Capteine Sanders hurt and dieth.

The same time, capteine Sanders was hurt with a shot in the leg, whereof he shortlie after died: other losse at that time the Englishmen receiued not. The fift of Julie, a proclamation was made for souldiors to resort in time of alarums, vnto that part & quarter, which was assigned to their capteins, and not to absent themselues from their ensignes, whether it were at alarums, watch, ward, or other seruice. The sixt of Julie, about three of the clocke in the morning, the enimies planted three canons, and three culuerings, discharging that morning to the number of foure score and ten shots: but perceiuing they did little hurt, they staied their shoting, sauing that now and then they shot into the bulwoorke, and ouer it into the towne: they also leuelled a peece, and shot it off towards the new gallie, slue therein two men, and hurt three or foure other. The same daie, a canon and a culuering were sent forth of the towne to the new fort. The twelfe of Julie, about foure of the clocke in the morning, the French laid batterie to the bulwoorke of saint Andrewes, continuing the same all that daie. They also dismounted the same daie the ordinance in the steeple of Newhauen, and beat downe the great bell, cleane defacing the steeple. They discharged that daie against the towne (as was gathered by due estimation) to the number of twelue hundred canon shot.

Ordinance planted and discharged in great numbers.

The ordinance in the steeple dismounted.

William Robinson killed. William Bromfield hurt.

The same euening was William Robinson esquier, waterbailife of the towne of Newhauen slaine with a shot; and also William Bromfield maister of the ordinance hurt with the same, and being conueied ouer into England, he shortlie after died of that hurt. The fourteenth of Julie, sir Hugh Paulet knight landed at Newhauen, bringing with him eight hundred souldiors out of Wiltshire and Glocestershire. The same daie came the Frenchmen downe to the number of three thousand, euen hard to the gates of the towne, beating the Englishmen out of their trenches: but yet in the end, they were forced to retire, and of Englishmen there were not past twentie slaine, and about an hundred hurt. But the Frenchmen (as was esteemed) lost aboue foure hundred horssemen and footemen, albeit they toke from the Englishmen at that present a culuering, which was set forth to annoie them. But their force at that time was such, as they preuailed, & so retired with that peece, though they well paied for it. The same daie also in the after noone, the little galeasse called the Fox, went out of the hauen, fraught with fiftie men, to flanke alongst the shore, and to beate the Frenchmen with hir shot; but as she was shoting off at them, a linnen stocke fell into a barrell of powder and set it on fire together with the vessell, so that she suddenlie sanke, and all that were aboord in hir were lost, sauing fifteene that saued themselues by swimming.

A new supplie of Wiltshire and Glocestershire men.

The galeasse burnt by casualtie.

The one and twentith of Julie, the constable of France, accompanied with the marshals Montmorancie and Burdillon, and manie other lords and knights of the order, came to the abbeie of Grauslle, where the marshall Brissacke was lodged, who had the generall charge in the armie, before the comming of the said constable. They dined togither there in the said Brissacks lodging, and after dinner they sat in councell togither how to proceed in the siege. Frisdaie the three and twentith of Julie, the constable came into the trench that was cast ouer against the bulwoorke of saint Andrewe, alongst by the sea side, and sent his trumpet to summon the towne. The lord lieutenant appointed sir Hugh Paulet to go forth, & make the answer in his name: which was in effect, that the queens maiestie of England had appointed him and others to keepe that towne; and therefore they meant not to deliuer it to anie other person, without hir graces especiall commandement. In the meane time, there were diuerse of the English capteins and gentlemen, which accompanied the said sir Hugh, offered the wine which they had brought out of the towne with them in flagons of siluer and guilt, vnto such capteins and gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by commandement of the constable, to surueie the state of the trenches, and Palisad, as the French writers themselues confesse. Amongst others, there was capteine Monines the lieutenant of one of the ensignes coronels of monsieur Dandelot, with whom capteine Leighton, being of acquaintance, had some talke.

The constable discommoneth the towne.

Sir Hugh Paulets answer to the constable.

Capteine Monines. Capteine Leighton.

The Englishmen and Frenchmen were no sooner departed, they to their trenches, and the Englishmen into the towne, but that the enimies hauing planted that morning eight canons in batterie against the castell, and the bulwoorke of the hauen, caused the same to be shot off, continuing the same till wednesdaie at noone, being the eight and twentith of Julie. There were six other canons also planted by them in the meane space, which likewise made batterie to the castell, and to the townegate. In this meane time also, Cuthert Vaughan comptrollor, departed out of this life, a skilfull man of warre, and no lesse circumspect than hardie, both to preserue those which he had vnder his conduction, and to incourage them to doo manfullie, when time thereto serued. Saturdaie, the foure & twentith of Julie, the batterie still continuing as before, certeine peeces were bent also to beat and trauerse the hauen. The Englishmen therefore setting fire on two windmils that stood there, abandoned a trench which they kept: and the Palisad, capteine Poiet, lieutenant of an other of the ensignes coronels of the French footmen vnder monsieur Dandelot, entred with his band, and toke possession of a tower that stood at the end of the said Palisad. The French yet had hot abiding there, notwithstanding all the diligence and policie which they could vse to lodge there in safetie. Among others, capteine Richlieu maister of the campe, was hurt in the shoulder with an harquebuse shot.

The castell battered.

Cuthert Vaughan departeth this life, his vertue praisd.

Windmils set on fire.

Richlieu maister of the campe hurt.

The marshall Montmorancie caused a platforme to be raised, ioining to the Palisad, where about euening the same daie he planted foure peeces of artillerie. On sundaie the fiue and twentith of Julie, monsieur de Estrée, great maister of the artillerie, accompanied with the seneschall of Agenois, vsed all diligence that might be to place the artillerie for batterie: whereunto also, monsieur de Caillac applied himselfe by the constables commandement, who had compounded a matter in variance betwixt him and monsieur de Estrée. This sundaie and mondaie following, they were verie buse to bring their purpose in that behalfe to passe, & likewise to aduance their trench vnto the side of the breach. The marshall de Bardelon abode in the trench there all sundaie, and lost two of his gentlemen. The mar-

Monsieur de Estres.

Monsieur de Caillac.

shall

The marshall Montmorencie.

shall Montmorencie, accompanied with diuerse lords & knights of the order, remained all mondaie in the trenches, to prepare things readie for the batterie, not without some danger of his person. For the stones that were beaten with the bullets comming out of the towne flew verie fast about his eares, of the which there was one that hit him a blow on the shoulder, an other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting also in other parts of his bodie, if his armor had not defended him the better, he had not escaped without further harme. The same daie, the prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier came to the campe, and alighting at the constables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the marshall Montmorencie, and to supplie his rome, whilest he might in the meane time go to supper with his father, and so take his rest. Monsieur Destrée, and the other that had charge about the planting and ordering of the artillerie, vsed such diligence, and were so earnestlie called vpon and incouraged by the prince of Conde, continuallie remaining in the trenches, that on tuesdaie in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the bulwarke of saint Adreffes, and other places.

The place of Conde and the duke of Montpensier.

The bulwarke of saint Adreffes battered.

This was done not without great danger of the pioners and men of warr that garded them, for as the French desperatlie made their approch, so they were made by English gunners to tast the bitter fruit that the canon & culuerings yeelded. But such was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now assembled togither, in hope to recouer that towne, which being possessed by the English, cut off all traffike from Rouen and Paris, and so consequentlie from the cheefe parts of the whole realme of France, that with their generall aid, and drawing the water downe to the sea, the marishes were made passable and firme ground, which to men of great experience was thought a thing vnpossible. The castell, the walles, and other defenses of the towne were battered, breaches made, and the trench which before the comming of the constable, was but brought to the point ouer against the bulwarke of saint Adreffes, was now within foure daies aduanced neere hand the space of two miles, vpon the causeie or breach which was all of stone, without anie earth to couer them: so that they were driuen to make the best shift they could with woolsacks, sandbags, baskets and fagots. Yet all this had neuer come to passe, nor could haue beene wrought without infinit slaughter, and far more losse of French blood, that necessarilie should haue beene spilt, if the great mortalitie of pestilence which entred the towne about the beginning of the summer, through a malicious infection, had not so greatlie increased, that it slue & toke awaie dailie great numbers of men, beside those that being sicke thereof, escaped with life; but were yet so feeble and weake, that they were not able to helpe themselues, nor to doo anie seruice available at all.

Thus we see things in opinion impossible, by industrie possible.

The castell battered.

Cuthert Maughan departeth this life, his worthie praise.

The great inclination of pestilence in Newhauen.

There died so manie dailie through the vehemencie of the infection, that the streets laie euen full of dead corpses, not able to be remoued or buried, by reason of the multitude that perished. Herewith they were greeuouslie annoied for want of fresh vittels; but cheeflie of fresh waters, which the enimie by long siege had cut off. And now the shot of the canon, lieng within six and twentie pases of the towne, was so terrible, as the like had not lightlie beene heard of: and sundrie breaches therewith were alreadie made; namelie two verie great and easie for the enimies to enter. All these dangers and miseries notwithstanding, the worthie earle of Warwike with his captains and soldiors in couragious order stood at those seuerall breaches, readie to defend the same, if the enimies had presumed to haue giuen the assault, nothing afraid of death nor bloudie wounds; before which he preferred the seruice of his prince. And albeit the aduenture was great, yet by his owne example he incouraged other to cast awaie all dread of danger, and to shew themselues bold, which to a soldior in battell is a whetstone to set him on edge. And surelie in this point he was warriorlike minded, if a man may allow the poets words in the like sense:

Res magnæ non absque graui discrimine fiunt,
In dubijs prodest ingenerosa audacia rebus.

Additions to Lanquet.

The constable of Montmorencie.

Sir Hugh Paulets answer to the constable.

Captaine Mannings.

Captaine Leighton.

Windmils set on fire.

Richlieu maister of the campe hurt.

Monsieur de Estrée.

Monsieur de Cailac.

The high valiancie of the earle of warwike.

Which when the constable perceiued, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of imparlee, that talke might be had for the concluding of a composition betwixt both the parties. This offer, considering that sore contagious mortalitie wherwith the towne was most grieuouslie infected, hauing so greatlie infeebled the English forces within the same, was thought not vnmet to be receiued. Hereupon, after a sallie made by the Englishmen, and a faire skirmish betwixt them and the Frenchmen that laie afore the fort de Lheure, on the tuesdaie the seauen and twentith of Julie maister William Pelham capteine of the fort, with anocher gentleman and a trumpetter, went forth by appointment, and was receiued first by monsieur de Rosses, who brought him to the marshall Montmorencie, and after by his appointment went with him by the Reingraues campe to the constable: and till his returne a truce was accorded on that side of the fort. After that maister Pelham had talked a space with the constable, the matter was put ouer till the next daie, and so he returned.

Capteine Pelham went forth to talke with the commissioners.

The commissioners appointed to talke with the constable.

The morrow after being wednesdaie, and the eight and twentith of Julie, the constable about seauen of the clocke came to the end of the trenches next to the towne, where sir Maurice Denis treasuror of the towne, sir Hugh Paulet, capteine Horsele, capteine Pelham, capteine John Shute prouost marshall, and Nicholas Malbie secretarie to my lord lieutenant came forth, and passed ouer the hauen to commune with him. And during the parlee betwixt them, a truce was accorded and assented to by both parts: the which neuertheless was broken two seuerall times through the vnrulie insolencie of certeine harquebutters. And though by the good diligence of the capteins they were incontinentlie quieted and staied: yet the valiant earle of Warwike, shewing at a breach in his hose and dublet in sight of his enimies, was by a lewd soldior of the French (contrarie to the law of armes) shot through the thigh with an harquebuse. The constable and the English commissioners appointed, had long conference togither; and before they concluded, the marshals Montmorencie and Burdellion (and at length the marshall Brissac also) came to the place where they were thus in parlee: but the constable toke vpon him to haue onelie authoritie to accept or refuse such conditions as should be offered, or agreed vnto by the English commissioners in this treatie. And so at length they passed certeine articles in forme as followeth.

Additions to Lanquet. The earle of Warwike hurt.

The constable toke vpon him to be chiefe in authoritie on the French part.

The articles of agreement touching *the surrender of Newhauen.*



First, that the earle of Warwike should render againe the towne of Newhauen into the hands of the said constable of France, with all the artillerie and munitions of war then being in that towne, and belonging to the French king and his subiects.

2 Item, that he should leaue the ships that were in the said towne at that present, belonging either to the king or his subiects, with all their furniture: and generallie, all such merchandize and other things, being likewise at that present within that towne, as

either belonged to the king or his subiects.

3 Item, for the more suertie of the premisses, the said earle should presentlie deliuer into the hands of the said conestable, the great tower of the said hauen, so that the soldiors which were placed therin enter not into the towne: and that the said earle of Warwike should cause the gates there towards the towne to be warded, till it were in the possession of the said conestable, without planting anie ensigns on the said tower, according to the said agréement; and also that the said earle should deliuer foure such hostages as the said conestable should name.

4 Item, that the next daie, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the said erle should withdraw his soldiors which are in the fort, & deliuer it immediatlie into the hands of the said conestable, or such as should be by him appointed to receiue the same at the said houre.

5 Item, that all prisoners which haue béene taken before the said hauen, should be deliuered on either side, without paieng anie ransome.

6 Item, that the conestable should for his part suffer the said earle of Warwike, and all those that are in garrison in the said Newhauen to depart with all things whatsoeuer that belonged to the queene of England and hir subiects.

7 Item, that for the departure as well of the said earle, as the removing of his soldiors, and other things before rehearsed, the said conestable agreed to giue them six whole daies, beginning the morrow then next following; to wit, the nine and twentith of Julie: during which six daies, they might franklie and frelie take and carrie awaie all the said things. And if wind or foule weather shuld hinder, that their passage could not be made within the said terme; in this case the said conestable should grant them such further time of delaie, as might be thought reasonable.

8 Item, the said conestable did likewise permit, that all the ships and English vessels, and all other that should be appointed for the portage and conueieng awaie of the said things, should safelie and frelie passe into and fro the said hauen, without anie stais or impeachment, either by the French armie or anie other. The said foure hostages were appointed to be maister Oliuer Mahers, brother to the earle of Rutland, capteine Pelham, capteine Horsleie, and capteine Leighton. In witnesse whereof, the said lords, the conestable of France, & the earle of Warwike signed these articles the eight and twentith of Julie, 1563.

Additions to Lanquet.

The earle of Warwike commended.

Thus the earle of Warwike, as he had during the whole time of his abode there in that towne of Newhauen) shewed himselfe a right hardie & valiant capteine; so now in the end he proued himselfe to be both prudent and politike. For by accepting of these honorable conditions to go with all armor, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage, in anie wise appertaining or belonging either to the quéenes maiestie, or to anie of hir graces subiects, he saued the liues of a great number, which otherwise scaping the scourge of the infectiue plague, must néeds haue fallen vnder the edge of the sword. The conestable, during the time of the parlée, sent his yongest sonne monsieur de Thorre to the king and queene mother, to aduertise them of the treatie of this peace. And after it was once concluded and signed by the erle of Warwike, he sent his eldest sonne the marshall Montmorencie, to present the same vnto them at Criquetot, halfe waie betweene Newhauen and Felcampe, who were right ioifull of the news: and the next daie they came to the campe, shewing great signes of their conceiued gladnesse, for the recouering of that towne thus out of the Englishmens hands.

The French king commeth to the campe before Newhauen.

On saturdaie the most part of the Englishmen tooke ship and departed homewards: for glad might he thinke himselfe that could get foorth out of that vnwholesome and vnsauorie aire. Manie sicke persons yet were left behind, impotent and not able to helpe themselues. The miserie whereof Edward Randoll esquier, high marshall of the towne, who was appointed to tarrie and sée the vttermost of the composition accomplished) perceiuing, moued with naturall pitie of his countreimen relinquished without comfort, caused the said sicke persons to be caried aboord, not sparing his owne shoulders, at that time feeble and subiect to the plague, himselfe and his men still bearing & helping the poore creatures on shipboord. A rare saiid of this reward, and no doubt in remembrance with God, the trew reuender of mercifull deserts. Thus was the towne of Newhauen redoced againe into the hands of the French, more vndoubtedlie through the extreme mortalitie that so outragiouslie afflicted the soldiors and men of warre within the same, than by the enimies inforcements, although the same was great, and aduanced to the vttermost of the aduersaries power.

John Stow. Maister Edward Randall full of pitie and commiseration.

Besides the meaner sort of those that died of the pestilence during the siege, these I do find noted as chiefe: Cuthert Vaughan comptroller of the towne, Francis Sumerset coline to the earle of Worcester, Aucrie Darcie brother to the lord Darcie, John Zouch brother to the lord Zouch, Edward Dymelbie, Thomas Dzurie alias Polgnard, Richard Croker, John Cookson, Thomas Remish, John Proud, William Sanle, Willsted Antwisell. Besides these being capteins & chiefe dieng there in that towne, or else sickening there and dieng vpon their returne into England, there were diuerse other gentlemen, and such as had charge, which likewise ended their liues by force of that cruell and most grieuous pestilent infection. There were diuerse also that were slaine, as well by cannon shot, as otherwise in the field in skirmish; as both the Tremains brethren of one birth, Nicholas and Andrew, capteine Richard Sanders, with maister Robinson, and maister Bromfield, of which two before ye haue heard: also one Leighton a gentleman, & diuerse mo whose names I know not, worthie neuertheles to be remembred & placed in ranke with such worthie men, as in their countries cause haue lost their liues, and are therefore by writers registred to liue by fame for euer.

Chiefe personages that died of the plague at Newhauen.

Diuerse of name by cannon shot, &c. slaine.

But now to passe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of pestilence being in the towne of Newhauen, thorough the number of souldiors that returned into England the infection therof spread into diuerse parts of this realme: but especiallie the citie of London was so infected, that in the same whole yeare, that is to saie, from the first of Januarie 1562, vntill the last of December, in 1563, there died in the citie and liberties thereof (conteining one hundred & eight parishes) of all diseases twentie thousand, three hundred, three score and twelue: and of the plague being part of the number aforesaid, seuenteene thousand, foure hundred, and foure persons. And in the outparishes adioining to the same citie, being eleuen parishes, died of all diseases in the whole yeare, three thousand, two hundred, foure score and eight persons: and of them, of the plague two thousand, seuen hundred, thirtie and two. So that the whole number of all that died of all diseases, as well within the citie and liberties, as in the outparishes, was twentie three thousand six hundred and three score: and of them there died of the plague, twentie thousand one hundred thirtie and six.

John Stow. Pestilence transported from Newhauen to London.

One hundred and eight parishes in London, besides eleuen in the suburbs.

The eight of Julie in the morning, happned a great tempest of lightning and thunder, where thorough a woman and three kine were slaine, in the

Tempest at London by lightning and thunder.

Couent

Couent garden neere to Charingcrosse. At the same time in Essex a man was torne all to peeces as he was carieng haie, his barne was borne downe, and his haie burned: both stones and trees were rent in manie places. The councell of king Philip at Burels commanded proclamation to be made in Antwerpe and other places, that no English ship with anie cloths, should come into anie places of the low countries: their colour was (as they said) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London, & other places of England. Neuertheless they would gladlie haue gotten our woolles, but the quéenes maiestie thorough sute of our merchant aduenturers caused the woll fleet to be discharged, and our cloth fleet was sent to Emden in east Friseland, about Easter next following, in the yeare of our Lord 1564. Forsomuch as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no tearme kept at Michaelmasse. To be short, the poore citizens of London were this yeare plagued with a threefold plague, pestilence, scarsitie of monie, and dearth of victels, the miserie whereof were too long here to write: no doubt the poore remember it, the rich by slight into the countries made shift for themselues, &c.

An earthquake was in the moneth of September in diuerse places of this realme, speciallie in Lincolne & Northamptonshires. After the election of the maior of London by the councels letters, the quéens maiesties pleasure was signified vnto sir Thomas Lodge then maior, that forsomuch as the plague was so great in the citie, the new maior elected should kéepe no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that thorough bringing togither such a multitude, the infection might increase. For that wéeke there died within the citie and out parishes, more than two thousand: wherefore sir John Whight, the new maior, toke his oth at the vttermost gate of the tower of London. From the first daie of December, till the twelfe, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especiallie the same twelfe daie at night, that the like had not béene séene nor heard by anie man then liuing.

In the moneth of December was driuen on the shore at Grimsbie in Lincolnshire a monstrous fish, in length ninetéene yards, his taile fiftéene foot broad, and six yards betwéene his eies, twelue men stood vpright in his mouth to get the oile. For that the plague was not fullie ceassed in London, Hilarie tearme was kept at Hertford castell beside Ware. This yeare the thirteenth of Aprill, an honorable and joifull peace was concluded, betwixt the quéenes maiestie and the French king, their realmes dominions and subiects: and the same peace was proclamed with sound of trumpet, before hir maiestie in hir castell of Windsor, then being présent the French ambassadors. And shortlie after, the quéenes grace sent the right honourable sir Henrie Careie lord of Hunnesdon, now lord chamberleine (of whose honourable and noble descent it is thus written

——*cuius fuerat mater tera pulchra*
Regina genitrix Henrici nobilis vxor)

accompanied with the lord Strange, beside diuerse knights and gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the garter, who finding him at the citie of Lions, being in those parties in progresse, he there presented vnto him the said noble order: and Garter king at armes inuested him therewith, obseruing the ceremonies in that behalfe due and requisit. The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceassed in London, both Easter and Midsummer tearmes were kept at Westminster. ¶ And here by the waie to note the infection of this plague to haue béene dispersed into other countries beside England, it is read in Schardius *In epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando primo imperatore*; that the pestilence did so rage in Germanie, and poisoned such peopled places, namelie Norimberge, Francford, Magdburge, Danske, Hamburgh, and their borders, that by estimation (saith he) there died of that contagion to the number of three hundred thousand. A grieuous scourge of God (saith mine author) howbeit verie few thereby so terrified, that they reformed their wicked liues. Which plague in Germanie I therefore doo here repeat, bicause by all likelihoods it is to be gathered, that as it raged in the same yeare both there and here; so the cause maie be all one that bred so venemous an effect.]

There was on the vigill of S. Peter a watch in the citie of London, which did onelie stand in the highest streets of Cheape, Cornehill, and so forth to Algate: which watch was to the commons of the same citie as chargeable, as when in times past it had béene commendablie done. The fift of August, the quéenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and was of all the students (being inuested according to their degrées taken in the schooles) honourablie and ioifullie receiued in the kings college, where she did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The daies of hir abode were passed in scholasticall exercises of philosophie, physicke, and diuinitie: the nights in comedies, and tragedies, set forth partlie by the whole vniuersitie, and partlie by the students of the kings college, to recreat and delight hir maiestie, who both heard them attentiuelie, and beheld them chéerefullie.

At the breaking vp of the diuinitie act, being on wednesdaie the ninth of August (on the which daie she rode thorough the towne, and viewed the colleges, those godlie and ancient monuments of kings of England hir noble predecessors) she made within saint Maries church a notable oration in Latine, in the presence of the whole learned vniuersitie, to the students great comfort. ¶ A copie whereof I haue set downe, as I receiued it in writing at the hands of one that then was present, and noted the same as hir maiestie vttered it. Whose words vnto me in a letter, wherewith the same oration was sent, I doo here set downe *Bona fide*. This hir maiesties extemporall oration (saith he) lieng among my papers these twentie yeares and more, I thought good now to send to you, that if anie occasion be fitlie offered in the discourse of hir highnesse reigne, you maie (if you please) insert it. In truth, I my selfe neuer elsewhere read it, which hath made me euen religiouslie to preserue it. Walter Abraham Hartwell in his *Regina literata*, dwelling vpon this onelie argument of hir comming and doings at Cambridge, glanceth in a distich or twaine at the effect hereof. But this is the thing it selfe, as I my selfe (as most vnworthie) being both an eare and also an eie witnesse, can testifie.

Serenissimæ reginæ Elisabethæ oratio,

publicè Cantabrigiæ habita, coram vniuerso
academiæ cœtu, anno 1564.
& regni sui sexto.

TSi fœminilis iste meus pudor (subditi fidelissimi & academia charissima) in tanta doctorum turba illaboratum hunc sermonem et orationem meam narrare apud vos impediat: tamen nobilium negotiorum intercessus & erga academiam beneuolétia me aliquid proferre inuitat. Duobus ad hanc rem stimulis moueor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio: alter est, vestra omnium expectatio,

The plague in Germanie whereof three hundred thousand died.

watch on S. Peters night.

Abraham Hartwell *in regina literata.*

The quéenes progresse through Cambridge.

A. F.

Tho. Newton.

Dato stimuli quibus mouebatur regia maiestas

Vt in Academicorum cœtu nonnihil eloqueretur.

tio. Quod ad propagationem spectat, vnum illud apud Demosthenem memini: Superiorum verba apud inferiores librorum locum habent, & principum dicta legum authoritatem apud subditos retinent. Hoc igitur vos omnes in memoria tenere velim: quòd semita nulla præstantior est, siue ad bona fortunæ acquirenda, siue ad principum gratiam conciliandam, quàm vt gnauiter (vt cœpistis) studijs vestris exhibeatis operam: quod vt faciatis, vos omnes oro obsecròque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirum expectatione, hoc vnum dico, me nihil lubenter prætermissuram esse, quod vestræ de me animæ beneuolæ concipiunt cogitationes.

Regia maiestas pollicetur se aliquod monumentum in academia relicturam.

Iam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ego ædificia vestra sumptuosa, à meis maioribus, clarissimis principibus literarum causa extructa. Et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupauit, atque eamentis suspiria, quæ Alexandrum quondam tenuisse feruntur. Qui cum legisset multa à principibus posita monumenta, conuersus ad familiarem seu potius ad consiliarium, multùm doluit se nihil tale fecisse. Hæc tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantùm recreauit, quæ etsi non auferre, tamen minuere potest dolorem. Quæ quidem sententia hæc est: Romam non vno ædificatam fuisse die: tamen non est ita senilis mea ætas, nec tam diu fuit, ex quo regnare cœpi, quin ante redditionem debiti naturæ (si non nimis citò Atropos lineam vitæ meæ amputauerit) aliquod opus faciam: & quandiu vita hos regit artus, nunquam à proposito deflectam.

Si non ante saltem post mortem profiteur se præstituram quod pollicetur.

Et si contingat (quàm citò futurum sit, nescio) me mori oportere, priusquam hoc ipsum quod polliceor complere possim: aliquod tamen egregium opus post mortem relinquam, quo & memoria mea in posterum celebris fiat, & alios excitem exemplo meo, & vos omnes alacriores faciam ad studia vestra. Sed iam videtis quantum interfit inter doctrinam lectam, & disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis sufficientes testes: alterius autem vos omnes nimis quidem inconsyderatè testes hoc tempore effeci, quæ meo barbaro orationis genere tam diu doctas vestras aures detinuerim. Dixi.

Outerier and Belman for the daie.

The next daie, the went forward on hir progresse to Finchinbrooke by Huntington. The thirtith daie of August was enacted by a common councell of the citie of London, that all such citizens as from thence forth should be constreined to sell their houshold stuffe, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the citie by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outcrier appointed for that purpose, and he to reteine one farthing vpon the shilling for his paines. The twentith of September arose great floods in the riuer of Thames, where through the marshes néere adioining were ouerflowed, and manie cattell drowned.

Great floods in ỳ Thames.

Ex I.S. pa. 1123

Creation of a baron name-ite sir Robert Dudleie barõ of Denbigh.

¶ The creation of sir Robert Sutton *alias* Dudleie knight of the garter, and maister of the horsse, to the quænes maiestie, who was created baron of Denbigh, and after earle of Leicester on Michaelmasse daie at saint James, with the gift of the manour of Killingworth, and other things there to him and his heires, to the yerlie value of foure and twentie pounds & better. First, the said lord attended on the quænes highnesse, to the chappell, and from the chappell to seruice, and when he was returned to the chamber of presence, the said lord with other departed to the lord chamberleins chamber, and shifted them: the said lord Robert in his surcot with the hood, his mantle borne before him by the lord Hunsdon, and led by the lord Clinton lord admerall by the right hand, and the lord Strange on the left hand, in their parlement robes, Garter bearing the patent, & before him the officers of armes, and so proceeded into the chamber of presence, where the quénes highnesse sat vnder the cloth of estate with the noblemen on ech side of hir, the ambassador of France was also present with another stranger an Italian.

The forme attendance at this creation.

And when the said lord with the other came in the quénes sight, they made their obeisance three times, the said lord knéeled downe: after the which Garter presented the letters patents to the lord chamberleine, and he presented the same to the quénes highnesse, who gaue it to sir William Cecill secretarie, who read the same with a lowd voice, & at the words of *Creauimus*, the lord of Hunsdon presented the mantle to the quéens maiestie, who put on the same, wherby he was created baron of Denbigh for him and his heires. Then the patent was read out to the end, after the which he deliuered it to the quéene againe, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said lord, who gaue hir maiestie most humble thanks, and he rose vp and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets sounding before him.

The execution of the ceremonies & orders at this creation.

Then he shifted him of those robes, and put on the robes of estate of an earle, and being led by the earle of Sussex on the right hand, and the erle of Huntington on his left hand, the earle of Warwike bearing his sword the pomell vpward, and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of estate, the lord Clinton lord admerall in his parlement robes, bearing his cap with the coronall, Garter before him bearing his patent, and the other officers of armes before him, they proceeded as afore into the chamber of presence, where, after they had made their obeisance, the said earle knéeled downe, and Garter deliuered his patent to the lord chamberleine, who gaue the same to the quénes maiestie, & hir highnesse gaue the same to sir William Cecill secretarie to read, who read the same. And at the words *Cincturam gladij*, the earle of Warwike presented the sword to the quénes highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the said new earle, putting the point vnder his left arme, and after hir maiestie put on his cap with the coronall. Then his patent was read out to the end, and then the said secretarie deliuered it againe to the quéene, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said new erle of Leicester, who gaue hir humble thanks for it.

Creation of an earle, and name he the earle of Leicester.

The quéene hir selfe giueth the sword and girdle about the earles necke.

And then he arose and went into the councell chamber to dinner, the trumpets sounding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid ambassador of France, and the said Italian, with diuerse other erles and lords. And after the second course, Garter with the other officers of armes, proclamed the quénes maiesties stile, and after, the stile of the said earle, for the which they had fiftéene pounds, to wit, for his baronie fiue pounds, & for his earledome ten pounds, and Garter had his gowne of blacke veluet garded with three gards of the same, laid on with lace, lined through with blacke taffata, and garded on the inner side with the same, and on the sléeues eight and thirtie paire of aglets of gold. The earles stile was as followeth: *Du tresnoble & puissant seigneur Robert conte de Leicestre, baron de Denbigh, cheualier du tresnoble ordre de la iarretierre, & grand esquier de la royne nostre souuereigne.* On whose scutchion, conteining sundrie cotes, inuironed with the cognisances of both orders, as well S. Michaels as S. Georges, with other ornaments, were made these verses, now common to be read:

The officers fées fiftéene pounds at this creation.

In clypeum gentilitium comitis Leicestriæ.

Quot clypeos atauum clypeo coniungis in vno,
Tot tibi virtutes atauum sunt pectore inuictæ:

Somery

Ex Schardio.

Ferdinand foretelleth the verie vttermost daie of his owne death.

Lord let me know mine end and the number of my daies, that I may be certified how long I haue to liue.

The goodlie issue male and female that God gaue Ferdinand.

Fierie impressions.

Anno Reg. 7.

Houses shattered with gunpowder.

The Thames frozen ouer.

Dwes bridge borne downe.

Somery pietas, vis imperterrita Grey,
Intemerata fides Hastingi, nobile pectus
Ferrary, Quinci probitas, bonitásque Boghani,
Martia Talbotti virtus, fidissima dextra
Beauchampi, Herculei mens inconcussa Guidonis,
Barklai vigor, & generosa modestia Lisli.]

The second of October in the afternoone, and on the morrow in the forenoone, was a solemne obsequie at Paules church in London, for Ferdinando late emperor departed. ¶ Of this emperor it is said, that lieng sicke, and so sicke that Zitard a preacher of his court then present could not hold him vp: howbeit comming at last to himselfe and somewhat in recouerie, he said to the standers by; You thought that I would neuer come againe, naie mine houre is not so soone: I dó certeinlie know that I shall not die before Whitsuntide. Now when he had liued till that daie, and eight daies after, as hauing the verie time of his departure told him by secret reuelation, (and satisfied at full touching the request that Dauid made to God about the length of his life, saieng:

Da mihi nosse meæ quæ sint stata tempora vitæ,
Et quando vltima sint fata futura mihi)

he said to them that were about him: It is the holie ghosts pleasure that I should not die before saint James tide, that as he was a pilgrime among vs, so I wish him should passe my pilgrimage out of this my native countrie. After which words spoken, his disease grew to greater force and sharpnesse, insomuch that at last, euen at the verie time prefixed, namelie S. James daie, he departed this life, after he had liued sixtie yeares, nine moneths, and od daies. He gouerned the empire aboue the space of seauen yeares, & had to wife Anne quéene of Hungarie and Boheme, by whom he had fifteene children, some male; namelie, Maximilian, Ferdinand, John and Charles: also eleuen females; to wit, Elisabeth married to Sigismund king of Poland, Anne, Marie, Mawdline, Catharine, Elenor, Margarite, Barbare, Vrsule, Helen, and Ione. He is commended for his carefulnesse, his watchfulnesse, his bountifulnesse, his gentlenesse, his vprightnesse, his discrétnesse, his peaceablenesse, and other qualities, wherin he had a kind of singularitie. And thus much of him by waie of praise, as I found it readie to my hand.]¶

The seauenth of October at night, from eight a clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the north parts of the element séemed to be couered with flames of fire, proceéding from the northeast and northwest, toward the middest of the firmament, where after it had staied nigh one houre, it descended west: and all the same night (being the next after the change of the moone) séemed nigh as light as it had béene faire daie. The twentith of November in the morning, through negligence of a maiden with a candell, the snuffe falling in an hundred pounds weight of gunpowder, three houses in Bucklersburie were sore shaken, and the maid died two daies after. The one and twentith of December began a frost, which continued so extremlie, that on Newyeares euen, people went ouer and alongst the Thames on the ise from London bridge to Westminster. Some plaied at the football as boldlie there, as if it had béene on the drie land: diuerse of the court being then at Westminster, shot dailie at pricks set vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women went on the Thames in greater numbers, than in ante frést of the citie of London. On the third daie of Januarie at night it began to thaw, and on the fift daie was no ise to be séene betwéene London bridge and Lambeth, which sudden thaw caused great floods and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houses, and drowned manie people in England: especiallie in Yorkshire, Owes bridge was borne awaie with others.

The third daie of Februarie, Henrie Stuart lord Darleie, about the age of nineteéne yeares, eldest sonne to Matthew earle of Lineur (who went into Scotland at Whitsuntide before) hauing obteined licence of the quéenes maiestie, toke his iournie towards Scotland, accompanied with fiue of his fathers men, where when he came, he was honorablie receiued, & lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the summer following, he maried Marie quéen of Scotland. About this time, for the quéenes maiestie were chosen and sent commissioners to Bruges, the lord Montacute knight of the honourable order of the garter, doctor Wotton one of hir maiesties honourable councell, doctor Haddon one of the maisters of requests to hir highnesse, with others: maister doctor Aubzeie was for the merchant aduenturers of England: they came to Bruges in Lent, Anno 1565, and continued there till Michaelmasse following, and then was the diet prolonged till March in the yeare 1566, and the commissioners returned into England.

The two and twentith of Aprill, the ladie Margarite countesse of Lineur, was commanded to kéepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the two and twentith of June, and then conueied by sir Francis Knolles and the gard to the tower of London by water. On S. Peters euen at night, was the like standing watch in London, as had béene on the same night twelue moneths past. The sixteenth of Julie, about nine of the clocke at night began a tempest of lightning and thunder, with showers of haile, which continued till three of the clocke in the next morning, so terriblie, that at Chelmesford in Essex 500 acres of corne was destroied, the glasse windowes on the east side of the towne, and of the west and south sides of the church were beaten downe, with the tiles of their houses also, besides diuerse barnes, chimneis, and the battlements of the church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was done in manie other places, as at Leeds, Cranebroke, Douer, &c.

Christopher prince and margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife sister to the king of Swethland, after a long and dangerous iournie, wherein they had trauelled almost eleuen months sailing from Stockholme, crossing the seas ouer into Liefland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Prussie, Pomerland, Meckelburgh, Friseland, and so to Antwerpe in Brabant, then to Calis, at the last in September landed at Douer, and the eleuenth daie of the same they came to London, and were lodged at the earle of Bedfords place neere to Iuie bridge, where within foure daies after, that is to saie, the fifteenth of September she trauelled in childbed, and was deliuered of a man child: which child the last of September was christened in the quéenes maiesties chappell of White hall at Westminster, the quéenes maiestie in hir owne person being godmother, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the duke of Norfolke godfathers. At the christening the quéene gaue the child to name Edwardus Fortunatus: for that God had so gratiouslie assisted his mother, in so long and dangerous a iournie, and brought hir safe to land in that place, which she most desired, and that in so short time before hir deliuerance.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the right honorable Ambrose earle of Warwike maried Anne eldest daughter to the earle of Bedford. For the honor and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodlie challenge was made and obserued at Westminster at the tilt, each one six courses: at the tournie twelue strokes with the sword, three puthes with the punchion staffe: and twelue blowes with the sword at bar-

Ex Schardio.

Ferdinand foretelleth the verie vttermost daie of his owne life.

Lord let me know mine end and the number of mine daies, that I may be certified how long I haue to liue.

The goodlie issue male and female that God gaue Ferdinand.

Fierie impressions.

Anno Reg. 7. Houses shattered with gunpowder.

The Thames frozen ouer.

Owes bridge borne downe.

Henrie Stuart married the quéene of Scots.

Commissioners chosen to go to Bruges.

1565

Ladie Lineur sent to the tower.

Standing watch at midsummer in London.

Tempest at Chelmesford of lightning thunder and raine.

The margraue or marques of Bade and his wife great with child come to London.

She is deliuered of a child.

The quéene giueth the name.

Mariage of the earle of Warwike.

The statelie attendance at this creation.

The execution of the ceremonies & orders at this creation.

Creation of an earle, and name he the earle of Leicester.

The quéene hir selfe girdeth the sword and girdle about the earles necke.

The officers fees fifteene pounds at this creation.

In clypeum gentilitium comitis Leicestriæ.

Somery

riers, or twentie if anie were so disposed. At ten of the clocke at night the same daie a valiant seruiceable man called Robert Thomas, maister gunner of England, desirous also to honour the feast and mariage daie (in consideration the said earle of Warwike was generall of the ordinance within hir maiesties realmes and dominions) made three great traines of chambers, which terriblie pealed forth the nature of their voice, to the great astonishment of diuerse, who at the firing of the second was vnhaplie slaine by a péece of one of the chambers, to the great sorow and lamentation of manie.

Robert Thomas maister gunner slaine by casualtie.

Anno Reg. 8.

The foure and twentith of December in the morning, there rose a great storme and tempest of wind, by whose rage the Thames and seas ouerwhelmed manie persons, and the great gates at the west end of S. Paules church in London (betweene the which standeth the brasen piller) were through the force of the wind, then in the westerne part of the world, blowne open. In Januarie monsieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France was sent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the ninth of that name, with the order: who at Windsore was stalled in the behalfe of the said French king, with the knighthod of the most honorable order of the garter. And the foure and twentith of Januarie, in the chappell of hir maiesties palace of Whitehall, the said monsieur Rambulet inuested Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Robert earle of Leicester, with the said order of S. Michaell.

Paules gate blowen open.

Order of saint Michaell. 1566

The marques of Baden returneth into his owne countrie.

The marquesse of Baden and the ladie Cicilie his wife, sister to the king of Swethen, who came into this land in the moneth of September last past (as before is declared) being then by the quéenes especiall appointment at their arriuall honorablie receiued by the lord Cobham, an honorable baron of this realme, and the ladie his wife one of the quéenes maiesties priuie chamber, now in the moneth of Aprill 1566 departed the realme againe, the marquesse a few daies before his wife, being both conducted by a like personage the lord of Aburgauennie to Douer. Certeine houses in Cornehill, being first purchased by the citizens of London, were in the moneth of Februarie cried by a belman, and afterward sold to such persons as should take them downe, and carie them from thence: which was so done in the moneths of Aprill and Maie next following. And then the ground being made plaine at the charges also of the citie, possession thereof was by certeine aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, giuen to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Gresham knight, agent to the quenes highnesse, there to build a place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: who on the seuenth daie of June laid the first stone of the foundation (being bricke) and forthwith the workemen followed vpon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of Nouember, in An. 1567. the same was couered with slate. The commissioners before named, appointed for the matters of Flanders, keeping their diet at Bruges, agreed to refer the whole matter to the princes on both sides: and if they could not agrée, then the merchants to haue forty daies to repare home with their merchandize, and in the meane time all things to stand as they were then. Our commissioners departed from Bruges about the sir and twentith of June.

Ground for the Burse in Cornehill first purchased.

The first stone of the Burse laid.

The quéenes progresse to Oxford.

The one and thirtith of August, the quéenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Oxford, and was of all the students, which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, so honorablie and ioifullie receiued, as either their loialnesse towards the quéenes maiestie, or the expectation of their frends did require. Concerning orders in disputations and other academicall exercises, they agreed much with those which the vniuersitie of Cambridge had vsed two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were plaied in Chists church, where the quenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intituled Palemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the quéenes chappell, had such tragicall successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires, and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

Misfortune at Oxford at the playing of a tragedie.

The fift of September after disputations, the quéene at the humble suit of certeine hir nobilitie, and the K. of Spaines ambassador, made a brasegration in Latine to the vniuersitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may reioise that it hath so learned a prince, and the vniuersitie may triumph that they haue so noble a patronesse. The sixt of September after dinner, hir grace comming from Chists church ouer Carfor, and so to S. Maries, the scholers standing in order according to their degrees euen to the east gate, certeine doctors of the vniuersitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hods, & maisters of art in blacke gownes and hods. The maior also with certeine of his brethren did ride before hir in scarlet to the end of Magdalen bridge, where their liberties ended: but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shotouer, a mile and more out of Oxford, bicause their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, hir highnes with thanks to the whole vniuersitie bad them farewell, and rode to Ricote.

The queene maketh an oration to the vniuersitie.

The valiant capteine Edward Randoll esquier, lieutenant of the ordinance, and coronell of a thousand footmen, in September last past was with his band imbarked at Bristow, and within few daies after landed at Knockfergus in the north parts of Ireland; and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by which passeth the riuer Longfoile. There the said coronell in short space fortified, to the great annoiance of Shane Oneil, and by great foresight and experience garded himselfe and his charge, till the said Oneil (to hinder and disturbe his aboad there) the twelfe of Nouember arriued with a great armie of kerne Galowglasses and horsemen, with whome the said capteine Randoll incountered, and him there so discomfited, as after that conflict he durst neuer approch the quénes power. And to his perpetuall fame, the said capteine by reason of his bold and hardie onset, that daie lost his life. Charles James the sixt of that name, son to Henrie Stuart lord of Darnlete and Marie king & quene of Scots was borne in Edenburgh castell, the nineteenth of June last past: and the eightenth of December this yeare solemnlie christened at Sterling, whose godfathers at the christening were Charles K. of France, and Philibert duke of Sauoie, and the quénes maiestie of England was the godmother, who gaue a font of gold curiouslie wrought and inamuled, waeing three hundred & three and thirtie ounces, amounting in value to the summe of 1043 pounds, nine téene shillings.

Soldiers transported into Ireland to banquish Shane Oneil.

Yong prince of Scots christened.

Anno Reg. 9.

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart lord of Darnlete before named K. of Scots, by Scots in Scotland was shamefullie murthered, the reuenge whereof remaineth in the mightie hand of God. The two and twentith of Februarie, the ladie Margaret Dowglas countesse of Lineur, mother to the said king of Scots, was discharged out of the tower of London. Within the space of ten moneths last past died seuen aldermen of London, the first Edward Bankes deceassed the ninth of Julie, An. 1566: Richard Chamberleine late shiriffe, sir Martin Bowes, sir Richard Mallorie, sir William Hewet, and sir Thomas White late maiors, then Richard Lambert one of the shiriffes for that yeare, the fourth

K. of Scots murthered. 1567

The countesse of Lineur deliuered out of the tower.

Seuen aldermen deceassed in London.

fourth of Aprill 1567. The like mortalitie to haue happened among them about a ten or eleuen yeares before, you shall read in the historie of queene Marie, in the fourth yeare of hir reigne.

See before 1133.

The two and twentith of Aprill by great misfortune of fire in the tabune of Osestrie in Wales, twelue miles from Shrewsburie, to the number of two hundred houses, to wit, seuen score within the wals, and three score without in the suburbs, besides cloth, corne, cattell, &c. were consumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after noone, and ended at foure, to the great maruell of manie, that so great a spoile in so short a time should happen. Two long streets with great riches in that towne was burnt in the yeare 1515: and likewise two more in the yeare 1564. The foure and twentith of Aprill the sergeants feast was kept at Greis inne nere vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made seuen new sergeants of the law. The seuententh of Maie in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke eight miles from Newmarket, thirtie seuen houses besides barnes, stables, and such like were consumed with fire in the space of two houres.

The towne of Osestrie burnt chiefe in English writers.

Misfortune at Oxford at the playing of a tragedie.

Sergeants feast.

Milnall in Suffolke burnt.

Shane Oneil, who had most traitorouslie rebelled against the quenes maiestie in Ireland, and had done manie great outrages in the parts of Vlster, was this yeare with his great losse manfullie repelled from the siege of Dundalke by the garrison thereof: and afterward through the great valiancie and foresight of sir Henrie Sidnete knight of the order, and lord deputie of Ireland, he was so discomfited in sundrie conflicts, with the losse of three thousand fiue hundred of his men, that now foreseeing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a collar about his necke, and disguising himselfe, to repaire to the lord deputie, and penitentlie to require his pardon to haue his life. But Neil Mackeuer his secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, persuaded him first to trie & treat the freendship of certeine wild Scots, that then laie incamped in Clan Iboie, vnder the conducting of Alexander Oge, and Mac Gilliam Buske, whose father and vncle Shane Oneil had latelie killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scots. Neuertheles he well liking this persuasion, went to the said campe the second of June, where after a dissembled interteinement, & quaffing of wine, Gilliam Buske burning with desire of reuenge for his fathers and vncles death, and ministring quarrelling talke, issued out of the tent, and made a fraie vpon Oneils men, and then gathering togither his Scots in a throng, suddenlie entred the tent againe, who there with their slaughter swords hewed in pèces Shane Oneil, his secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie few which escaped by slight.

Shane Oneil discomfited. Statuta regni Hiberniæ. Edm. Capian.

Souldiers transported into Ireland to vanquish Shane Oneil.

Shane Oneil mangled and hacht in pèces.

On saint Johns euen at night was the like standing watch in London, as had beene on saint Peters euen in the yeare last before mentioned. This yeare the emperour Maximilian the second of that name, being elected into the most honourable order of the garter, the right honourable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c. knight of the same most noble order, was appointed by the quenes maiestie to go vnto the said emperour, with the said order of the garter, according to his said election. Who being honorablie accompanied with the lord North, sir Thomas Mildmaie knight, Henrie Cobham esquier, one of the pensioners, and others, departed from London the fiue and twentith of June 1567, vnto Douer, and there imbarked, landed at Calis, and his traine at Dunkirke, and so passed through the low countries to Antwerpe in Brabant, where he was honourablie receiued by the English merchants and others, and being there went to visit madame de Parma, regent of the said countries, then resident within the same towne.

Standing watch at midsummer maintained in London.

The emperor Maximilian inuested into the order of the garter.

K. of Scots murthered.

1567

The countesse of Lincur deliuered out of the tower.

Seuen aldermen deceassed in London.

The earle of Sussex visiteth madame de Parma.

From thence he passed vnto Colen, where as his lordship and traine mounted the riuer of Rhene, & by sundrie continuall daies iourneies passed by the cities of Mentz or Maguince, vnto Oppenham, & there taking his waie by land, passed through the countrie by the cities of Wormes and Spires till he came to Vlmes, standing on the riuer of Danow, where hee arriued the one and twentith of Julie: and the three and twentith his lordship rode in post to Aulspurge, called in Latine *Augusta vindelicorum*, nine Dutch miles from Vlmes. From thence he departed the fine and twentith of Julie, and met with his traine at Donwert, he ingrome thither vpon flotes downe by the said riuer of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourneie by Ingolstat, Reinspurge, in Latine *Ratisbona*, by Passaw and other townes, till hee came to Linz, where his lordship staied the first, second and third of August, by reason of the high waters.

The iournies of the earle of Sussex during his abode beyond the seas.

And departing from thence on the fourth of August, he passed by Stoan & Cremz, by the said riuer of Danow, and so arriued at the citie of Vienna the fifth of August in this foresaid yeare 1567, where hee was receiued of the lord Smeckouites, hauing twelue horsses readie with their footclothes for his lordship, and the most respected of his traine, and so brought him to the presence of the emperour, at that present within his castell there in that citie, by whom he was right honourablie receiued, and afterwards conducted to his assigned lodging, where as all prouision was prepared and made at the emperours charges. Here his lordship continued till the fourteenth of Januarie. In which meane time the emperour verie often (as time serued) had the said earle forth with him, vnto such passimes of hunting the hart, boare, and such like, as the plentifulnesse of that countrie yeeldeth. Moreouer, during the time of his lordships abode there at Vienna, Charles archduke of Austria and Carinth arriued in that citie, whom my lord went to salute.

The emperor interteineth the earle of Sussex.

Charles duke of Austria & the earle of Sussex salute each other.

After this, vpon the quenes maiesties letters brought out of England by maister Henrie Bzoke, *alias* Cobham, one of hir gentlemen pensioners, the said earle of Sussex vpon sundaie the fourth of Januarie in the after noone, presented and deliuered vnto the emperours maiestie in his chamber of presence, the habiliments and ornaments of the most noble order of the garter, sir Gilbert Dethike knight *alias* Garter, principall king of armes, and officer for the said order, and William Dethike then Rougecrosse, also officer of armes, giuing their attendance in their cotes of armes. And the emperour at his inuesture of the said habiliments, gaue vnto the said Garter his short gowne and vnder garment, furred throughout with luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great chamber, adorned in forme of a chappell, where as all the other ceremonies belonging vnto the said noble order were obserued and accomplished. And the same night the said earle supped with the emperours maiestie, both being in their robes of the said order.

1568

Now shortlie after, his lordship with certeine of his companie taking leaue of the emperour, departed from Vienna the fourteenth of Januarie aforesaid vnto Newstat, and so through the countrie of Stire vnto Gratz the chiefe citie of Carinth, where he toke also leaue of the said archduke Charles: and from thence returning, passed those parts of the Alpes vnto Saltzburgh, where he met with the other part of his traine, and so by continuing iourneies came againe into England to the quenes maiestie towards the latter end of March. After a drie summer followed an extreme sharpe winter, namelie the latter

The earle of Sussex departeth from Vienna, &c.

John Stow. Anno Reg. 10. A sharpe winter following a drie summer.

latter part therof, with such great scarsitie of fodder and haie, that in diuerse places the same was sold by weight, as in Yorkeshire, and in the Peake of Darbishire, where a stone of haie was sold for fiue pence. There followed also a great death of cattell, namelie of horsse and sheepe.

Rich. Grafton. The queenes ships sent forth into the narrow seas.

This yeare in the moneth of Januarie, the queenes maiestie sent into the narrow seas three of hir ships, and one barke named the Anthelop, the Swallow, the Aid, and the Phenix, the which were manned with fiue hundred men. And hir highnesse appointed the charge of the said ships and men to hir trustie seruant William Holstocke of London esquier, comptroller of hir highnesse ships, who had commandement to staie the subiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vsed such diligence, as one hauing care vnto his charge, in garding as well the French as the English coasts, did the eleuenth daie of March next following meet with eleuen saile of Flemmish hoies open vpon Bullongne, which came from Rone, and had in them foure hundred and od tuns of Gascoigne and French wines, which they intended to haue caried into Flanders: but the said Holstocke staid all the said eleuen hoies, and sent them to London, where they made their discharge, and the Flemmings disappointed of those wines.

Eleuen saile of Flemish hoies laden with wines surprised by admerall Holstocke.

Moreouer the eight and twentith daie of the foresaid moneth of March, the said William Holstocke seruing in the Anthelop (at that present admerall) and in his companie being William Winter the yonger (at that time his viceadmerall) seruing in the Aid, and John Basing capteine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gouarlie capteine of the Phenix met in the narrow seas with foure téene saile of great hulkes, which were come out of Portugall, and bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall salt, and yet had good store of Spanish reals of plate, and also of good spices. The which fourteene hulkes did mainteine their fight for the space of two houres. And after that they did perceiue that they could not preuaile, hauing talked of the ordinance of the queens ships to their great hurt, as well in slaughter of their men, as also in spoile of their ships, the said Holstock and his companie toke eight of the said hulks, whereof fiue were sent into the riuer of Thames. And the admerall and viceadmerall in the said hulks being two great ships (which the said Holstocke himselfe did take) were caried vnto Harwich, and there discharged.

Six Spanish hulks laden with diuerse things taken by the English.

The eighteenth of March, through vehement rage and tempest of winds, manie vessels on the Thames with two tiltbotes before Graueseud, were sunke and drowned. The six and twentith of June, deceased Thomas Young archbishop of Yorke, at the manour of Sheffield, and was honourablie buried at Yorke.

John Stow. Great winds.

Archbishop of Yorke deceased.

The eleuenth of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bridge, neere vnto Ipswich seuentéene monstrous fishes, some of them conteining seuen and twentie foot in length, the other foure and twentie, or one and twentie foot at the least.

Monstrous fishes.

At the costs and charges of the citizens of London, a new conduit was built at Walbrooke corner neere to Dowgate, which was finished in the moneth of October, the water whereof is conueied out of the Thames.

New conduit at Walbrooke.

Anno Reg. 11. 1569

The seuen and twentith of Januarie, Philip Pestrell a Frenchman, and two Englishmen were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit; the Englishmen the one had clipped siluer, the other cast testons of tin. The eight and twentith of March, the pensioners well appointed in armor on horsbacke, mustered before the queenes maiestie in Hide parke beside Westminster. A great lotterie being holden at London in Poules church yard at the west doore, was begun to be drawne the eleuenth of Januarie, and continued daie and night till the first of Maie, wherein the said drawing was fullie ended. Sir Thomas Ro lord maior of London, caused to be inclosed with a wall of bricke nigh one acre of ground, neere vnto Bedlem without Bishopsgate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of such parishes in London as lacked conuenient ground within their said parishes.

A French man & two Englishmen executed.

Muster of pensioners.

A lotterie at London.

Burials for the dead prepared by sir Thomas Ro called Newchurchyard.

¶ On the southside whereof, ouer a folding gate this inscription is grauen in stone in great letters: *Thomas Romiles, cum prætor esset Londinensis, hunc locum Reipublicæ, in vsum publicæ sepulturæ communem, suis sumptibus dedicauit. Anno Domini* 1569. Which writing I haue here recorded, for that in viewing the same, I saw some of the letters defaced and vtterlie made awaie: which in time might likewise befall to the residue, and so the memorie of the gentleman there fixed to so good an end vanish and die. He also of a godlie motion builded a conuenient rome in Pauls churchyard, on the southside of the crosse, to receiue a certeine number of hearers at the sermon time: as may appeare by some remembrances of his name there fixed. Howbeit, this gentleman thus well disposed, and like inough to haue proceeded in more such godlie actions, was called out of this life the next yeare immediatlie following, forgoing all the pompe of this life, with no lesse good will, than he was forward by death to passe to eternall rest. His bodie was buried in Hacknie church, in the southside of the chancell, where (besides a monument of himselfe and his wife) this epitaph remaineth to be read in faire great letters, as followeth:

A. F.

The inscription or writing ouer the south gate of the new churchyard.

The death of sir Thomas Ro knight and lord maior of London.

Anno 1570. *Septemb.* 2.

The epitaph of sir Thomas Ro, wherein his issue male and female is contained.

Sir Thomas Ro lieth buried heare,
Of London knight and alderman,
Who late was maior and rule did beare,
To right the cause of euerie man:
A merchant venturer was he,
Of merchant tailors companie:
A citizen by birth also,
And eke his wife dame Marie Ro.
In wedlocke one and thirtie yeare,
They did continue man and wife,
Eleuen children she did beare,
But fiue of them haue left this life:
And six aliue doo yet remaine,
Foure of them sons and daughters twaine;
His soule with God we hope is blest,
And doth remaine in Abrams brest.]

A standing watch on S. Johns euen at Midsummer, and sir John White alderman rode the circuit, as the lord maior should haue done. The seuen and twentith of August, Andrew Gregorenich Sauin, ambassador from Muscouie, landed at the tower wharfe, and was there receiued by the lord maior of London, the aldermen and shiriffes in scarlet, with the merchants aduenturers in cotes of blacke veluet, all on horsseback, who conueied him riding through the citie to the Muscouie house in Seding lane, there to be lodged. The plague of pestilence somewhat raging in the citie of London, Michaelmas terme was first adiourned vnto the third of Nouember, and after to Hilarie terme next following. The eleuenth of October, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke was brought from Burnam beside Windsore by land to Westminster, and from thence by water to the tower of London prisoner, sir Henrie Neuill being his keeper. This yeare the lord maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth, as hath beene accustomed, but kept no feast at the Guildhall, least through comming together of so great a multitude, infection of the pestilence might haue increased. That weeke from

Ambassadors from Muscouie land at tower wharfe.

Terme adiourned.

Duke of Norffolke sent to the tower.

No maiors feast at Guildhall.

from the one and twentith vnto the eight and twentith of October, there died in the citie and out parishes of all diseases one hundred fiftie and two, of the which, one and fiftie were accounted to die of the plague.

The earle of Northumberland and westmerland retired.

On thursdaie the ninth of November, Thomas Persie erle of Northumberland receiued the queens maiesties letters to repaire to the court. And the same night, other conspirators perceiuing him to be wauering and vnconstant of promise made to them, caused a seruant of his, called Beckwith (after he was laid in his bed) to buckle in, and to knocke at his chamber doore, willing him in hast to arise, and shift for himselfe, for that his enimies (whome he termed to be sir Oswold Wilstrop, and maister Vaughan) were about the parke, and had beset him with great numbers of men. Wherevpon he arose, & conueied himselfe awaie to his keepers house. In the same instant they caused the bels of the towne to be rong backeward, and so raised as manie as they could to their purpose. The next night the earle departed thense to Branspith, where he met with Charls earle of Westmerland, and the other confederats. Then by sundrie proclamations, they abusing manie of the queens subiects, commanded them in hir highnesse name, to repaire to them in warlike maner, for the defense and suertie of hir maiesties person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the aduise and consent of the nobilitie of this realme, who in deed were wholie bent (as manifestlie appeared) to spend their liues in dutifull obedience, against them and all other traitors, sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seeke to reforme religion: sometimes declaring that they were driuen to take this matter in hand, least otherwise forren princes might take it vpon them, to the great perill of this realme.

The earles make the queene and hir subiects.

Vpon mondaie the thirteenth of November, they went to Durham with their banners displaied. And to get the more credit among the fauorers of the old Romish religion, they had a crosse with a banner of the fiue wounds borne before them, sometime by old Norton, sometime by others. As soone as they entred Durham, they went to the minster, where they tare the bible, communion bookes, & other such as were there. The same night they went againe to Branspith. The fourteenth daie of the same moneth, they went to Darington, and there had masse, which the earles and the rest heard with such lewd deuotion as they had. Then they sent their horssemen, to gather togither such numbers of men as they could. The fifteenth daie the earles parted; he of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, & so to Borowbridge; & he of Westmerland to Ripon, & after to Borowbridge, where they both met againe. On the eightéenth daie they went to Wetherbie, and there tarried three or foure daies, and vpon Clifford more, nigh vnto Bramham more, they mistrusted themselues, at which time they were about two thousand horssemen, and fiue thousand footmen, which was the greatest number that euer they were. From which they intended to haue marched toward Yorke, but their minds being suddenlie altered, they returned.

Rebels rent the bible, communion bookes and behaue themselues like Spanish boyes.

Anno Reg. 12.

The number of rebels 1000 horssemen, and 5000 footmen.

Bernards castell besieged and defended.

The fiue and twentith of November, they besieged Bernards castell, which castell was valiantlie defended by sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the space of eleuen daies, and then deliuered with composition to depart with armor, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the queens maiestie caused the said earles of Northumberland & Westmerland to be proclamed traitors, with all their adherents and fauorers, the foure and twentith of November. The lord Scrope warden of the west marches, calling vnto him the earle of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the countrie, kept the citie of Carleill. The earle of Sussex the queens lieutenant generall in the north, published there the like proclamations (in effect) as had beene published by hir maiestie against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be hir maiesties louing subiects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in fiue daies to make aboue fiue thousand horssemen and footmen. And so being accompanied with the erle of Rutland his lieutenant, the lord Hunsdon generall of the horssemen, sir Rafe Sadler treasuror, the lord William Euers, that was after appointed to lead the reareward, and diuerse other, that with their tenants and seruants were come to him, remaining as then within the citie of Yorke: he set forward from thense the sixt of December being sundaie, and marched with his power which he had thus got togither towards the enimies.

The earle of Sussex went against the rebels.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunsdon, with others against the rebels.

Sir George Bowes hauing surrendred Bernards castell (as before ye haue heard) met the earle of Sussex thus marching forward with his armie at Sisate, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton: and resting two nights there, they marched on to Crosbridge, then to Able, and so to Durham, and after to Newcastell. And the twentith of December they came to Yeram, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Nawoth, where they counselled with Edward Dacres concerning their owne weakenesse, & also how they were not onlie pursued by the earle of Sussex & others with him, hauing a power with them of seuen thousand men, being almost at their héeles; but also by the earle of Warwike, and the lord Clinton, high admerall of England with a far greater armie of twelue thousand men, raised by the queens maiesties commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the realme. In which armie beside the earle of Warwike, & the lord admerall, chéefe gouernors in the same, there was also Walter Deuereux vicount Hereford high marshall of the field, with the lord Willoughbie of Yerham, maister Charles Howard, now lord Howard of Effingham, generall of the horssemen vnder the earle of Warwike, yong Henrie Knols eldest sonne to sir Francis Knols, his lieutenant, Edward Horsleie capteine of the ile of Wight, with fiue hundred harquebussiers out of the same Ile, and capteine Leighton with other fiue hundred harquebussiers Londoners, and manie other worthie gentlemen and valiant capteins.

The rebels and Edward Dacres consult about their weakenesse.

The earle of Warwike and the lord admerall Clinton, sent against the rebels.

The comming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quaile in courage, that they durst not abide to trie the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall, being aduanced forward to Darington, ment the next date to haue sent Robert Glouer then Portculeis, and now Sommerset herald (who in his iourneie attended on the lord admerall, as Norreis king of armes did vpon the earle of Warwike) vnto the rebels, vpon such message as for the time and state of things was thought conuenient: the same night aduertisements came from the earle of Sussex vnto the earle of Warwike, and to the lord admerall, that the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were fled, as the truth was they were indeed, first from Durham, whither the said Glouer should haue beene sent vnto them: and now vpon the earle of Sussex his comming vnto Erham, they shranke quite awaie, and fled into Scotland, without bidding their companie farewell. The earle of Warwike and his power marched on to Durham. But the earle of Sussex pursuing those other rebels that had not

The rebels dare not stand to the triall of battell.

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland flie into Scotland.

not meane to flée out of the realme, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding anie resistance among them at all.

1570 Rebelles executed at Durham.

The fourth and fift of Januarie did suffer at Durham to the number of three score and six, constables and others, amongst whome the alderman of the towne and a priest called parson Plomtrée were the most notable. Then sir George Bowes being made marshall, finding manie to be fautors in the foresaid rebellion, did see them executed in diuerse places of the countrie. The one and twentith of Januarie a prentise of London was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirteenth of December had striken his maister with a knife whereof he died.

A prentise hanged in London for killing his maister.

Rich. Grafton. Lord Leonard Dacres rebelleth.

About the later end of Januarie, Leonard Dacres of Harlesele began to rebell, and procured the people of the north parts to assist him: so that he raised to the number of three thousand men. Of whose attempts when the lord Hunsdon lord warden of the east marches, and gouernor of Berwike heard, he prepared to go against him: and hauing with him sir John Forster lord warden of the middle marches, they set forward towards the place where they thought they should find him. They had with them 300 chosen soldiors of the garrison of Berwike, and twelue hundred borderers, and other of the garrisons there about the borders: so that they were in all fiftéene hundred footmen and horsemen. They marching therewith forth approched nére to a towne and castell called Naworth, which was in the kéeping of the said Leonard Dacres. And vpon a more, through the middle whereof a little riuer called Chelt hath his course, the said Leonard Dacres the two and twentith of February was readie with his power in order of battell, ranged & set in arraie after the forme of a triangle, compassed and inuironed about with horsemen. And now vpon the lord Hunsdons approch, the said Dacres with great and stout courage gaue an hardie onset vpon the said lord Hunsdon and his companie, nære vnto the foresaid riuer.

The lord Dacres readie with his power to set vpon the lord of Hunsdon.

The fight was sharpe and cruell, and the euent verie doubtfull for a while: the rebels were so stiffelie bent to do their vttermost indeuor in defense of their wicked quarrell. There were amongst them manie desperat women that gaue the aduenture of their liues, and fought right stoutlie. Manie therfore were slaine on both sides, to the number at the least of three hundred persons. But such was the forward valiancie of the lord Hunsdon, that his people incouraged by his example (whome they might see so noblie acquit himselfe, in aduenturing so farre as anie other of the whole troope) behaued themselues in such manfull wise, that the victorie in the end fell to him and his companie: and the said Leonard Dacres was forced to flée from his séelie slaine and miserable people, taking his waie into Scotland, so fast as his horsse might beare him. Captaine Reade and the other captains and soldiors of Berwike bare themselues right haliantlie, and shewed proofe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skirmish. After the which these holds and castels were taken and deliuered vnto the said lord Hunsdon: Naworth which was committed vnto the kéeping of maister Hetwope, Kellwod, Greistocke and Rockleie, which were deliuered to the kéeping of diuerse of the duke of Northfolks officers.

Stout women among the rebels.

Leonard Dacres put to flight taketh his waie into Scotland.

John Stow. Rebelles executed at Yorke.

On good fridaie the seauen and twentith of March Simon Digbie of Askue, John Fulthorpe of Ilsibecke in the countie of Yorke esquiers, Robert Peneman of Stokesleie, Thomas Bishop the yonger of Poklinton in the same countie of Yorke, gentlemen, were drawne from the castell of Yorke to the place of execution called Knaues mire, halfe a mile without the citie of Yorke, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; their foure heads were set on foure principall gates of the citie, with foure of their quarters; the other in diuerse places of the countrie. Declope Clesbe was with them drawne to the gallows, and returned againe to the castell. William earle of Penbroke baron of Cardiffe, knight of the garter, one of the priuie councell, and lord steward of the quénes maiesties houshold, deceased the eightéenth of Aprill, and was buried in saint Paules church at London. ¶ This noble man liued in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quéene Marie, and quéene Elisabeth, and was by euerie of the said princes imploied in matters of great importance: and for his good and faithfull seruice greatlie honored, as appéereth in an epitaph fixed vpon his tome in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, which I thought good here to laie downe.

Knaues mire.

The earle of Penbroke deceased.

D. Powell in hist. Cambr. pag. 399.

They come to Jedworth and are interteined.

The lord of Hellyod with the principals of his alies submit themselues.

The castell of Fernihirst burned.

It grieueth both the armies met.

The Scots of Howrike their breach of couenant.

Perpetuæ pietati sacrum.

Gvlielmo Herberto Penbrochiæ comiti, equiti aurato prænobilis ordinis Anglici: Hen. viij. R. A cubiculis: Edoard. vi. R. equitum magistro: Walliæ præsidi. Tumultu occidentali cum Russello & Graio baronibus paribus auspicijs summæ rerum præposito: Mariæ R: contra perduelles, ac expeditione ad Augustam Veromanduorum his, totius exercitus duci: bis summo in agro Caletum, limitum præfecto: Elisab. R. officiorum seu Magno Regiæ magistro. Pariter & Dominæ Annæ ex vetusta Parrorum gente oriundæ, Sorori Catharinæ R. Henr. viij. R. vi. matrimonio coniunctæ, ac Marchionis Northamptonij: Prudentiß. fœminæ, pietatis, religionis, probitatis omnisque auitæ virtutis retinentiß. fidiß. Comitis coniugi: Henr. F. ac comes, Pp. chariß. sibi ac suis mœrens. P.

Obijt { ætatis / salutis } Ann. { 63. / 1569. }

Liberis relictis ex prima.
Henrico Pemb. Comite.
Edoardo equite Aurato.
Domina Anna Baronj Talbot nupta.

Secunda coniuge superstite, Georgio Salopiæ comite genita, insigni præter antiquam probitatis decus, virtute fœmina.]

The earle of Sussex entreth Scotland.

The Hoole tower.

The earle of Sussex hauing in warlike order passed the borders of Scotland, and marching forward, burned, ouerthrew, wasted and spoiled all the castels, townes and villages, as they passed, till they came to a tower called the Hoole tower, standing in a marish, and belonging to the lord of Buclewgh, which likewise was raced, ouerthrowne and burned: and so marching forward, wasted the whole countrie before them, vntill they came to a great towne called Crauling.

Sir John Forster with his companie enter into Tiuidall.

The same daie sir John Forster warden of the middle marches, with all the garrisons and forces of the same, entered likewise into Tiuidall at Espelgate, distant sixtéene miles from Warke, there in like order they burned and spoiled the countrie before them, till they came to a castell in the possession of

The lord of Drumlanerikes goods were saued from the fire, &c.

of the lard of Fernherſt, being parcell of hir ſons lands, which likewiſe was ouerthrowne, raſed, and burned, with all other caſtels, piles, townes, and villages, all alongſt the ſaid countrie, till they came to Cranling, ioining there with the lord lieutenants power. This towne was likewiſe burned and ſpoiled. Thus they paſſed the riuer of Tiuet, raſing, burning and ſpoiling the caſtels, piles, ſtone houſes, townes, and villages alongſt that riuer, vntill they came to Jedworth, where they lodged for that night, and were of the magiſtrats of that towne courteouſlie receiued, who had made indifferent good prouiſion for the armie, both of vittels for men, and of haie and prouender for horſſes. Whereupon proclamation was publiſhed made in the name of the lord lieutenant, that no Engliſhman (vpon paine of death) ſhould diſturbe or wrongfullie take awaie anie thing from anie of the inhabitants of the ſame towne, without diſburſing readie monie therefore. Which thing did ſo much content the Scots, that the next daie the lard of Seſford, warden of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principals of his alies and kinred, came in to the lord lieutenant, ſubmitting themſelues to him, and were receiued into aſſurance: for that neither he nor anie of them had at anie time receiued the Engliſh rebels, neither aided nor aſſiſted them, neither yet made anie inuaſion into England. And whereas ſome of their men, and tenants, without their knowledge had treſpaſſed in ſuch behalfe, they were contented to abide and ſtand vnto the erle of Suſſex his order, for their ſaid men and tenants. And herevpon neither they nor anie of theirs receiued anie hurt: but by his lordſhips commandement were preſerued from ſuſteining anie damage either in bodie or goods: ſo glad he was of their ſubmiſſion, and no leſſe glad to giue them occaſion to be carefull in performance of obedience. Vnto which compaſſion God (no doubt) had inclined the noble mans hart, according to the poet words in this ſenſe verie true:

——mollia pectora reddit
Ad pietatis opus, flammis vt cera liqueſcens
In varias formas fictaris ducitur arte.

The nineteenth daie, the armie was diuided into two ſeuerall parts, whereof one paſſing ouer the riuer of Tiuet, burned the caſtell of Fernherſt, vtterlie ſpoiling the ſame, and all other caſtels & townes that belonged to the lards of Fernherſt, Hunthill, and Bedroll, and ſo paſſed to Hinto, where both the armies meeting, ioined togither againe, being not paſt a foure miles from Howike, whither they marched directlie, intending to lodge there that night, becauſe the bailiffes of the towne had offered to receiue the whole armie, and to make prouiſion for the ſoldiours of all things neceſſarie, they paieng readie monie for the ſame, and the inhabitants to be aſſured not to be hurt in bodie or goods, as was promiſed. But the Scots breaking the couenant before the comming thither of the armie, had vncouered their houſes, carried the thatch into the ſtreets, and there ſet it on fire: and this done they fled their waies with moſt part of their goods. So that when the armie approched, there was ſuch a thicke ſmoke, that no man might ſcarſelie enter the towne: and ſo for that night the ſoldiours ſuffered great lacke of vittels, lodging, and prouiſion, as well for themſelues as their horſſes. But the fire which the Scots had of a malicious purpoſe and ſubtiltie thus begun, was by the diligent induſtrie of the Engliſhmen ſo increaſed: that both the thatch and timber of the whole towne was conſumed to aſhes, a ſtone houſe perteining to the lard of Drumlanerike onlie excepted, wherein the lord lieutenant laie that night. And becauſe the ſaid Drumlanerike was a friend aſſured, the ſaid houſe was ſpared, with all the goods and corne therein, whereof there was great plentie.

The twentith of Aprill, the armie marched toward a faire proper houſe, belonging to the lard of Buclewgh, which was blowne vp with powder and vtterlie ruinated. Here the armie was againe diuided as before by the ſaid lord lieutenant his appointment, and marching by north the riuer of Tiuet towards England, they burnt and ſpoiled all ſuch caſtels, piles, townes and villages, as were belonging to the ſaid lards of Fernherſt and Buclewgh their kinſmen, alies, and adherents, & came that night againe to Jedworth, and there lodged. The one and twentith of Aprill, the armie diuiding it ſelfe againe, the one part vnder the leading of the marſhall ſir William Drurie, paſſed to the riuer of Bowbent, and there Tiuidale and Riddeſdale men meeting him, all on both ſides that riuer was burnt and ſpoiled. The other part of the armie marching by the riuer of Caſile, waſted and burnt in like maner there all that was found on both ſides that riuer, belonging wholie to the lard of Buclewgh, his kinſmen, alies and adherents.

This done, they returned againe neere to Kelſeie, where the lord lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to haue beſieged Hume caſtell. For the accompliſhment whereof, the ſame night the lord of Hunneſdon and his companie went to Warke, to bring from thence the daie next following the great artillerie. But becauſe the cartage horſſes were returned to Barwike, this could not be brought to paſſe, & ſo the lord lieutenant with the whole armie returning into England the two & twentith of Aprill, came that night to Barwike. In this iourneie there were raſed, ouerthrowne and ſpoiled, aboue fiftie caſtels and piles, and more than three hundred townes and villages: ſo that there were verie few in Tiuidale and thoſe parties there abouts, which had either receiued the Engliſh rebels, or by inuaſion indamaged the Engliſh borders, and good ſubiects inhabiting vpon the ſame, that had left to them either caſtell, pile or houſe, for themſelues, their frends, or tenants, beſide the great loſſe of goods which were waſted, taken awaie or conſumed by this armie vnder the lord lieutenant.

Now in the meane while that he with his power thus afflicted the aduerſaries on that ſide, the lord Scrope warden of the weſt marches the eighteenth of Aprill entered Scotland on that ſide, with ſuch forces as he had aſſembled. And the firſt night they incamped at Eglesham, and in the morning at the diſlodging of the campe, that towne was burnt; and paſſing forward through the countrie, they burnt and ſpoiled diuerſe other townes, almoſt till they came to Dunkriſe, and had diuerſe conflicts with the enimies, gaue them ſundrie ouerthrowes, toke manie of them priſoners. And hauing accompliſhed his purpoſe, to his high praiſe and commendation, his lordſhip returned in ſafetie with his people into England; hauing burnt in that iourneie theſe places following: Hoddon, Trailebrow, old Cockpoole, Sherington, Blackeſhaw, Banke end, Rowell, Logher wod, Bride kirke, and others. During theſe inuaſions thus made into Scotland in that ſeaſon, the marches of England were ſo ſtronglie garded in all places by the lord Euers, ſir George Bowes, and others; that the Scots durſt not ſo much as once offer to make anie inuaſion: ſo that in abſence of the armies, there was not ſo much as an houſe burnt, or a cow driuen out of the Engliſh borders.

The ſir and twentith of Aprill, the earle of Suſſex lord lieutenant, accompanied with the foreſaid lord of Hunneſdon, maſter Drurie, and diuers other captens and ſouldiours, to the number of three thouſand or thereabouts, ſet from Barwike about fiue of the clocke

They come to Jedworth and are intertained.

The lard of Seſford ioineth the principals of his alies ſubmit themſelues.

The caſtell of Fernherſt burned.

At Hinto both the armies met.

The Scots of Howike their breach of couenant.

Why the lord of Drumlanerikes goods were ſaued from the fire.

In houſe of the lard of Buclewghs blowne vp with powder.

Nothing but waſt & ſpoile by fire and ſword.

The lord lieutenants purpoſe to beſiege Hume caſtell.

what caſtels & piles were ouerthrowne and ſpoiled in this voiage.

The lord Scrope with his power.

The marches of England garded againſt the enimie.

Knames mire.
The earle of Pembroke deceaſed.
D. Powell in hiſt. Camb. pag. 399.
The earle of Suſſex inuadeth Scotland.
The Hoſſe tower.
Sir Iohn Forſter with his companie enter into Tiuidall.

clocke in the afternoone towards Warke, where they arriued about nine of the clocke in the night: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane time he put things in order necessarie for the assieging of Hume castell, the winning whereof his lordship seemed to haue vowed. About the breake of the daie he sent forth master Drurie, with certeine horsemen and shot before, to inuiron that castell, and to chuse there such a plot of ground, where he might incampe best in safetie frō the shot of the same. Which the said master Drurie accordinglie performed, and there remained till the comming of the said lord lieutenant with the armie; who setting forward the footbands, cariage, and ordinance, made haste to follow. But yet ere he could passe the riuer of Twéed, and set ouer all the men, ordinance and carriage, it was almost ten of the clocke. Héere at this riuer, the lord lieutenant caused all the horsemen to staie and to take ouer the footmen.

The marshall sent before to Hume castell.

The order taken by the earle of Sussex for the safetie of the armie.

This done, with good circumspection he appointed the demilances and other horsemen to remaine behind in the rereward, and put the footmen in the battell, for the more safegard of themselues, the ordinance and cariages. Then his lordship himselfe with his owne standard, and the lord of Hunnesdons guidon, marched forward towards Hume castell, commanding the rest of the armie with the ordinance to follow after, and so about one of the clocke in the afternoone, he came before the castell: out of the which the enimies shot at his standard verie hotlie; but (God be praised) without doing hurt either to man or horsse, and incamped vnder a rocke or crag (which the marshall had possessed) with his band of horsemen and certeine footmen, as in a place most apt from danger of shot out of the castell. Héerewith a companie of curriours and caliuers were put forward, and appointed to take an other rocke nearer to the castell, which shot at them in the said castell; and the defendants within it answered them againe verie roundlie, although without anie great hurt on either part.

Hume castell besieged.

The earle of Sussex vieweth the castell of Hume.

In the meane time the lord lieutenant himselfe, accompanied onelie with the marshall master Drurie, rode sundrie times round about the castell to viewe and surueie the same: at whome they within shot verie fore, both with their great artillerie and small shot; yet missing them, as God would, though verie narrowlie. About six of the clocke in the euening came the whole battell, ordinance and cariages, with ensignes spread, shewing themselues verie brauelie; at whome also the castell shot lustilie: but as God would haue it, without hurting either man or boie. They lodged vnder another rocke nere adioining vnto the lord lieutenant vpon the west side, where there were appointed more small shot to go to the trench, which shadowed themselues vnder the old wals of the houses, which the Scots had burnt before the comming of the Englishmen, and occupied them so within the said castell, that one of them could not so soone looke out at a lope, but three or foure were readie to salute him: and keeping them in such sort, that they durst not well shew their heads; the captein of the pioners the same night by commandement of the lord lieutenant, raised a mount vpon the northeast side of the castell, wherevpon the peeces of artillerie might be planted in batterie.

A Mount raised at the lord lieutenants commandement.

Batterie made against Hume castell.

This worke was so well applied, and with so great diligence aduanced, that by fiue of the clocke in the next morning it was finished. The eight and twentith of Aprill, the marshall maister Drurie verie earlie rode about the castell, to surueie and viewe euerie thing: which done, the great ordinance was brought to the appointed place, and bent against the castell, to wit, three canons, and two falcons. Héerewith also the lord lieutenant caused summons to be giuen vnto them within to yeeld. And about seauen of the clocke the same morning, the whole tire began to go off, and a great showt was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and of all the countrie neere adioining. The foresaid peeces continued shoting till two of the clocke in the afternoone, discharging within that space a three score shots. During the time of this batterie, there was no great store of shot discharged by the great peeces within the castell, because their master gunner within, after he had first shot off a peece, and done no hurt therewith, as he was about to shot againe, the master gunner of the two English falcons hauing espied him, tooke his leuell so right, that discharging therewith one of the falcons, he displaced the enimies peece, and stroke the gunners leg off, whereby their great ordinance within ceassed, which was an happie turne for the Englishmen.

The master gunner within the castell hurt.

About two of the clocke they within sent forth a trumpet vnto the lord lieutenant, requiring a respit that they might talke with the marshall master Drurie, and to send a messenger to the lord Hume their master, to know his further pleasure: for that being put in trust by him with the keeping of that fortresse, they could not giue it vp without his consent. And then vpon the returne of the messenger, they trusted to giue his lordship contented answer. The marshall master Drurie talked with them twise, and the lord lieutenant was contented to grant vnto William Trotter, and Gilbert Greie the lord Humes wines brother (being principall capteins appointed to the keeping of the said castell) three houres respit: with condition, that they should not vse therein anie subtiltie, or for the delaieng of time: swearing by his honour, that if they so did, he would not depart the field till he had wone it by force: and further, that there should not one of them escape with life.

The Scots sue for a respit of woar.

The capteins within Hume castell.

The lord lieutenant sweareth.

They being brought in doubt of their owne safeties hereby, sent one in post together with a seruant of master Druries the marshall, to the lord Hume. And presentlie heere vpon they shewed themselues vpon the walles and rampires of the said castell: but immediatlie the lord lieutenant sent to them a commandement, strictlie inhibiting them, that not one of them should once on paine of death looke ouer the wals or rampires, to the end to viewe the breach of the batterie, forsomuch as in the time of parlee it was against the law of armes so to do. But now the messenger that was thus sent to the lord Hume, comming to him, declared in what case his house and people stood, who being (as was supposed) not so farre off, but that he might heare how lustilie the English canons did canuasse and batter his Hunnish castell walles, did now agree to meet the marshall master Drurie two miles distant from the said castell, and there to commune further with him in that matter.

The lord lieutenants commandement on paine of death.

Upon the comming backe of the messenger with this answer, the lord lieutenant thought good to send the said master Drurie vnto the place appointed: who comming thither met with the said lord Hume. And after they had debated the matter together, at length the lord Hume was contented that the castell should be surrendered into the hands of the lord lieutenant; with condition, that his people therein might depart with life: which the lord lieutenant was contented to grant, so that there were no English men among them. Héere vpon about eight of the clocke in the euening, the gates were opened, and the keies deliuered to the marshall, who presented them to the lord lieutenant: and then the lord Hunnesdon, the said marshall, and diuerse other gentlemen entered into the castell, and by & by tooke possession

The castell of Hume deliuered to the marshall.

possession thereof in the quéene of Englands name, pulled downe their banner of defiance, and in place thereof set vp the English banners, against all those in Scotland that would saie the contrarie.

The Scots that were within it, being in number an hundred three score and eight persons, were put out in their common wearing apparell, without armour, weapon, or anie baggage. They comming to the lord lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horsebacke, presented themselues to him: who according to his word and promise of honour, caused them to be safelie conducted through the watch and scouts, to such place as they required. Amongst them there were two Englishmen, the one of them named Hilliard, the earle of Northumberlands man, the other was a vagarant person, or a roge (as we may call him) named William God saue hir *alias* Lions, which both were caried to Barwike, & there executed the thirtenth of Maie next insuing. In all this siege there were but foure persons slaine on both parts, two Scots, & two Englishmen: but there were manie hurt as well on the one part as the other. The castell of Hume being thus wone, the lord lieutenant the morow after placed therein to kéepe the house to the quéenes maiesties vse, capteine Wood, and capteine Pikman, with two hundred souldiours. This done, his lordship returned towards England and came to Barwike. During this siege there were diuerse townes and villages, situate within three or foure miles of the campe, set on fire by the Englishmen, and vtterlie spoiled. The lord lieutenant vpon his returne to Barwike, staied there for a time verie euill at ease, hauing in trauell about the siege taken such cold, as therewith he was brought into an extreame ague.

The fourth of Maie, his lordship sent maister William Drurie the marshall of Barwike, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and capteins, hauing with them about two thousand souldiours, to take Fast castell: the which vpon the first summons was deliuered into his hands, who receiuing the keies being presented to him, entered the hold, and tooke possession thereof, in the quenes maiesties name: and expelling the Scots, being about the number of halfe a score (who according to couenant were suffered to depart with their liues saued) he put ten, or (as some haue) foureténe Englishmen into that castell, which were thought able and number sufficient enough to kéepe it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong.

In this meane time the troubles increasing among the Scots, by reason of the murther committed in the person of the earle of Murreie the late gouernour, the duke of Chatellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of three thousand men, and comming to Lithquo, midwaie betwixt Sterling and Edenburgh, remained there for a time, and afterwards came to Edenburgh, in purpose to make warre against the lords of the kings part, who hauing sent to the earle of Lennor, then remaining in England, earnestlie requested him to repaire into Scotland. Whereupon he by the quenes maiesties licence, tooke his iourneie thitherwards, and came to Barwike, where he was also visited with sickenesse, and so remained certeine daies in that towne. And vnderstanding that the said duke of Chatellerraults power was such, that the lords of the kings side were not able to come together, nor he to go to them without the quéene of Englands aid, he humblie sued vnto hir maiestie by letters to haue some power by hir appointment to conduct him into Scotland, and there to aid him and the other lords of that side against their aduersaries the duke and his complices. Hereupon by hir maiesties commandement, the earle of Sussex, as yet not fullie recouered of his sickenesse, ordeined maister William Drurie the marshall of Barwike, with such forces as were thought conuenient to go with the said earle of Lennor, for the execution of such exploits in seruice as séemed most expedient. And about the same time, to wit the first of Maie, the lord Scrope lord warden of the west marches, made a rode into Scotland, incamping the first night on the hither side of the water of Annan, and the next daie marched towards the water of Milke, burning and spoiling all on that side of Annandale, namelie the lard Johnstons lands, finding small resistance, saiing that the forreie was a little troubled with a fortie or fiftie Scots horsemen, and so hauing donè his pleasure, he quietlie returned, without receiuing other impeachment: notwithstanding the lord Hekries was in Dunfrise, hauing gathered a great power in purpose to hinder his enterprise.

But now to returne to the earle of Sussex, who hauing instituted sir William Drurie generall of those bands that should passe with the earle of Lennor into Scotland: bicause each gentleman, souldior, and seuerall bands should dutifullie obeie the said sir William their new ordeined generall in all points of warlike order, the said earle made an oration in such pithie forme and manner, as throughlie expressed the whole substance of the seruice, the vnsuertie of the season, the strange and malicious dealing of diuerse aduersaries: which points he so cunninglie handled, as the excellencie of a perfect orator appeared fullie in his speach. At whose eloquence the herers rather séemed astonied than vnsatisfied in anie point or parcell of those matters: for he opened the verie bowels of rebellion, the practises of enimies, and suborning of traitors: and therefore persuaded euerie honest mind to haue a dutifull consideration of his prince and countrie, in the defense and libertie whereof, both life, lands, and goods, are alwaies to be offered.

After which oration in respect of further aduancement as the custome is (for seruice past, and incouragement to proceed in the like worthie doings) he made these knights: Sir William Drurie, sir Thomas Manners, sir George Careie, and sir Robert Constable, and placing the said sir William Drurie the appointed generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chéefeteine. Now hauing heard the lord lieutenant thus speake, and séeing the means that he vsed to incourage them against the enimie; how could they one with another but vow in mind, euen with the hazzard of their hearts, to performe to their power no lesse than he in speech implied? How could they (I saie) but venture life and lim, hauing so often séene the perillous enterprises which he himselfe vndertooke against forren hostilitie, as to his owne danger so to the high praise of his heroicall prowesse: and not without desert, as one verie well noteth, saieng:

——satrapas præclarus fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, inuicto Mauortis pectore campo.

Cumes Sussexius Camerarius.

The same daie being the eleuenth of Maie, diuerse foot bands with shot and armed pikes were set forward into Scotland, with certeine péeces of artillerie, powder, and munition in good quantitie. First capteine Bickwell with his ensignes departed the towne, and then the companies of capteine Read, capteine Carnell, capteine Game, capteine Lamberd, and capteine Errington. These old bands of Warwike conteined fiue hundred souldiours.

After them followed the companie of sir Robert Constable, their sergeant maior of three hundred

Two Englishmen slaied and after executed.

The master gunner within the castell hurt.

The Scots sue for a respit of war.

Capteine Wood and capteine Pikman.

The capteins within Hume castell.

The lord lieutenant sicke of an ague.

The lord lieutenant sweareth.

John Snow, Englishmen put into the castell to keepe it.

The lord lieutenants commandement on paine of death.

The earle of Chatellerault his complices purpose warre against the kings part.

The castell of Hume deliuered to the marshall.

Master William Drurie goeth with the earle of Lennor against the earle of Chatellerault, &c.

The lord lieutenants oration in implieng obedience of the souldiors to their new generall.

Knights made by the earle of Sussex.

shot, and the companie of sir Thomas Paners of two hundred shot. Lastlie marched forth capteine John Constable, and capteine Barwike with two hundred armed men. These twelue hundred footmen with fiue ensignes marched that night to Coldingham. Also for the better assurance of couenants and promises made on the behalfe of such lords of Scotland, as had made suite for this aid to be sent into their countrie for their assistance against them of the contrarie faction, there were certeine hostages sent into England by the same lords as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing. The twelfe of Maie, they marched forward, and the same daie sir William Drurie, the earle of Lennor, and the other new made knights, with the horssemen, departed from Barwike, and at the peece neere to Dunglas they ouertooke the footmen, and the same night all the horssemen and footmen came and incamped togither at Dunbar, being in all not past sixteene hundred men. They had foure field peeces with them, & good store of powder. The next day being the thirteenth of Maie, and Whitsun euen, they made such speed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Horton, Mar, Glencarne, the lords Kithwen, Lindseie, Simple, Glames, Methuen, Ogiltre, and Catcart, with diuerse other gentlemen.

Hostages deliuered by the Scotish lords on the kings side.

The horssmen and footmen incampe at Dunbar.

Scotish lords of the kings side.

Heere also they vnderstood that the duke of Chatellerault and his partakers were departed from Lithquo, whither they were retired backe againe from Edenburgh, on knowledge had that the Englishmen were comming forwards towards them. The fouretenth and fiftenth day they laie still in Edenburgh, and the morrow after being the sixtenth of that moneth, they marched forwards to Lithquo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they receiued aduertisements that the said duke of Chatellerault had broken vp his campe, after he had vpon his departure from the said towne of Lithquo attempted the winning of the castell of Glasco, & missing his purpose there, was driuen to retire with dishonour. The next morning being wednesdaie, the armie marched forwards, and the footmen laie that night at a place called Faukirke, a six miles from Lithquo: but the generall with the horssemen rode six miles further vnto Sterling, where they saw the young king. The next daie being the eightenth of Maie, sir Robert Constable, Sargent Maior, with the rest of the capteins of the twelue hundred English footmen, & two hundred Scots footmen, the which were most part shot, marched a long iourneie, and came to lodge that night at Glasco, and the generall sir William Drurie came to them with the horssemen, and the most part of the noble men of Scotland that were on the kings side, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with manie horssemen and footmen.

The duke of Chatellerault breaketh vp his campe.

The yoong king at Sterling.

The duke of Chatellerault (as ye haue heard) had beene there, and besieged the castell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Englishmens comming two daies before their approching thither, he raised his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of nine and twentie of his men. The nineteenth of Maie, sir William Drurie generall of the English power, being determined aforehand on a iourneie towards Dunbreton, sent forth that morning before certeine vantcurrours on horssebacke, to staie all such as they found vpon the waie. This done, he toke with him certeine gentlemen, and some shot, and rode forth towards Dunbreton, to view the straits and situation of that castell, within the which were at that present the lord Fleming, that toke vpon him as capteine thereof, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, and other their adherents, frends to the duke of Chatellerault, and enimies to the lords that were about the king.

The generall goeth to view Dunbreton,

After sir William Drurie had viewed the castell, and taken the plot of the situation thereof, he sent his trumpetter to know who were within it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the castell required to know what he was that sent to know the same. It was answered that it was the queene of Englands generall of hir forces there in Scotland that made the demand. Wherevnto answer was returned, that they knew well he was not so ignorant as he seemed (as in deed he was not) but that he did well know that this castell was, and of long time had beene kept by the lord Fleming: and that accordinglie by him, his frends and seruants it was now maintened. Which answer being reported to the generall, he sent againe his trumpetter, to know if the lord Fleming would come forth and parlee vpon assurance of honour to returne safelie. Wherevnto the lord Fleming consented, although not meaning so to do: but by a subtill practise (as was thought) intended to wind him within danger. For there were some harquebussers secretlie couched in couert, within whose reach when the generall was come himselfe alone on horssebacke, most dishonestlie (his trumpetter not yet being returned) they shot at him with great despite, meaning to haue killed him, without anie regard to the law of armes, or feare of God. But through the goodnes of the Lord almightie, that wicked practise missed the pretensed effect: for that worthie English knight receiued no bodilie hurt, but perceiuing their dealings, with a bold courage he bestowed his pistols as frelie at them as they did their harquebuse shot at him, and so returned to his companie backe againe in safetie, yeelding to God due honour and thanks for his mercifull deliuerance from such a murtherous practise of his deadlie foes.

He sendeth to view the ground where he should meet with the lord Fleming.

The generall sendeth to know who was within the castell, &c.

Lord Fleming is required to come to parlee with the generall.

The dishonorable dealing of the lord Fleming.

Upon a new occasion to vnderstand the certeintie of that, whereof he had some inkling, the one and twentith of Maie, sir William Drurie accompanied with the said gentlemen and horssemen, went againe towards Dunbreton, to parlee with the lord Fleming vpon his further promise, that he would meet him three miles from the said castell. Wherevpon the said sir William Drurie sent an Englishman and a Scotishman to view the ground, which should be appointed forth for their meeting, which they found to be so neere to the castell, as was subiect to all their shot both great and small, and cleane contrarie to the promise: and so they declared to the capteine named John Fleming, that was sent forth of the castell to appoint the same, how it was neither indifferent nor meet for such a purpose. The capteine answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stood vpon the same, and therefore would not hazard himselfe among horssemen wholie without the danger of the peece. Whereto the messengers replied, that the lord Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to be credited in this case, neither comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the queene of England. And further they said, that for so much as they had of late dealt so vniustlie contrarie to promise and the law of armes, and therby so greatlie cracked their credits, stained their honestie and honour: they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised, yer he did hazard himselfe anie more within their danger vpon their slipperie promises, except they would appoint some other place of parlee, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which would not be granted, and so they departed. Immediatlie whereupon, to shew some peece of their double dealings, and vnfaithfull practises towards the Englishmen: the Scots within the castell presentlie sent after the messengers

Sir William Drurie goeth againe towards Dunbreton.

This is a common fault in the Scots.

Scotish honestie.

sengers a colouring shot for a farewell. Thus did they by practise iustifie the opinion that strangers to them haue long conceiued of their dealing: and which he saw full well (perhaps also prowed in some part) that said of the Scotish nations untrustinesse, &c:

grœue pectus abundat
Fraudibus ingenitis & non eget arte magistra.

Sir William Drurie then perceiuing that the meaning of the lord Fleming was not to deale simplie in this matter, touching a conference to be had betwixt them, returned to Glasco, where sir George Careie being maruellouslie inflamed with that vnhoneſt dealing of the lord Fleming, made earnest suite to the generall that he might send to him and offer him the combat in triall of this quarrell, sith it was more requisit that a gentleman souldier should stand in those questions than a generall, consdering his calling and office. The generall thanked sir George verie courteouslie, but yet said, that it stood him vpon to search out these matters to the vttermost (as he would haue done in deed) were not his commission and charge (as was well knowne) to be otherwise imploied: Yet (quoth he) sith your suite is so reasonable (and the whole companie and lawes of armes alloweth of it) I grant your request, and therein do as best shall seeme to your birth and estimation. Herevpon sir George Careie streightwaies deuised a letter of challenge, and deliuered it to an herald to beare from him vnto the said lord Fleming, the tenour whereof here insueth.

The lord Flemings double dealing.

Sir George Careis suite.

T. Churchyard.

A letter of challenge sent to the lord Fleming.

A copie of sir George Careis *foresaid letter to the lord Fleming.*

LOrd Fleming, if either your birth or bringing vp had wrought in you a noble mind, or estimation of credit, hardlie would you haue so much forgotten and stained your honour, as in a parlée of late with our generall you did. At whom vilelie and vnhonorablie shoting, you falsed that assurance of warre which souldiers submit themselues vnto: and trained him to your treason vnder truſt, a thing heretofore not accustomed, nor presentlie to be allowed of. He assuredlie pretending your owne and your frends good, commoditie to your countrie, and quietnesse to the state, twise abased and submitted himselfe, comming to confer with you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmefull meaning, to those that you profesſe best vnto, and selfe wilfull vaineglorie, without cause why, refused that which reason and honour commanded you to haue done. Therfore, bicause his calling is presentlie with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior; I summon you reasonablie to excuse that fault supposed to be yours, or else to maintein that traitorous act with your person against mine in fight, when, where, or how you dare. Otherwise I will baſfull your good name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels vpward, and beare it in despite of your selfe. In the meane time I attend your answer. From Glasco, the 22 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed George Careie.

The lord Fleming charged with treachery.

He sendeth to view the ground where he should meet with the lord Fleming.

with pride, harmefull meaning and vaineglorie.

The copie of the lord Flemings *answer.*

GEorge Careie, I haue receiued your vaineleſſe letter, making mention of my falſe and treasonable dealing against your generall, in shooting vnder truſt, so vilelie against my honour and truth, traitorouslie trained him vnder my truſt: which is altogither falſe and vntrue. And howbeit your generall came by the house of Dunglas by my appointment, which I suffered, and I appointed one place of meeting, sir men of either partie which he refuſed, and he departed, and certeine of his companie came bragging vp the riuers side towards the house, viewing the same and the ground thereabouts, shooting your harquebusses against the same: I could do no leſſe but present you with such as I had. Whereas you write of your generals calling to be presentlie better than mine, and yours not inferiour; when your generall challengeth me therof, I shall giue answer. And as for you, I will not be inferiour to a better than you, or ante souldier vnder your generals charge. Whereas you summon me (as you call it) reasonable to excuse that falt supposed to be mine owne, or else to maintein that traitorous act with my person against yours: you shall wit, I haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers to me, as ye are to your generall, which may be your fellowes, shall defend the same against you and your falſe and vntrue inuented writing: and were not the charge I present, or how some I can be relieued of the same, I should lowlie my person to meet you sir English miles, or anie other person. Howbeit ye be but one souldier, assure your selfe from this daie forth, I will not receiue no such inuented message, for I haue little to do with Englishmen, ye may raile vpon my honorable name as ye please. You shall haue as honorable gentlemen as your selfe against you fighting. Take this for answer.

Iohn lord Fleming.

The dishonorable dealing of the lord Fleming.

Sir William Drurie goeth against towards Dumbreton.

This is a common fault in the Scots.

Scotish hoſtilitie.

The lord Flemings defence against the charge of treacherie.

Lord Fleming is required to come to parlee with the generall.

Lord Fleming beareth him bold of his gentrie.

The replie of sir George Careie *vpon the lord Flemings answer.*

LOrd Fleming, often the Flemings after none answer smelleth more of wine than wit. But as to that common crime, the custome of their countrie yeeldeth them part of pardon; so your common acquaintance with the same condition, knowne to be verie great, shall to me somewhat excuse your witleſſe writing, wherein first you disallow my right recitall of your traitorous dealing, by tearming it falſe and vntrue. For answer, know this, the truth my pen hath written, by the witneſſe of a number; and my hand I vow shall maintein the same before the world at all times. But you in denieng it, haue both falſlie and vnſtulie lied in your throte, and dare neither defend nor disproue that in deeds, which in words you haue done. Whereas you write, that our generall passed Dunglas, by your appointment which you suffered, therein you do manifeſtlie saie vnhonorablie and vntrulie; for that you had no knowledge of our first comming, but saluted vs with your shot: and we likewise skirmished with your men euen at their owne strength, vntill we viewed the ground about at out pleasure. And touching the appointment of sir of either part, falſlie that maie be knowne to be a plaine lie: seeing we had neither parlée nor conference with you before, to appoint place or meeting. But whereas you saie, you could do no leſſe but present vs with such as you had, therein you confeſſe and acknowledge the dishonour and treason that I charged you withall, taking vpon your selfe that fault, which I supposed to haue bin of your seruants, for our generall retired his companie farre from him. And his trumpet being with you, approched himselfe alone to haue parled, when vnder truſt you discharged two harquebusses against him: an act rather seemelie for a cowardlie traitor, than one that profeſseth to be a souldier.

Finallie, whereas you let me wit, that you haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers vnto you, that maie be my fellowes, which should defend the

Sir George Careie boweth to maintein no leſſe than he hath written.

The lord Fleming in seeking to excuse accuseth himselfe the more manifeſtlie.

chalenge: that toucheth so neere your selfe, as with honor you should not haue refused it. First I thinke scorne to be anie waies inferior to you, though but a souldier, so honourable a name for you, being better in birth, and vnstained with reproch as you haue béene. Secondlie, I haue more, and as good gentlemen vnder my conduct, as your selfe haue vnder your charge, which shall answer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combat, and will put them to that which you dare not do your selfe. But assure you, my quarell shall remaine euerlasting, except the proofe of your owne person against mine maie end it: and when you shall dare come out of your crowes nest, I will be readie to ride an hundred Scotish miles, to méet with you in anie indifferent place. And vntill that time, I shall account you deuoid of honestie & honor, vnworthie to march vpon ground, or kéepe companie with men. From Hamilton, the 29 of Maie 1570.

Sir George Careie his answer to the lord Flemings brag of his gentrie.

Oh valiant heart!

Subscribed George Careie.

Though manie waies were sought by message and otherwise, to moue the lord Fleming to defend with battell the fault and follie committed: yet it would not be; for he shifted off the matter, so as it well appered, it was but lost labor further to attempt him therein. The two and twentith of Maie, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earle of Glencarne, the lord Simple, and other his friends, feodaries & alies, muttered on the more before the towne of Glasco the number of foure thousand horssemen and footmen, that were there assembled to serue him, in presence of sir William Drurie, and other of the English capteins. The three and twentith of Maie, sir William Drurie, the earle of Lennox, and other the Scotish lords, and the whole armie marched towards the castell of Hamilton, and sending a trumpetter, and one with him to parlée with the capteine named Andrew Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with sir William Drurie, and one other gentleman, such as he should thinke good to bring with him to a place somewhat distant, as well from the castell as the campe.

A muster of Scottishmen to the number of 4000.

The armie goeth toward Hamilton.

Herevpon sir William Drurie with his sword and target, and sir George Careie with a case of pistols went forth to the appointed place, whither the capteine of the castell also with an halbert, and one other with him, hauing likewise a case of pistols, came according to appointment. But after they had talked togither, and that the capteine would not in anie wise consent to deliuer vp the castell, he with his associat returned to their hold againe, & the English generall, with sir George Careie, came backe to the campe, and therevpon the English ordinance was presentlie placed about the castell, and shot verie sore all that night: but did no great hurt, by reason they were but field péeces, and not fit for batteries. They in the castell likewise shot verie sore at the Englishmen, but did no great harme, sauing that there were three of the footmen hurt. In the palace which was a prettie house the duchesse of Chatellerault was at that time resident, to whom sir William Drurie did repaire, offering hir all the courtesie he might, with all that to hir apperteined, willing hir not to feare anie thing: and for hir more assurance, he committed hir to the charge of sir Thomas Haners.

Sir William Drurie talketh with the capteine of Hamilton castell.

The English ordinance shooteth at the castell.

The duchesse of Chatellerault committed to the charge of an English knight.

The foure and twentith of Maie, the generall gaue summons vnto the castell. And bicause they within stoode stiffelie in deniall to make surrender thereof vnto him, he was driuen to send to Striueling for some great péeces of ordinance met to make batterie. In the meane time, the earles of Lennox and Morton with the horssemen, and some shot, marched into the countrie to a verie faire house of the abbat of Kilwinnings nere adioining, whose name was Gawen Hamilton, which house they burnt and vtterlie defaced, spoiling it, and rasing it downe to the earth. They burnt and spoiled also seuenténe houses more belonging to men of that surname, situate nére thereabouts, whereof one belonged vnto a lard that had married with the sister of James Hamilton of Bodweie haugh, which slue the regent. There were also burnt seuen other faire houses belonging to others that were not of that surname: but yet were of their friends and alies. Moreouer, there were diuerse other of their kinred and alies that came in with humble submission, and assured themselues, firmelie promising from thenceforth their obedience to the king.

Great ordinance sent for.

The earles of Lennox and Morton.

The abbeie of Kilwinnings burnt.

The fiue and twentith of Maie sir William Drurie the generall retired his people vpon a policie from the castell, and left it without either watch or ward for that night. The next daie he sent sir George Careie to the castell with a trumpetter, to know if they within would deliuer it vp, before the great ordinance should come, which the capteine vtterlie refused to do. Wherevpon the small shot clapt suddenlie round about the house, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culuering & a demie culuering came to them from Sterling, the which with foure of the English small field péeces were in the night following planted against the castell, and being shot off, a bullet of one of the great péeces passed through the walles into the castell.

The castell summoned.

The castell of Hamilton battered.

The seuen and twentith of Maie about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall sent a trumpetter to giue summons againe to the castell: vnto whome the capteine answered, that he cared not for them, & so bad them do their worst, for he would not yéeld the place to them at anie hand. Wherevpon immediatlie the whole tire began to plaie in such sort, that within foure volées both sides of the house were battered through: at the sight whereof the capteine was so dismaied, that forthwith he cried for parlée, and so the shot was staied. Now vpon humble sute the capteine was admitted to speake with the generall, and so comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeeld: wherevpon, the provost marshall was sent into the castell to take possession thereof. The generall permitted them verie courteoulie to depart with their furniture, and other such stuffe as they could carie with them. There came out of the house nine and thirtie persons one and other, foure and thirtie men, three boies, and two women, and therewith was the castell blowne vp and rased, and the armie laie that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The castell effsoones summoned.

The capteine of the castell demandeth parlée.

The next daie, being the eight and twentith of Maie they departed from thence: the earles of Lennox, Mar, and Glencarne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the kings part taking their leaues, with their companie returned to Glasco: and sir George Careie with the horssemen came that night to Lithqo, where also the rest of the English forces met. A castell called Cobernawd belonging to the lord Fleming was yéelded to the generals hands, who vpon bond of assurance that the house should remaine at the deuotion of the queene of England, was contented to spare it from fire and spoile. But this was not the first nor last courtesie which the generall shewed in this iournie, vnto such as in anie respect were thought worthie of his fauour. Amongst other the ladie of Liuington being great with child, mistrusting hir selfe (or hir husbands double dealing towards our countrie) in great feare began to flie. But sir William Drurie hearing thereof, sent hir word he came not to make warres with women, but rather to shew pitie to the weake and comfortlesse;

The ladie of Liuington.

lesse, and thereupon the staied, and had no further harme.

The nine and twentith of Maie, when the armie should dislodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the prouost of the towne, and commanded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iust punishment and correction thorough the whole towne for treason, and vnpardonable offenses committed: and declaring that the inhabitants thereof had succoured and supported traitors to the realme of England, and likewise to their owne king, contrarie to the leagues and quietnesse of both the realmes of England and Scotland, for which cause he was fullie resolued to ouerthrow that towne & receptacle of traitors. If therefore there were anie women in childbed or impotent people within that towne, he gaue warning thus aforehand to conueie them out of it: and herewith also commanding each capteine & souldier vnder his charge, to see due execution of that which he purposed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the prouost to appoint a place conuenient, into the which the goods of the towne might be brought, to the end that the same should neither bee spoiled by the English souldiers, neither yet consumed thorough vehemencie of fire, but to be preserued all wholie to the Scotishmens vse. Further, he granted, that euerie noble mans lodging and capiteins house should bee saued from fire.

But now the time being come for this determined execution, the earle of Morton, that still accompanied the English generall, offered himselfe as an intercessor to intreat and sue for a pardon, bringing afore the generall a multitude of wailing people, whose mournfull and most pitious cries were lamentable and verie importunat. The generall hearing their requests, made answer, that for manie causes the towne ought to be destroied, considering how diuerse enimies (whose insolent practises were not to be suffered) had alwaies there a common resort to conferre of their wicked deuises: and further (quoth he) the courtesie that is shewed to such places of repaire, hath imboldened the rest of Scotland to vse open violence and secret villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderance of the weale publike, and breach of good lawes and policies: and therefore it was fit and most meet for a warning to thousands in that case of extremitie, to raise out such monuments of mischiefe. But at length, notwithstanding these heauie words vttered by sir William Drurie, the people of all sorts so prealled about him, & made such pitifull cries and sorowfull noise, with children sucking of their mothers breasts, that he taking ruth of their miserable estates, at this their lamentable suit, and speciallie at the great instance of the earle of Morton, who came bareheaded to speake for them, the generall was contented to saue the towne and people therein: taking good band and assurance of the prouost and chiefest of the towne, that they should follow the campe, and at all times appeare when they were called for at Berwike, and there to submit themselues, their towne and goods, to the clemencie of the queens highnesse; and to such order as the earle of Sussex his maiesties generall lieutenant should by consent thinke necessarie: to which band & conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was slaine, & none since instituted to whome they had giuen faith of allegiance; they confessed, that none might command them anie waie without licence of him, to whome they had made this band, vnto him both their promise and obligation was passed. And in this sort they continued bound to him for their good behauiors.

The duke of Chatelleraults palace in Lithquo was yet burnt and raised, and marching to another house belonging to the said duke, called Kenile, distant from Lithquo about a mile or more, they likewise burned the same. Thus hauing done their pleasures at Lithquo, and in the countrie about that towne, they marched from thense to a proper house and castell, belonging to the lord Seton, called Neitherie, which the enimies had fortified. But yet when the ladie of that house came to the generall, and made humble petition on hir knees for his fauor, offering to him the keies of that place in most humble wise; she found such courtesie at his hands, that with condition that she & a baron with hir should enter bands for assurance, that the castell should euer afterwards remaine at the quéene of Englands pleasure, he toke hir the keies againe, leauing hir in possession of hir house and goods, without doing hir anie further displeasure.

This night the armie came to Edenburgh, where certeine of the companie that made hast to get thither somewhat before the rest, receiued some discourtesie: for they were spoiled in the streets of their furniture, & such other things as they had about them. But when the generall with the rest of the armie was come nere to the towne, and had knowledge of such foule disorder, he thought not good to enter the towne, without standing so sure on his gard, that he should not need to doubt any double dealing, or crooked measure. Which sure handling of the matter did not onelie shew the deuiser thereof to haue good conduct and experience: but in verie deed auoided no small inconuenience and mischiefe, that by the enimies was finelie contriued (thorough a fraie to be made in the suburbs) so that a great slaughter had burst out suddenlie, and no small bloudshed followed, if God and good guiding of the people had not staied and turned awaie that imminent danger. To be short, the generall sent sir Thomas Maners with two bands of souldiors, vnder one ensigne, to seize vpon the gates at their first arriuall, and so the pretensed conspiracie was happilie preuented; for the residue of the power was no sooner entred the towne, but that keeping themselues in order to cleere the streets, and to command the inhabitants the better, they spent that night standing on their gard, as the case required. When the morning was come, sir William Drurie smelling out the couert practise, and naughtie meaning of some, demanded iustice and strict punishment of such offenses and things as he would truelie laie to the charges of some in that towne: and told them flatlie, if remedie were not the sooner prouided, and satisfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, he would be quicklie reuenged, to the displeasure and shame of all the contriuers of that same mad and mischéeuous presumption.

Herevpon, not onelie such things as had bin taken from those few souldiors, which first entred the towne ouer night, were not onelie restored: but diuerse malefactors were also deliuered to the generall, to be executed and ordered by his discretion; who séeing their submission, mercifullie & franklie sent them awaie vnto their capteins: & so these broiles were pacified and things set in quiet. After they had rested in Edenburgh a two daies, the first of June they dislodged. The generall comming to Seton the chiefe castell & house of the lord Seton, the ladie was readie there also to present him the keies, with like humble submission as before: and thereupon receiued the like fauor for this house, as was shewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Hadington. It was determined that the pile of Anderwike should haue beene ouerthrowne: but vpon suite and bands taken of diuerse gentlemen, the place was spared, and the offendors received to mercie.

And ſo the next date, the generall with the horſemen came through to Berwike, a iournie of two and thirtie long miles.

The footbands lodged the ſame night at Coldingham with ſir Robert Conſtable, who the next date the third of June came with them vnto Berwike. And ſo ended this iournie, to the great commendation of the generall and capteins: and conſequentlie to all the gentlemen and ſouldiors that had beene forth in the ſame, as well for the good ſucceſſe which it pleaſed God the author of all good and proſperous euents to grant to them, as alſo for their dutifull obedience to all warlike diſcipline, their painfull trauels ſuſteined, their manlie forwardneſſe and skilfull practiſe in martiall polices ſtill ſhewed, as occaſion of ſeruice was anie where offered. But now to returne to the doings at home. Whileſt this iournie was made (as ye haue heard) into Scotland, the fiue & twentith of Maie in the morning was found hanging on the biſhop of Londons palace gate in Pauls churchyard, a bull which latelie had beene ſent from Rome, conteining diuerſe horrible treaſons againſt the queens maieſtie: for the which one John Felton was ſhortlie after apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. ¶ And becauſe the ſaid bull may appeare and ſhew it ſelfe in nature and kind, it is behoofull here to interlace ſome rotings of the ſame, as I haue gathered them out of one that I am ſure had a conſcience to tell the truth: which I therefore am the willinger to inſert, that the world may iudge the heinouſneſſe of Feltons fact, in firing ſo peſtilent a libell vpon a prelats gate in a place of common concourſe, and againſt the queens excellent maieſtie.

The happie ſucceſſe of the foreſaid viage vndertaken by the Engliſh.

I. Stow. A bull from Rome hanged on the biſhop of Londons gate.

A. F. See the view of a ſeditious bull ripped vp by Iohn Iewell late biſhop of Salisburie printed 1582.

[a] Pag. 3.

[a] Sententia declaratoria contra Eliſabeth, &c.

[b] Pag. 7.
[c] Pag. 23.
[d] Pag. 36.
[e] Pag. 42.
[f] Pag. 44.
[g] Pag. 49.
[h] Pag. 50.
[i] Pag. 63.
[k] Pag. 67.
[l] Pag. 74.
[m] Pag. 79.

PIus [b] epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorũ Dei, &c. [c] Miſſæ ſacrificiũ, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum illa (regina Eliſabetha) aboleuit. [d] Eadẽ occupato regno ſupremi eccleſiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiuſque præcipuã authoritatem atq; iuriſdictionem monſtroſè ſibi vſurpans, regnum ipſum rurſum in miſerum exitium reuocauit. [e] Regium concilium ex Anglica nobilitate conflatum diremit. [f] Hominibus obſcuris compleuit. [g] Hominibus hæreticis compleuit. [h] Ad quam velut ad aſylum omnium infeſtiſſimi perfugium inuenerunt, &c. [i] Declaramus prædictã Eliſabetham, eiq; adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis ſententiã incurriſſe. [k] Quinetiã ipſam prætenſo regni prædicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegioque priuatam. [l] Præcipimus & interdicimus vniuerſis & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, & populis, & aliis prædictis, ne illi eiuſue monitis, mandatis & legibus audeant obedire: qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili anathematis ſententia innodamus. [m] Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiuſmodi ac omni prorſus dominij fidelitatis & obſequij debito perpetuò abſolutos declaramus, &c.

[a] Pag. 3.

[a] A ſentence denounced againſt Eliſabeth, &c.

[b] Pag. 7.
[c] Pag. 23.
[d] Pag. 36.
[e] Pag. 42.
[f] Pag. 44.

PIus [b] biſhop, ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, &c. [c] Shee (quéene Eliſabeth) hath cleane put awaie the ſacrifice of the maſſe, prairers, faſtings, choiſe or difference of meats & ſingle life. [d] Shee inuaded the kingdome, & by vſurping monſtrouſlie the place of the ſupreme head of the church in all England, and the cheefe authoritie & iuriſdiction of the ſame, hath againe brought the ſaid realme into miſerable deſtruction. [e] Shee hath remoued the noble men of England from the kings councell. [f] She hath made hir councell of poore, darke, beggerlie fellowes, and hath placed them ouer the people. [g] Theſe councellors are not onlie poore & beggerlie, but alſo heretikes. [h] Vnto hir all ſuch as are the worſt of the people reſort, and are by hir receiued into ſafe protection, &c. [i] We make it known, that Eliſabeth aforeſaid, & as manie as ſtand on hir ſide in the matters aboue named, haue run into the danger of our curſſe. [k] We make it alſo known, that we haue depriued hir from that right ſhee pretended to haue vnto the kingdome aforeſaid, and alſo from all and euerie hir authoritie, dignitie, and priuilege. [l] We charge and forbid all and euerie the nobles, and ſubiects, and people, and others aforeſaid, that they be not ſo hardie as to obeie hir or hir will, or commandements, or lawes, vpon paine of the like accurſſe vpon them. [m] We pronounce that all whoſoeuer by anie occaſion haue taken their oth vnto hir, are for euer diſcharged of ſuch their oth, and alſo from all fealtie and ſeruice, which was due to hir by reaſon of hir gouernment, &c.

[g] Pag. 49.
[h] Pag. 50.
[i] Pag. 63.
[k] Pag. 67.
[l] Pag. 74.
[m] Pag. 79.

Heere hath euerie true ſubiect to ſee whether Felton was not a freend to Pius Quintus, in ſo cauſe being induced and drawne to prefer his procéedings againſt the lords annointed; for whoſe ſake if he had had a thouſand liues, true loialtie would haue inuited him to the loſſe of them all, if occaſion had ſo required; conſidering that hir maieſtie hath alwaies deſerued well of hir people, for whome ſhe euer had a tender care, as one reporteth that ſaith he heard with his owne ears hir maieſtie commending hir ſubiects to the carefull and wiſe gouernment of hir councell and iudges, when ſhee ſpake thus vnto them. Haue care ouer my people. You haue my place. Do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Euerie man oppreſſeth them, and ſpoileth them without mercie. They cannot reuenge their quarell, nor help themſelues. See vnto them, ſee vnto them, for they are my charge. I charge you euen as God hath charged me. I care not for my ſelfe, my life is not deare to me, my care is for my people. I praie God whoſoeuer ſucceed me be as carefull as I am. They which might know what cares I beare, would not thinke I tooke anie great toie in wearing the crowne.

See the view of the ſeditious bull, pag. 72, 73.

The quéenes words.

Could a mother ſpeake more tenderlie for hir infant, than this good quéene ſpeaketh for hir people? And ſhall the people be ſo vngratious to a prince ſo gratious, as to attempt anie thing that ſhould diſcontent hir highneſſe? A merciſull part ſhee hath alwaies had, before ſhee atteined the crowne, a merciſull part ſhee hath now poſſeſſing the ſcepter: manie times remitting and pardoning offenſes intended and practiſed againſt hir owne perſon; which C. O. noteth in his *Eirenarchia ſiue Eliſabetha*, ſpeaking of hir maieſtie in this point verie truelie & vncontrollablie:

Nobilis & præſtans eſt ignoſcentia virtus,
Hæc quanquam potis eſt, ſi vult, excelſior & vis
Mentis ineſt, iram ſtrictis compeſcit habenis.
Delictis multam grauibus quandoque remittens.
Hoc priuatã prius nondum diademate ſumpto
Fecerat, hoc facit & princeps diademate ſumpto.

Mulitples Eliſabethæ virtus.

The ſeauen and twentith of Maie, Thomas Norton and Chriſtopher Norton of Yorkſhire, being both condemned of high treaſon for the late rebellion in the north, were drawen from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered.

The Nortons executed.

In this yeare alſo conſpired certeine gentlemen with other in the countie of Norffolke, whoſe purpoſe was on Midſummer date at Harleſtone faire, with ſound of trumpet and drum to haue raiſed a number, and then to proclame their diuelish pretenſe againſt ſtrangers and others. This matter was bitered by Thomas Ket one of the conſpiracie vnto John Kenſete, who forthwith ſent the ſame Ket with a conſtable to the next iuſtice, before whome and o-

Conſpiracie in Norffolke and whereupon it tooke beginning.

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The duke of Norffolke remoued. Felton arreigned with other offendors, and all condemned.

Felton and others executed for treaſon.

A iournie into Scotland by the earle of Suſſex.

Wall by fire and ſword in Scotland.

Knights made by the earle of Suſſex.

ther iustices he opened the whole matter. Wherevpon maister Doue Dzurie immediatlie apzehended Iohn Throckmozton, and after him manie gentlemen of the citie of Nozwich, and the countie of Nozffolke, who were all committed to pzison, and at the nert sessions of goale deliuerie at the castell of Nozwich, the seauentéenth of Julie befoze sir Robert Catlin knight lozd chéefe iustice, Gilbert Gerard the quénes attozne generall, and other iustices, ten of them were indicted of high treason, and some others of contempt. Diuerse of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentith of August: and afterward thzée of them were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, which were Iohn Throckmozton of Nozwich gentleman, who stood mute at his arreignment, but at the gallows confessed himselfe to be the chéefe conspirazor, and that none had deserued to die but he, foz that he had pzocured them. With him was executed Thomas Bzoke of Kolsbie gentleman on the thirtith of August; and Geozge Dedman of Cringleford gentleman was likewise executed the second of September.

The duke of Nozffolke remoued.

The fourth of August, the duke of Nozffolke was remoued from the tower of London to the Charterhouse néere vnto Smithfield. The same daie was arreigned at the Guildhall of London, Iohn Felton, foz hanging the foresaid bull of pope Pius Quintus on the gate of the bishop of Londons palace: and also two yong men foz coining & clipping of coine, who all were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be dzawne, hanged, & quartered. The eight of August Iohn Felton was dzawen from Newgate into Paules churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that mozning before the bishops palace gate; and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartered. After this, the same mozning the shiriffes returned to Newgate, and so to Tiboine with two yong men, which were there executed foz coining and clipping, as is afozesaid.

Felton arreigned with other offendors, and all condemned.

Felton and others executed for treason.

See the view of the seditious bull. pag. 72, 73.

The quénes words.

The two and twentith of August the earle of Sussex, lozd lieutenant generall foz the quénes maiestie in the nozth, and the lozd Scrope warden of the west marches, with diuerse others, marched from Carleill with the quéens armie and fozce of the nozth as well of hozsemen as fotmen into Scotland, passing ouer the riuers of Eske, Leuine & Sarke, which riuer of Sarke parteth England and Scotland, and so to Dozrnocke wood belonging to Edward Arone, the lord of Wonshow, and then to Annan a strong house of the lozd Harris, which they rased and ouerthzew with others thereabouts: from thense to Hodham, which they burnt and blew vp: from thense to Kennell, a towne belonging to the lozd Cowhill, which they burnt: from thense to Donfrise, which they sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left, and also rased and ouerthzew a sumptuous house belonging to the quéene of Scots, in the kéeping of the lozd Harris. Then passing the riuer of Longher, they burnt and spoiled Cowhilles, and Powtracke, and returned to Donfrise, and so to the towne of Wankend, which they burnt, with another house pertéining to William Maxwell of the Iles, and so to the castell of Carlauarocke standing in a marish, fast to an arme of the sea, which parteth Annerdale and Gallowaie; which castell they blew vp, and returned homeward, transpozting their ozdinance ouer quicksands and bogs, where neuer the like was done befoze, and so came to Dozrnocke wood.

A iournie into Scotland by the earle of Sussex.

Wast by fire and slaughter in Scotland.

Multiplex Elisabethæ virtus.

The eight of August they marched towards Carleill, where (by the waie) they burnt and ouerthzew two houses, the one being Arthur Greames *alias* Carleill, the other rich Geozge, two notable théeues. The same daie at night after the lozd lieutenants coming to Carleill he made knights, sir Edward Hastings, sir Francis Russell, sir Valentine Bzowne, sir William Hilton, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Henrie Curwen, sir Simon Musgraue. This yéere the fift of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and raine both by sea and land, by meanes whereof manie ships perished, & much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, as by a little pamphlet set foorth therof by Thomas Knell minister appéereth, the effect whereof insueth. About midnight the water ouerflowed so much, that men were faine to forsake their beds, & one woman drowned, where also were lost a great number of sheepe, oxen, kine, horsse, and other cattell. Among other there, one maister Cartwright gentleman, hauing his house inclosed round about, the water came in so much, that a cart being laden with thornes did swim about the ground. Hée lost by the same flood, sheepe, and other cattell, to the value of an hundred pounds. The same gentleman had a close gate by the high waies side, where the water ran ouer so extremelie, that at the fall thereof it made such an hole, that it was fortie foot déepe: so that no man could passe that waie without great danger. To the filling vp of the said hole or pit, was cast in by the men of the said towne fiue and twentie lodes of faggots, & twentie lodes of horsse dung, which said faggots and horsse dung filled not the hole. Also one maister Lée at the friers in Bedford, hauing a faire yard, wherein was great store of elme trées, whereof thrée score were blowen downe, with the roots pulled cleane out of the ground. Also he had a close of conies that were cleane destroied.

Tempest by sea and land which did much hurt.

Tho. Knell. What hurt this tempest did in Bedfordshire.

A wonder of an hole made in the ground by a water-course.

The sea brake in betwixt Wisbich and Walsocken, and at the crosse keies drowning Tilneie, and old Lin, saint Marie Teding, saint Marie Tid, saint Johns Wauple, Walton & Walsocken, Emneie, Jarmans, and Stow bridge, all being the space of ten miles. At the crosse keies the goodman of the inne had built an house with a strong foundation ioining vnto an other house being old and not so strong, wherein were certeine ghests. And when the water came in so violentlie, the goodman of the house being in the stronger house, called the men out of the old house, and they would haue gone downe the staires, but the water was so high that they could not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other house, where they went thorough, and the last man was no sooner in, but the old house fell downe. The walles of the houses were broken downe, and the horsses that were tied at the manger (which was made fast in the ground) did swim in the water, when the stable was cleane carried awaie, vntill the waters were allwaged, and were saued aliue, and the people were constreined to get vp to the highest parts of the house, and so to be carried awaie in botes.

What hurt this tempest did in the countie of Nozffolke.

At Yarmouth a great part of the bridge was carried awaie. The house vpon the hauen called the hauen house, wherein was one Nicholas Iossellin the hauen man & his son, with all their toles, were carried into the marishes six miles from the hauen, where it stood vpright, and where they abode long without meat or drinke. Also at Iermans Bridgestréet was verie much hurt done by the extreame floods that were there. Also one Thomas Smith of Yarmouth lost a ship, with seauen men and a boie in it. Also at Newarke by Yarmouth were lost twelue saile. Also a great hulke, laden with oile and pitch, was lost at Wozreie sand, and about twentie men lost therein, and thirtie saued by the hulke bote. These townes and villages were ouerflowne, that is to saie, Wisbich, Guiborne, Parson Dzoue, and Hobhouse. This Hobhouse being an almes house (and the water breaking downe the wals of it) the wind blew the cloths off from the bed of a poze man & his wife: the

A péece of Yarmouth bridge borne awaie with water.

What hurt this tempest did in the bishopzike of Elie.

The Nozfolke tons executed.

Conspiracie in Nozffolke and wherevpon it tooke beginning.

Knights made by the earl of Sussex.

who being cold, awaked, and suddenlie stept out of his bed to reach vp his cloths, and slipt vp to the belie in water, and then he thinking himselfe to be in danger (as he was in deed) and knowing the best waie to escape the danger of the water, he toke his wife on his necke, and carried hir awaie, and so were both saued.

At the same time in Wisbich was a garden, a tennise plaie, & a bowling alle walled about with bricke (which was worth twentie pounds by yeare to the owner) was quite destroied by the water. Mumbie chappell, the whole towne was lost, except three houses. A ship was driuen vpon an house, the sailers thinking they had béene vpon a rocke, committed themselues to God: and three of the marriners lept out of the ship, and chanced to take hold on the house top, and so saued themselues: and the wife of the same lieng in childbed, by climing vp into the top of the house, was also saued by the marriners, hir husband and child being both drowned. Likewise, the church was wholie ouerthrowne except the steeple. Betweene Boston and Newcastell were threescore sea vessels, as small ships, craires, and such like, lost vpon the coasts of Boston, Humerston, Marsh chappell, Tetnie, Stepneie, Nercots, Kelbie, & Grimsbie, where no ship can come in without a pilot, which were all lost, with goods, corne, & cattell, with all the salt cotes, where the chiefe and finest salt was made, were vtterlie destroied, to the vtter vndoing of manie a man, and great lamentation both of old and yong.

Wentford bridge, being verie strong, of eight arches in length, had three of the arches broken, and cleane carried awaie. Master Smith at the swan there had his house (being three stories high) ouerflowed vnto the third storie, and the wals of the stable were broken downe, and the horsses tied to the manger were all drowned. Manie men had great losse, as well of sheepe, kine, oxen, great mares, colts of the breed of the great horsses, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names manie of them shall here follow. Master Pekham lost eleuen hundred sheepe at Mumbie chappell. In Summercots were lost fiue hundred sheepe, that were of the inhabitants there. Also betweene Humerston & Grimsbie were lost eleuen hundred sheepe of one master Spensers, whose sheepheard about middaie, comming to his wife, asked his dinner: and she being more bold than manerlie, said, he should haue none of hir. Then he chanced to looke toward the marishes where the sheepe were, and saw the water breake in so fiercelie, that the sheepe would be lost, if they were not brought from thense, said, that he was not a good sheepheard that would not venture his life for his sheepe, & so went streight to driue them from thense, but he & his sheepe were both drowned, and after the water being gone, he was found dead, standing vpright in a ditch.

Master Thimblebie lost two hundred and twentie sheepe, master Dimocke lost foure hundred sheepe, & master Marsh fiue hundred, master Madison lost a ship, master William Askugh of Kelseie, sir Hugh Askugh, master Merin, master Fitz Williams of Maplthorpe, lost by estimation twentie thousand cattell, one and other. Borne was ouerflowne vnto the midwaie of the height of the church. Steeping was wholie carried awaie, where was a waine lode of willow tops, the bodie of the waine with the willowes carried one waie, and the axiltree and wheeles an other waie. In the towne of saint Edes, the water flowed into the towne in such abundance, that it ran thorough the towne and church, being in the middest therof, hauing about the churchyard a bricke wall of two yards high, was so ouerflowne, that botes were rowed ouer it, without touching of the same. Also a little from Huntington, were three men riding vpon the causeie, being then ouerflowne (the water on the causeie being not deepe) and thinking no danger therein, chanced to come into a place where the water had galled awaie the earth, and the grauell, were carried awais with the water: and willowes growing on both sides the waie, two of them caught hold on the willowes, and left their horsses, and saued themselues: and the third chanced to catch a verie little twig of willow betweene his fingers, hauing verie little hold, and forsaking his horsse, which was carried a great waie from him, had much paine to keepe his hold on the twig, and hold his head aboue the water, and his horsse returning with force against the streame, came againe vnto him, and vnder him: by which meanes he set his feet vpon him, and gat better hold of the willow, and so saued him selfe, and the horsse was immediatlie carried awaie, that he neuer saw him after.

Also Holland, Leuerington, Newton chappell in the sea, long Stutton & Holbich were ouerflowne. And in this countrie also was great losse of cattell. In the low parts in Weseland, in a little towne called Cliffield, there was a man, his wife, and a sucking child in hir armes ouerwhelmed and slaine by the violence of the waters, and of the boisterous winds. The water called Auen, that passeth by the towne called Stratford vpon Auen, did run with such violence, that meeting with the water called the Seuerne, drone it backe ten miles against the course, ouerflowing much ground, and drowning much cattell. In Newport panell were two houses ouerthrowne, and in one of them an old man and an old woman were ouerwhelmed and slaine. And in the same towne, on the backe side of the Saracens head, the water sprang out of the hard grauellie ground, and flowed so fast, that certeine merchants (sitting there at dinner) were faine to rise and depart from thense to saue themselues. Sir Henrie Leie knight (dwelling at Quarrington) lost by the floods the number of three thousand sheepe, besides horsses and other cattell, a great number.

In the With at Rie (a place so called) the water came in so suddenlie, and flowed so high about midnight, that it was eight or nine foot high in mens houses: insomuch that if one William White had not called them vp, some of them had like to haue béene drowned. And the same William White hauing a bote, fetcht a great compasse of them out of their windowes, and carried them to drie land as fast as he could fetch them, which were in great danger and feare, and glad to escape with their liues. Moreouer, the water came in so vehementlie there, that it brake into the marishes, and made such waie, that where of late yeares, and now before this great flood came, a cockebote could not passe in at a low water, now a fisherman drawing six foot water and more maie come in at a low water, and at a full sea the greatest ship that the quéenes maiestie hath may come in, and haue good harborough there. The continuance of the same will not onelie be profitable to the most part of the inhabitants there, but also commodious vnto all the quéenes subiects trauelling by sea.

And whereas one of the owners of a great part of the same marishes had certeine poles set vp therein (and being verie meet and in conuenient place of the same marish) for the dreng of their fishing nets, and receiued monie yeerelie of those that dried their nets there sufficientlie inough: yet he caused his seruant to pull vp the poles, and laie them in an house standing in the same marish: and also commanded his seruant to giue them warning, that they should no more

What hurt this tempest did in Lincolnshire.

Threescore sea vessels lost in this tempest.

Great losse of cattell both great and small.

Scripture abused.

What hurt this tempest did in Huntingtonshire.

A man wonderfullie preserued from drowning.

What hurt this tempest did in Stafford shire and Warwickshire.

Hurt in Buckingham-shire by this tempest.

Hurt in Sussex by this sudden inundation of waters.

A strange euent wrought by the inflowing of the water.

more hang their nets there, except they would come and compound with him for it. And the same night (by Gods prouidence) it came so to passe, that according to his saieng (though contrarie to his good will and mind) they are not like to hang their nets there anie more, bicause of the depth of the water is so great, and like to continue. In hope of continuance of the same new opened hauen, certeine men of the same towne haue begun to build faire barks to trauell the seas, the which in continuance of time will be a great furtherance to the maintenance of the quænes name. At the blacke shore end, before the said flood, no bote could passe further than the shore end; and now a bote that draweth six foot water maie come in at a low water. Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was by two foot and more in the chanell.

A new hauen and the same like to continue.

A man wonderfullie preserued from drowning.

At Pyum hill marish, foure miles from Rie, the water came in so outragiouslie, that it brake downe the marish wals, one master Burie being owner thereof, who lost by the same a thousand one hundred threscore and two of his sheepe, and it is thought that the marish is neuer like to be gotten againe. Also at Erith breach, a mariner riding by the marishes, seeing two maidens in the marishes, and perceiuing the waters breaking in so fast, that the maides were not like to escape, rode vnto them, and one of them gat vp behind him, & the other tooke hold on the horsse taile, and by that means were both saued from drowning. In the same marish were drowned a great number of sheepe. Also there in a marish land that was sowne, were two boies keeping crowes in the after none, & seeing the water breaking in so vehementlie, gat them into a cart that was not farre from them, where they were faine to tarrie vntill the next tide, which came in so boisterouslie, that it had like to haue ouerthrowne both the cart & boies. And the one of them being more stronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with cold, wet, and feare, died: so that he was faine to let him fall from him into the water, when he perceiued that he was past recouerie. A little from that place were also drowned a thousand sheepe, and also manie other cattell.

Hurt in Kent & the same tempest and breaking in at the streame.

What hurt this tempest did in Staffordshire and Warwickshire.

Hurt in Buckinghamshire by this tempest.

A bote drowned after he was dead.

Hurt in Essex.

From a towne called Rainam, vnto the towne named Maudon, all alongst by the water side were the marishes all ouerflowen, wherein were a great number of cattell drowned. In Claie were two ships laden with Danske ware which came to shore, with no man in them, nor anie man could tell of whence they were. In Claie the dwellers there lost a verie great parcell of salt and herrings barrelled, being housed in an house walled with bricke three foot thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe. Also, there was lost much saffron ground, with manie other things mo, to the great hinderance of manie a man. Also, in Walderswicke, Dunwich, and Blibrooke, was great losse of bord, planke, timber, and salt. A great part of the bridge by Magdalene college was borne cleane awaie, and manie trees were turned vp by the root.

Hurt done by this tempest in Suffolke and Oxford.

Hurt in Sussex by this sudden inundation of waters.

A strange euent wrought by the inflowing of the water.

The three and twentith of Januarie, the quænes maiestie, accompanied with hir nobilitie, came from hir house at the Strand, called Summerset place, and entered the citie of London by Temple bar, Flætstreet, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Burse, to sir Thomas Greshams in Bishops gate street, where she dined. After dinner, hir grace returning through Cornehill, entred the Burse on the southside, and after hir highnesse had viewed euerie part thereof aboue ground, especiallie the Pawne, which was richlie furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the citie, she caused the same Burse by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclamed the Royall exchange, so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.

Anno Reg. 13.

The quænes going to the Burse after it was finished.

She giueth it to name the Royall exchange.

The seuententh of Februarie at a place called Kinnaston, nere Marlech hill in the countie of Hereford, was seene the ground to open, and certeine rockes with a peece of ground remoued, and went forward the space of foure daies, making at the first a terrible noise as it went on the earth. It remoued it selfe betweene six of the clocke in the euening, & seuen the next morrow forty pases, carrieng great trees and shepecotes, some shepecotes with three score sheepe in them, some trees fell into the chinkes, other that grew on the same ground, grow now as firmelie on a hill; and some that stood east, stand west; and those that stood west, stand east. The depth of the hole where it first brake out is thirtie foot, the breadth of the breach is eight score yards, and in length aboue twentie score yards. It ouerthrew Kinnaston chapell. Also two high waies be remoued nigh one hundred yards, with the trees of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is six and twentie acres: and where tillage ground was, there is pasture left in place; and where was pasture, there is tillage ground gone vpon it. The ground as it remoued draue the earth before it, & at the lower part ouerwhelmed the ground, so that it is growen to a great hill of twelue fadams high. It remoued from saturdaie till mondaie at night following, and so staied.

A strange kind of earthmouing in the countie of Hereford.

Moreouer this yeare about Candelmas, sir Thomas Sackuille, baron of Buckhurst was sent in ambassage from the quænes maiestie to Charles the ninth French king, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the emperour Maximilian, as for other weightie affaires. And as his ambassage was great, so was his charge no lesse in furnishing himselfe and traine accordinglie, being both in number and furniture such in euerie point, as did apperteine; and his receiuing and interteinement in France by the king and others was agreeable thereto, for he was receiued vpon the coast by the gouernours of the fortified townes right honorablie by order from the king. Among other the baron of Bournoisell was one, who being verie well mounted and appointed, left not his lordship before he came to the court, and from thense accompanied him backe vntill his imbarkement homewards.

Sir Thomas Sackuille ambassador to the French king.

His interteinement verie honorable.

In the maine countries he was accompanied with the gouernours and nobles of the places about. And in the good townes where he passed, he was presented by the chiefe magistrates, wherein their good wils were to be thankefullie accepted, though his lordships rewards far ouervalued their presents. At his approch nere to Paris he was incountred on the waie for courtesie sake, by two marquesses of Trans and Saluces; this being of the house of Sauoie, and the other of the worthie familie of Foix. These wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same euen of the best sort. At the lord ambassadors first audience, which was at the castell of Madrill, otherwise called Bullogne nere Paris (where the king then laie) the quænes Almane coches verie brauelie furnished were sent to Paris for him, in one of the which his lordship with the marquesse of Trans rode towards the court, verie narrowlie escaping from a shrewd turne and great mischance, by reason the same coch was ouerthrowen by the Dutch wagoners their negligence, who in a brauerie galloping the field made an ouer short turne, wherewith the marques was sore bruised.

The first place of the lord ambassadors audience.

The lord ambassador at his arriuall at the place was right honorablie receiued, he was banketted by diuerse, and that verie sumptuouslie: which by him was not left vnrequited to the vttermost, and rather with the better. For his liberalitie vnto the French

The lord ambassadors liberalitie.

was

was verie large, but his reward at the kings hands was onelie a chaine waieng a thousand French crownes. At that present there was a great dearth & scarsitie of victels in France. The riuer of Saine that runneth through Paris was not passable with vessels, by reason of the great frosts: and thereby not onelie all kind of victels, but also haie and wood hard to come by, and not to be had but at excessiue prices, the countrie thereabouts hauing before béene sore harried and spoiled by the ciuill tumults. By reason whereof, not onlie the lord of Buckhurst for the space he remained there, but also sir Henrie Norrice (now lord Norrice) and maister Francis Walsingham hir maiesties ambassadors, ligiers successiuelie, were driuen to an increase in expenses, paieng for euerie thing they bought an higher price than ordinarilie had béene accustomed.

The riuer of Saine not passable with vessels.

After that the lord Buckhurst had béene feasted and banketted by the king, and other of the French nobilitie, and had accomplished the points of his ambassage, he toke leaue of the king, & departed homewards, arriuing here in England a little before Easter. The second of Aprill a parlement began at Westminster, wherein was granted to the quéenes maiestie (toward hir great charges, in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the said rebels and their fautors, which were fled into Scotland) by the clergie a subsidie of six shillings in the pound; and by the temporaltie two fifteens, with a subsidie of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. The first, the second, and third of Maie was holden at Westminster before the quéenes maiestie a solemne iust at the tilt, tourneie and barriers. The chalengers were Edward earle of Oxford, Charles Howard, sir Henrie Lée, and Christopher Hatton esquier, who all did verie valiantlie; but the chiefe honour was giuen to the earle of Oxford. The first of June, John Stozie a doctor of the canon law, who before had bæne condemned of high treason, was drawen from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, his head was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie. Of this monster disguised in the likenesse of a man, it is verie materiall to record what maister Fox hath noted in his historie.

The ambassador returneth into England.

1571
A parlement at Westminster.

A subsidie.

Iusts at Westminster at the tilt, tourneie and barriers.

Doctor Storie executed for high treason.

Abr. Fl. ex Iohan. Foxi martyrologio.

¶ This doctor Storie (saith he) being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancie not onelie nuzled in papistrie, but also euen as it were by nature earnestlie affected to the same, & growing somewhat to riper yeares, in the daies of quéene Marie became a most bloudie tyrant, and cruell persecutor of Christ in his members, as all the stories of martyrs almost doo declare. Thus he raging all the reigne of the foresaid quéene Marie, against the infallible truth of Christs gospell, and the true professors thereof, neuer ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willinglie gaue their liues for the testimonie of his truth. And thinking their punishment in fire not cruell inough, he went about to inuent new torments for the holie martyrs of Christ; such was his hatred to the truth of Christs gospell: but in the end the Lord loking vpon the affliction, and cruell bloudshedding of his seruants, toke awaie quéene Marie the great piller of papistrie. After whome succéeded ladie Elisabeth now quéene of England, who (taieng the bloudie sword of persecution from raging anie further, caused the same doctor Storie to be apprehended, and committed to ward with manie other his complices, sworne enimies to Christs glorious gospell.

Storie's birth.

Storie's education and birth.

Storie a bloudie persecutor.

Storie inuenting new torments for the martyrs.

Storie apprehended.

Storie conueied himselfe ouer the seas, where he continued a bloudie persecutor.

The said Storie hauing bæne a while detained in prison, at the last by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conueied himselfe ouer the seas, where he continued a most bloudie persecutor, still raging against Gods saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dere to duke Dalua in Antwerpe, receiued a speciall commission from him to search all the ships for goods forfeited, and for English bookes and such like. And in this fauour and authoritie he continued there for a space, by the which meanes he did much hurt, and brought manie a good man and woman to trouble, and extreme perill of life through his bloudthirstie crueltie. But at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquitie was full) proceeded in iudgement against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the praters of manie a good man, which came to passe in order as followeth.

Storie obteined a commission to search for English bookes.

It being certeinlie knowne (for the brute thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not onelie intended the subuersion and ouerthrow of his natiue countrie of England by bringing in forren hostilitie, if by anie means he might compasse it; but also dailie and hourelie murthered Gods people: there was this platforme laid (by Gods prouidence no doubt) that one maister Parker a merchant should saile vnto Antwerpe, and by some means to conueie Storie into England. This Parker arriuing at Antwerpe, suborned certeine to repaire to doctor Storie, and to signifie vnto him, that there was an English ship come fraught with merchandize; and that if he would make search thereof himselfe, hée should find store of English bookes, and other things for his purpose. Storie hearing this and suspecting nothing, made hast towards the ship, thinking to make the same his preie; and comming aboord searched for English hereticall books (as he called them) & going downe vnder the hatches, bicause he would be sure to haue their blood if he could, they clapped downe the hatches, hoised vp their sailes, hauing (as God would) a good gale, and sailed awaie into England, where they arriuing presented this bloudie butcher and traitorous rebell Storie, to the no little reioising of manie an English heart.

Storie vnderstanding how he was sought for, and by whome.

A platforme laid to apprehend Storie.

Storie searched the English ships for bookes, and is apprehended and brought into England.

He being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time, he was laboured and solicited dailie by wise and learned fathers, to recant his diuelish & erroneous opinions, to confirme himselfe to the truth, and to acknowledge the quéenes maiesties supremasie. All which he vtterlie denied to the death, saieng that he was sworne subiect to the king of Spaine, and was no subiect to the quéene of England, nor hée his souereigne quéene. And therefore (as he well deserued) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the quéenes maiestie, and the realme) to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, which was performed accordinglie, he being laid vpon an hurdle, and drawne from the tower along the streets to Tiburne, where he being hanged till he was halfe dead, was cut downe and striped. And (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his priuie members, he rushing vp vpon a sudden gaue him a blow vpon the eare, to the great wonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this bloudie Nemrod his wretched life, whose iudgement I leaue to the Lord.]

Storie's treason hanged, drawne and quartered.

The eightéenth of June, in Trinitie terme, there was a combat appointed to haue bæne fought for a certeine manour & demaine lands belonging thereunto, in the Ile of Hartie, adioining to the Ile of Shepeie in Kent. Simon Low & John Lime were plaintifs, and had brought a writ of right against Thomas Paramore, who offered to defend his right by battell. Wherupon the plaintifs aforsaid accepted to answer his challenge, offering likewise to defend their right to the same manour and lands, and to proue by battell, that Paramore had no right nor good title to haue the same manour and lands. Herevpon

A combat appointed as (Tuthill hir notes) but not tried.

vpon the said Thomas Paramore brought before the iudges of the common pleas at Westminster, one George Thorne, a big, broad, strong set fellow; & the plaintifs Henrie Nailer, maister of defense, and seruant to the right honourable the earle of Leicester, a proper slender man, & not so tall as the other. Thorne cast downe a gantlet, which Nailer toke vp, vpon the sundaie before the battell should be tried. On the next morow, the matter was staied, & the parties agreed, that Paramore being in possession shuld haue the land, & was bound in fiue hundred pounds to consider the plaintifs, as vpon hearing the matter the iudges should award. The quenes maiestie abhorring bloudshed, & (as the poet verie well saith)

(Tristia sanguinei deuitans prælia campi)

was the taker vp of the matter, in this wise. It was thought good, that for Paramores assurance, the order should be kept touching the combat, and that the plaintifs Low and Kime should make default of appearance; but that yet such as were suerties for Nailer their champions appearance, should bring him in; and likewise those that were suerties for Thorne, should bring in the same Thorne in discharge of their band: and that the court should sit in Tuthill fields, where was prepared one plot of ground, of one and twentie yards square, double railed for the combat. Without the west square a stage being set vp for the iudges, representing the court of the common pleas.

All the compasse without the lists was set with scaffolds one aboue another, for people to stand and behold. There were behind the square where the iudges sat, two tents, the one for Nailer, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timelie, Nailer about seauen of the clocke came thorough London, apparelled in a dublet, and gallie gascoine breeches all of crimsin sattin, cut and raised, a hat of blacke veluet, with a red feather and band, before him drums and fifes plaieng. The gantlet cast downe by George Thorne was borne before the said Nailer vpon a swords point, and his baston (a staffe of an ell long made taper wise tipt with horne) with his shield of hard leather was borne after him, by Askam a yeoman of the quenes garde. He came into the palace at Westminster, and staieng not long before the hall doore, came backe into the Kings street, and so along thorough the Sanctuarie and Tuthill street into the field, where he staied till past nine of the clocke, and then sir Jerome Bowes brought him to his tent: Thorne being in the tent with sir Henrie Cheinie long before.

About ten of the clocke, the court of common pleas remoued, & came to the place prepared. When the lord chiefe iustice, with two other his associats were set, then Low was called solemnlie to come in, or else to lose his writ of right. Then after a certeine time, the suerties of Henrie Nailer were called to bring in the said Nailer, champion for Simon Low. And shortlie therevpon, sir Jerome Bowes, leading Nailer by the hand, entred with him the lists, bringing him downe that square by which he entred, being on the left hand of the iudges, and so about till he came to the next square, iust against the iudges, and there making courtesie, first with one leg and then with the other, passed forth till he came to the middle of the place, and then made the like obeisance, and so passing till they came to the barre, there he made the like courtesie, and his shield was held vp aloft ouer his head. Nailer put off his nether stocks, and so barefoot and barelegged, saue his silke scaullones to the ankles, and his dublet sleeues tied vp aboue the elbow, and bareheaded, came in, as is aforesaid. Then were the suerties of George Thorne called to bring in the same Thorne: and immediatlie sir Henrie Cheinie entering at the vpper end on the right hand of the iudges, vsed the like order in comming about by his side, as Nailer had before on that other side: and so comming to the barre with like obeisance, held vp his shield. Proclamation was made that none should touch the barres, nor presume to come within the same, except such as were appointed.

After all this solemne order was finished, the lord chiefe iustice rehearsing the maner of bringing the writ of right by Simon Low, of the answer made thereunto by Paramore, of the proceeding therein, and how Paramore had challenged to defend his right to the land by battell, by his champion Thomas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Low with his champion Henrie Nailer: & then for default of appearance in Low, he adiudged the land to Paramore, & dismissed the champion, acquiting the suerties of their bands. He also willed Henrie Nailer to render againe to George Thorne his gantlet. Whereto the said Nailer answered, that his lordship might command him anie thing, but willinglie he wold not render the said gantlet to Thorne except he could win it. And further he challenged the said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to shew some pastime to the lord chiefe iustice, & to the other there assembled. But Thorne answered, that he came to fight, & would not plate. Then the lord chiefe iustice commending Nailer for his valiant courage, comanded them both quietlie to depart the field, &c.

On the sixteenth of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Yerietteshame, was found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Chamber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone in the countie of Kent. For the which fact she (hauing well deserued) was there burnt on the next morrow. The seuenth of September, the duke of Norfolke was remoued from the Charterhouse, to the tower of London prisoner. The two and twentith of September deceassed Iohn Jewell bishop of Salisburie, in his life a most eloquent and diligent preacher, but a far more painefull and studious writer, as his workes remaining do beare witnesse, wherby his fame shall neuer die. The ninth of Nouember, a sermon was preached in Paules church at London, by maister William Foulks of Cambridge, to giue thanks to almightie God for the victorie, which of his mercifull clemencie it had pleased him to grant to the christians in the Leuant seas, against the common enimies of our faith, the Turks, the seuenth of October last past. His theame was taken out of the sixteenth psalme of Dauids psalter, the fourth verse.

There were present at this sermon, the lord maior of London sir William Allen, with the aldermen and craftsmen in their liueries. And in the euening there were bonefiers made through the citie, with banketting and great reioising, as good cause there was, for a victorie of so great importance vnto the whole state of the christian common-wealth. In the which were taken one hundred and thirtie vessels, that is, one hundred and seuentéene gallies, and thirtéene galleots, besides other vessels that were bonged, abandoned, and let go at large abroad in the seas, as gallies, foists, and galleots, to the number of fourescore, or thereabouts. And of their chiefe teins slaine in that bloudie battell, these we find by name as principall: Halie Balla high admerall of the whole naule, Amar Beie capteine of the Ianisaries, Allan Beie the sonne of Barbarossa, with his sonne Mehemet Beie gouernor of Mitellene, Gider-Beie gouernour of Chio, Capsan Beie gouernour of the Rhodes, Peruts Aga gouernor of Affrica otherwise Mahomeda, Mustafa Sceiubie high treasuror, Affis Cluaga captreine of Gallipolie, Tramontans chiefe maister of the Turkish

Thorne and Nailer commeth.

The quarell of combat taken vp by the quenes maiestie.

The maner of all things ordeined for the combat.

The lord chiefe iustice set and his associats with him.

Nailer prepareth himselfe for the incounter against Thorne.

Stozie obteined a commission to search for English bookes.

Stozie intendeth the ouerthrow of England.

A platforme laid to apprehend Stozie.

Stozie searched the English ships for bookes, and is apprehended and brought into England.

Stozie & traitor hanged, drawne and quartered.

A combat appointed at Tuthill but not tried.

Sir Iohn Perot.

Stozie continued.

Stozie executioner.

Stozie.

Stozie.

Stozie

kish emperours owne gallie, Caracoza, and also manie others, whose names were too long to rehearse: but the whole number that were slaine of the Turks could not be perfectlie knowne, by reason that manie were drowned in the sea, which came not to fight.

The whole number of the slaine. Bizari. Contareno.

Some yet affirme, that there were slaine of them in all, to the number of one and twentie thousand, although other speake but of fiftéene thousand. But Contareno writeth, that there were slaine and taken 29990. Of which number he reckoneth 3846 to haue remained prisoners, and among them were these persons of name, Mahemet Beie, Hainus Beie, and Strocho Beie. There escaped yet from this discomfiture, Partau, generall of all the men of warre and souldiors by land, Ochialie, Murate Raie with his sonne, and Hali Genouese, and with them about fortie gallies, foists, and fregats. Moreouer, there were found in the Turkish gallies that came into the hands of the christians, one hundred and sixtéene double canons, two hundred sixtie and fiue demie canons, and sixtéene other great peeces of braſſe. For it is to be remembred, that not onelie the Turkish gallies, but also the christians were throughlie armed, furnished, and appointed with men, munition, and ordinance in euerie behalfe.

Bizari.

Persons that escaped from this discomfiture.

Booties that fell into the christians hands.

In Halie Bassa his gallie there were aboord three hundred harquebusiers Ianissaries, and an hundred archers. In the gallie of Don Giouan de Austria chiefe admerall of the christians, were foure hundred harquebusiers Spaniards, of the tertse of Sardigna, beside a great number of lords and gentlemen, and also beside the rowers: and in euerie other gallie were 200 fighting men at the least, beside the rowers, & in some 300, & othersome 400 according to the mould of the vessels. The number of the christian gallies and galliots, were in all two hundred and two, besides six great gallealles. The Turks had their gallies, galliots, and foists, to the number of two hundred and fiftie, as appeareth by the account afore made, of those that were taken, abandoned, and escaped. There were deliuered and set at libertie, about twelue thousand, some say fourtéene thousand christian captiues, whome the Turks kept for slaues, and had them chained there aboord with them in their gallies. But this victorie was not got without great losse of the christians, for beside Augustine Barbarigo, the principall prouedtore of the Venetians, there died seuentéene other gentlemen of Venice, being men of good estimation, Iohn Cardone, & Barnardine Cardone Spaniards, Virginio and Horatio Vrsini Romans, Troilo, Sabello, Marco Molino, besides diuerse other nobles and gentlemen of name, as well Italians, as Spaniards, and Almans.

The number of the christian gallies & the Turkes.

Christian captiues set at libertie 14000.

Contareno. The number of christians that died. Bizari.

In all, there died of the christians to the number of seauen thousand six hundred fiftie and six, beside those that were hurt, being in like number to them that were slaine, among whom was don Iohn de Austria, generall of all the christian armie there, Sebastian Veniero the Venetians generall, & the counte de Santa Fiore with diuerse others. Moreouer, there were christian gallies bouged, three of the Venetians, one of the popes, one belonging to the duke of Sauoie, and another to the knights of Malta. There was one also taken & led awaie by Ochialie, and his companie. Such was the successe of this battell, which continued for the space of six houres, in the end whereof the victorie remaining with the christians, caused no small reioising throughout all parties of christendome. For if this victorie had béene followed, with his gratious helpe and assistance that was the giuer thereof, the proud and loftie horne of the Ismaelite had béene so brused, as peraduenture his courage would haue quailed to put forth the same so spédilie as he did. But such is the malice of the time, that the christians haue more pleasure to draw their weapons one against another, than against that common enimie of vs all, who regardeth neither protestant nor catholike (they may be sure) those of the Grékish church nor others, as if the mercifull prouidence of the Lord of hosts do not in time disapoint his procedings, it will be too soone perceiued, though happilie too late to stop the breach, when the flood hath got head, and once woone passage throughout the banke.

Contareno. The space how long the battell continued.

A common fault among christians.

It were therfore to be wished of all those that tender the suertie of the christian commonwealth, that princes would permit their subiects to liue in libertie of conscience, concerning matters of faith: and that subiects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to obeie their princes in matters of ciuill gouernment, so that compounding their controuersies among themselues, with tollerable conditions, they might emploie their forces against the common enimie, to the benefit of the whole christian world, which (the more is the pitie) they haue so long exercised one against another, to each others destruction. And as for matters in variance about religion, rather to decide the same with the word, than with the sword, an instrument full vnfit for that purpose, and not lightlie vsed nor allowed of by the ancient fathers in time of the primitiue church. But sith this is rather to be wished than hoped for, by anie apparant likelihood, considering the strange contrarietie of humors now reigning among men in sundrie parts of christendome, let vs leaue the successe of our wish to the pleasure of God, the author of all good haps, who ruleth the harts of princes (as the poet saith verie truelie

God counteth if that faith be the faith of Christ & the true church.

——— & eius
In manibus sunt regum animi; quocunq; voluntas
Fert sua, vertit eos)

and frameth the peoples minds as séemeth best to his diuine prouidence. And withall, let vs also humblie offer to him our praiers, instantlie beséeching him to spare vs in mercie, and not to reward vs after our iniquities: but rather by his omnipotent power to turne from vs the violence of our enimies, in abridging their forces, as it may séeme good to his mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

The thirtith of December Reinold Greie was by the quéenes maiestie restored earle of Kent. ¶ The thirtéenth of Ianuarie deceased sir William Peter knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had béene secretarie and of the priuie councell to foure kings and quéenes of this realme, and seauen times ambassador abroad in forren lands: he augmented Exceter college in Oxford with lands, to the value of an hundred pounds by yeare: and also builded ten almes houses in the parish of Ingerstone for twentie poore people, ten within the house, and ten without the house, hauing euerie one two pence the daie, a winter gowne, and two load of wood, and among them feeding for six kine winter and summer, and a chapleine to saie them seruice dailie.]

Anno Reg. 14. Reinold Grey earle of Kent. I St. pag. 1155. Sir William Peter deceased. His charitable deeds.

The sixteenth of Ianuarie the lord Thomas Howard duke of Norfolke was arreigned at Westminster hall, before George lord Talbot, earle of Shrewesburie, high steward of England for that daie, and there by his péeres found giltie of high treason, and had iudgement accordinglie. The eleuenth of Februarie Benelme Barnete, and Edmund Pather were drawen from the tower of London, and Henrie Rolfe from the Marshalsea in Southwarke, all three to Tiburne and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treason; Barnete and Pather for conspiracie, and Rolfe for counterfeiting of the quéens maiesties hand.

1573 Duke of Norfolke arreigned. Pather, Barnete, and Rolfe executed.

¶ The quéenes maiestie hearing crediblie by report, that certeine lewd persons, vnder pretense of

I. S. pag. 1155.

executing

Conuictors of bels, leds, and other church goods, are to be punished to the example of other in manie seuerities.

erecting commissions for inquiries to be made for lands concealed, contrarie to hir maiesties meaning, chalenging lands, stocks of monie, plate, &c: letting not also to make pretense to the bels, led, and other such things belonging vnto parishchurches or chapels. Hir maiestie meaning spedilie to withstand such manner of vnlawfull practises, commanded, that all commissions then extant and not determined, for inquisition of anie manner of concealements, should be by *supersedias*, out of hir exchequer revoked. And also appointed spedie remedie to be had against such extortioners, as more at large appeareth by proclamation, concluding thus. Finallie, hir maiestie would hir iustices of assise to haue some speciall care, not onelie to the premisses, but also to the reforming of certeine couetous & iniurious attempts, of diuerse that of late time by other colour than for hir maiesties vse, had taken awaie the led of churches and chapels; yea and bels also out of steeples, and other common goods belonging to parishes: an example not to be suffered vnpunished, nor vnreformed. And so hir maiestie exhortes charged hir iustices of hir assise to prouide seuere remedie, both for punishment and reformation thereof. Dated at Westminster the thirteenth date of Februarie, the fourteenth yeare of hir reigne.]

Sir William Paulet lord treasuror deceased.

The tenth of March deceased sir William Paulet knight, lord saint John, earle of Wilshire, marquesse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the quenes maiesties priuie councell, and lord high treasuror of England, at his manor of Basing. This worthie man was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and liued about the age of foure score and seauen yeares, in sir kings and quenes daies. He serued fiue kings and quenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eight, Edward the first, quene Marie, and quene Elisabeth. All these he serued faithfullie, and of them was greatlie fauoured. Himselfe did see the children of his childrens children, growing to the number of one hundred and three. A rare blessing giuen by God to men of his calling.

His ancient and honorable armes.

On the fiue and twentith and six and twentith of March, by the commandement of the quenes maiestie hir councell, the citizens of London assembling at their seuerall halles; the maisters collected and chose out the most likelie and actiue persons of euerie their companies, to the number of three thousand, whome they appointed to be pikemen and shot. The pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corslets and other furniture according thervnto; the gunners had euerie of them his caliuer with the furniture, and murrians on their heads. To these were appointed diuerse valiant capteins, who to traine them vp in warlike feats, mustered them thrise euerie weeke, sometimes in the artillerie yard, teaching the gunners to handle their peeces, sometimes at the Miles end, & in saint Georges field, teaching them to skirmish. In the which skirmish on the Miles end the tenth of Aprill, one of the gunners of the goldsmiths companie was shot in the side with a pece of a scouring sticke left in one of the caliuers, wherof he died, and was buried the twelfe of Aprill in Pauls churchyard; all the gunners marching from the Miles end in battell raie, shot off their caliuers at his graue.

Thirtie thousand chosen persons for pikemen and gunners out of hallis.

Training vp of young souldiers in the field.

Iune 1573

Duke of Norfolke arreigned.

Mather, Barnet, and Rolfe executed.

I.S. pag. 1155.

Anno Reg. 14.

Reinold Grey earle of Kent, I.S. pag. 1155.

Sir William Peter deceased.

His charitable deeds.

Munster at Greenwich before the queene.

On Maie daie they mustered at Greenwich before the quenes maiestie, where they shewed manie warlike feats, but were much hindered by the weather, which was all daie showring, they returned that present night to London, and were discharged the next morrow. The fourth of Maie Walter Deuereux, lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and vicount of Hereford was created earle of Esser; and Edward Fines lord Clinton and Saie high admerall of England was created earle of Lincolne. The eight of Maie the parlement began at Westminster; and that same daie in the parlement by the quenes maiesties writs, sir Henrie Compton knight, lord of Compton in the Hole, sir Henrie Cheinie knight lord of Todington, sir William Paulet knight of Basing, & sir Henrie Norris knight lord of Ricot, were called barons into the higher house. In this parlement, for so much as the whole realme of England was exceedinglie pestered with roges, bagabunds, and sturdie beggers, by meanes whereof dailie happened diuerse horrible murthers, thefts, and other great outrages: it was enacted, that all persons aboue the age of foureteene yeares, being taken begging, vagarant, & wandering disorderlie, should be apprehended, whiped, and burned through the grissle of the right eare, with a hot iron of one inch compasse for the first time so taken.

Earles of Essex and Lincolne created.

Barons made.

Roges burnt through the eare.

The foure & twentith of Maie, Martine Bullocke was hanged on a gibet by the well with two buckets in Bishops gate street of London, for robbing, and most shamefullie murthering of a merchant named Arthur Hall, in the parsonage of S. Martine by the said well. This Martine had procured the said Arthur Hall to come to the said parsonage, to buie of him certeine plate. But after the said Arthur had well viewed the same, he said; This is none of your plate, it hath doctor Gardeners marke, and I know it to be his: That is true said Martine Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to sell it, &c. After this talke, whilest the said Arthur was weieng the plate, the same Martine fetcht out of the kitchin a thicke washing beetle, and comming behind him stroke the said Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the first stroke; and then strake him againe, and after tooke the said Arthurs dagger, and sticked him, and with his knife cut his throte: and after would haue trussed him in a Danske chest, but the same was too short. Wherupon he tumbled him downe a paire of staires, and after thinking to haue buried him in the cellar, his legs being broken with the first fall, and stiffe, he could not draw him downe the cellar staires being winding. Wherfore he cut off his legs with an hatchet, and in the end trussed him with straw in a drie vat: and saieng it was his apparell and bookes, caused the same to be carried to the water side, and so shipped to Rie. But as God would haue it, there was suspicion gathered against the murtherer, wherby he was examined before alderman Branch then one of the shiriffes of London; but so small likelihood appeared that he should be guiltie, that there was an honest man dwelling in saint Laurence Pontneis named Robert Gee a clothworker, who supposing the offendor to be cleere in the matter, vndertooke for his forth comming. Wherupon Bullocke being suffered to go at libertie, tipt awaie, first to Westminster; and there taking bote, passed vp the riuer: and comming on land beyond Kingston, passed forth till he came to Okingham, in the forrest of Windsore, an eight miles beyond the towne of Windsore: and from thense (what moued him, I leaue to the secret iudgement of God) he came backe againe vnto London, lodging at the red lion in Holborne.

Martin Bullocke hanged at the well with two buckets.

Fellonie and murther combined.

The maner of the murthes committed.

Ah mercifull murtherer

The murtherer examined.

He hath libertie notwithstanding his offense.

In the meane time the forsaid Gee, vpon knowledge had that Bullocke was withdrawen out of the waie, was not onelie had in some suspicion, but also committed toward: albeit so as he had libertie to take order to send abrode such as should make suite after Bullocke. And amongst other that went forth, one of his seruants was sent to Rie, whither the drie vat was conueied: and comming thither, the same drie vat was opened, wherein the mangled corps of Hall was found: whereby the truth of the matter

The daie day, wherein the murthered man was put to be transported, descried.

came to light, and by the good prouidence of God, the reuealer of such euill facts, Bullocke was at the verie same time discouered at the place in Holborne afore mentioned, and there apprehended, did receiue (as ye haue heard) due punishment for his heinous and most wicked offense.

Earle of Lincolne and other ambassadors into France.

The six and twentith of Maie, the right honorable earle of Lincolne, departed from London towards France ambassador, being accompanied with the lord Dacres, the lord Rich, the lord Talbot, the lord Sands, and the lord Clinton, sir Arthur Chamber-nowne, sir Jerome Bowes, and sir Edward Hastings knights, with diuerse other gentlemen, who taking ship at Douer, cut ouer to Bullongne, where they were verie honorablie receiued, and conueied by iournies to Paris, where they were lodged in a house of the kings named le chasteau de Louure, being attended vpon of the kings officers. Fiue daies

The maner of the ambassadors intertetnement.

after they went to the king at a house called Madrill, where the king with his two brethren, the admerall, & the most part of the nobles of France met them a distance from the place, & brought them to the house: where they dined, and abode till sundaie following, from whence the king and his nobles with the nobles of England came to Paris. The king, his two brethren, & our ambassador riding in one coch togither, and the nobles of England and France being so placed also in coches, came to the said castell of Louure, and there dined. After dinner the king, our ambassador, with the nobilitie of both realmes, went to a church named saint Germane, where the French king, his brethren, and nobilitie heard euensong. The noblemen of England withdrawing them into a chappell till euensong was done, were then fetched thense by the nobles of France to the king and his brethren that awaited their comming, where was

League with France confirmed in France.

confirmed the league which had béene concluded at Blois the nintéenth of Aprill, deputies being there for the French partie, Francis Montmorencie, Reinold Birago, Sebastian de Laubespine, and Paule de Foix: and for the quéene of England, sir Thomas Smith, and maister Wallingham ambassadors.

This being done, they departed without the wals of Paris, to a garden of pleasure, where they supped. After supper, the king departed to his place of Madrill, and the nobles of England vnto the castell of Louure. On mondaie, the admerall feasted the nobles of England: vpon tuesdaie, the duke of Anion the kings brother, and on wednesdaie the duke of Alanson his yonger brother, and so passed in feasting and banketting, with rich gifts on both parts. On

The ambassadours returned out of France.

fridaie, the nobles of England toke leaue of the king, and on sundaie came to saint Denis, and after to Bullongne, where they toke ship, and returned into England the fourth of Julie. The second of June in the morning, betwéene the houres of seuen and eight, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke, was beheaded on a scaffold newlie set vp on tower hill. ¶ This execution in a short time was spred abroad, for fame, which (as the poet saith in few words

The duke of Norffolke beheaded.

——— *volat leuibus sublata per æthera pennis*)

had sounded the same farre and néere: insomuch that in trac of time, as men had leasure to laie their collections togither, among other things this is recorded: euen of strangers. For the execution of an honorable personage must néeds be so much the more notorious, as his misdéed is dishonorable. Touching the duke therefore this I find in Schardius (howsoeuer he came to the knowledge thereof) a moderne historien, and doctor of the lawes in Basill. The duke of Norffolke, who (as we haue said) was condemned for treason the sirtenth daie of Januarie, was brought out of the tower of London, to a plaine hard

Schardius in reb. gest. sub Maximil. imperat. secundo pag. 2513.

by, which they call the hill; in the middest whereof a scaffold had béene builded manie yeares ago seruing for execution: which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For quéene Elisabeth hauing with mercie gouerned hir commonwealth, there was no punishment inflicted there vpon anie for the space of fourtéene yeares. Wherefore a new scaffold must néeds be made. Which when the duke at seuen of the clocke in the morning had mounted, hauing on a silken doublet, & a long gowne of like fine stuffe, all blacke, earnestlie he beheld the people round about with his cap on his head. Now when he had stood still a prettie while, and cast his eies vpon the scaffold, he asked whereabouts he might best stand to speake vnto the people: For the scaffold was foure square, and the people came flocking from all places. Now when he was directed to the east side thereof, and the people had muttered and whispered diuerslie among themselues, maister Alexander Nowell deane of Paules besought them that were present to be silent and still. Then began the duke to speake to the people as followeth.

Foren nations heare and write of the quenes vnbloudie gouernement.

The action, behauiour, & gesture of the duke at his execution.

Maister Nowell deane of Paules the dukes ghostlie father.

The duke of Norffolkes vvords vttered on the scaffold at tower hill when he should be executed

IT is no rare thing (good people) to sée a man come hither to die, albeit since this quéens most blessed reigne I be the first, I praie God I be the last. The people said Amen. It is a hard matter for a man of my calling to vse long spéech in such an audience, either for that audacitie serues me not, or for that comming to such an end as I do, the feare of death troubleth me: and therfore I beseech you all heartilie to beare with me, I will not be long, I will make a short spéech and diuide my talke into three parts. And first concerning my offense towards my prince, wherein some thing I haue to confesse against my selfe, and in some thing to cléere my selfe. I come not to complaine against my peeres, I do acquit them, I haue deserued to die, it is not vnknowne. I haue dealt with the quéene of Scots in verie great and high matters, without making my prince priuie therevnto, otherwise than I ought to haue done.

The duke confesseth his offense against the quenes maiestie.

There is one thing, which greatlie grudgeth my conscience, that is: when I was first deliuered out of this place, I made a submission, & promised the Q. neuer to deale further in that matter; and yet contrarie to my promise I meant & did otherwise, I am sorie for it. It was reported I made a vow and toke a solemne oth, and receiued the communion vpon it, that is not true: the other was too much. It was reported also I went about to destroie the citie of London: I take God to my witnesse I neuer meant to hurt this citie. I haue dealt with suspected persons, and such as haue shewed themselues enimies to the state; especiallie one I will name, to wit one Radulpho, whome I neuer talked withall but once, and then I liked not his dealing, he shewed me two letters which he said came from the pope.

He is sorie for the violating of his promis made to the quéene.

He maketh shew to cléere himselfe in diuerse points.

Then said one of the shiriffes of London, God my lord be short: he said, I will be short, I haue not much to saie, good gentlemen beare witnesse, I come not to cléere my selfe. I saw two letters, the one inciphered and the other disciphered. I was charged to confeder with the rebels, I take God to witnesse I did neuer. The secondarie interrupted him and said, I praie you my lord go not about to cléere your selfe, you haue béene tried as honourablie, as anie noble man hath euer béene in this land: I praie you make short, for the houre is past, it is vpon the perill of their liues (meaning the shiriffes) they can not suffer you.

Oh

He meaneth confession of his religion.

Oh I praie you giue me leaue a little, I do confesse my fault. This is my confession, I do confesse it, notwithstanding my religion. It hath been reported I haue béene a papist, a confederer with papists, a friend to them and a maintéiner of them and of their religion: I take God to witnesse I am none, nor euer was a papist since I knew what religion ment. I haue had friends, yea familiar friends, yea peraduenture seruants that haue béene papists, with whom I haue borne: but I take God to witnesse I am none, I vtterlie desie the pope and his religion, and I hope to be saued onlie by my faith in Iesus Christ: and I vtterlie abhorre all mans traditions. And if at anie time I did giue countenance to anie papist, thereby anie goodman or the church was offended, I aske them mercie: there is no man that alloweth better of this religion than I do. Then he was desired againe to be short. Now touching the goodnesse of the quæns maiestie, I am much bound to hir grace. I do thanke hir humblie for that she hath forgiuen all my offenses, and hath prolonged my life so long. You sée how good she hath béen to me, I haue béene loked for here long before this time, God send hir long ouer you to reigne, she hath promised me to be gratious to my poore orphan children. God grant my death maie end all troubles. And if anie of you haue anie one faction, or two, or thrée, or mo, let him giue ouer & forsake it. Manie wish and desire diuerse things: but they know not what they wish. They sécke their owne destruction. If euerie man should haue his wish, God knoweth how manie would repent, whatsoeuer they are.

He confesseth himselfe much bound to the quænes maiestie.

He exhorteth to beware of factions.

The quéene hath promised in my death to forgiue all, and I praie God that she maie liue manie yeares. I remember well the words of that good father and holie martyr Latimer. He told the people, that for their wickednesse God would take awaie his blessing from them. I praie God the contrarie, that your good life maie be such, that God maie turne awaie those plagues that he hath thretned. He spake it in an honorable place, in the pulpit, before king Edward: yet let not this place discredit my words. I praie God preserue the quéens maiestie, and that she maie liue and reigne ouer you manie yeares: euen to the worlds end, which I beléeue that some one aliue shall sée. Then he knéeled downe and praied, and maister Nowell knéeled downe by him and wept, with manie others. His praier was vnto God for the continuance of the truth of his gospell; he praied also instantlie for the quénes most prosperous reigne, and knéeling vpon his knées he said two psalms, to wit *Miserere* and *Domine ne in furore*, and in the first psalme he praied to build the wals of Ierusalem, according to the psalme. Maister Nowell said, That is meant of Christs church. I know that well (said he) I meane not the church of Rome, I abhorre it, but the church of England and of all the world whersoeuer it be.

He putteth the people in mind of Latimers words vttered before king Edward.

He praieth and manie more with him: the effect of his praier.

I haue forgotten one thing, I thanke thée God that hast put me in mind of it. I forgiue all the world and I aske all the world forgiuenesse: and I protest before God, if I knew anie particular man I had offended, I would namelie aske him forgiuenesse. Then he read the other psalme, wherein adulterie is mentioned, and when he came to that point, he said: I would I were as cleare in euerie thing as in that, sauing for thought, and that is as euill. Then he said a collect, and in the end he said, *In manus tuas Domine, &c.* in Latine and English. And then he desired the people to praie for him while he liued, for (quoth he) I loke not to haue anie excuse after my death. Then he imbraced sir Henrie Leie, and after a few secret words betweene them, Maister Nowell stood vp and said to the people, He doth desire you all with one voice to saie Lord haue mercie vpon him, and after to saie no more words, nor to make anie shout or shritching for troubling of him in his last visitation. Then the duke knéeled downe, and maister Nowell bowed himselfe towards him with manie imbracings, and toke there leaue each of other. Then the executioner desired him knéeling to forgiue him: and he toke him by the hand and forgaue him, and then requested sight of the axe; Maister Nowell said, The sight will trouble you. He answered; No, let me sée it: but he shewed it not, & then he laied his necke vpon the blocke. Then the executioner said; My lord your head lieth not well. I will make it lie well, saith he, & therewithall lifting vp his bodie he laid his necke euen vpon the blocke, which done it was cut cleane off at one stroke. This was the end of the duke of Northfolke, a man whose life God had limited, as also the estate wherein he sometimes flourished: both which (as all things else) in a short time vanished. Let all degrées therefore learne, both by precept and example to know God principallie, secondlie their souereigne Gods annointed, and finallie themselues to be subiects; forgetting their owne honour, which puffeth men vp manie times with the wind of vainglorie, euen to their owne ouerthrow, whilest they become insolent, and dreame that the transitorie aduancements of this world will make them princes, princes péeres; naie (O monstrous madnesse) gods, whereas all things are mutable and momentanie, and the higher that a man doth clime, the greater is his fall; as verie aptlie saith the poet in these words:

He knéeleth downe and submitteth himselfe to the axe.

He is sorie for the violating of his promise made to the quæne.

Hoc fragili varijs voluuntur casibus orbe
Omnia, celsa ruit turris grauiore ruina.

He maketh shew to clære himselfe in diuerse points.

He offereth all the world forgiuenesse, &c.

He iustifieth himselfe against the slaunder of adulterie.

The discourse and catalog of all the *dukes of England by creation or descent* since the time of the conquest.

The collection of Francis Botenille alias Thin, in the peare of Christ 1585.

TWo sentences, the one an Italian prouerbe, the other an old English byword haue moued me to make this collection (at the request of an other) of all the dukes of England. First the Italian said that France cannot abide anie treasurors, England anie dukes, nor Scotland anie kings, the truth whereof néed no confirming examples to be set downe, sith (as saith the philosopher) things subiect to the sense néed no further prowfe. Secondlie the English saieng hath been, that a Nag of fiue shillings shall beare all the dukes of England & Scotland, being spoken in no sense of disgrace to that honorable title: but onelie to shew that the time should come, wherein there should be no dukes in England or Scotland. Now true the same is in England, and likelie againe to be in Scotland (being once before verified in that realme, for about fiue years past, there was no duke there also when the duke of Lineur was banished) euerie man doth well perceiue. For the death of this Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that honour hath iustified the same in England. And the turmoils in Scotland may perhaps shortlie verifie the same in that countrie, in which there were neuer so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and smallest number: for being but one in that countrie, and he verie young (which is the duke of Lineur) if he should miscarie, the same would againe also be as true there as it is now here. For which cause to perpetuat the memories of such antiquities and titles of honor, as age hath consumed with the persons which inioied such preheminences in England, I will from the first creation of anie duke since the conquest recite the creation, descent, and succession of all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of the creation of such dukes, & secondlie the descent of all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that crea-

tion, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward the blacke prince, duke of Cornwall.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleauenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yong. This yong prince was the first duke in England since the conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chiualrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet duke of Lancaster.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Crok Colle (because his head leaned somewhat to one shoulder like the great Macedone king Alexander, whose valure in feats of armes this Henrie did also imitate) being sonne to Henrie of Monmouth earle of Lancaster, was in like sort earle of Lancaster by descent. After which he was created earle of Darbie, as some saie in the eleauenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1337, other saie in the foureteenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our saluation 1340. He was created duke of Lancaster as some haue in the six & twentith yeare of Edward the third, as other haue the seauen & twentith, and as the third sort haue the eight & twentith yeare of Edward the third. He was lord steward of England, & lieutenant of Guines. This man was wise, glorious in fortune, and full of honor in feates of armes, whilest he was yong: he died the fiue and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, being one of the first knights which were made at the first institution of the honorable order of the garter, and the second duke that was made in England. He had issue two daughters & heires, Mawd maried to William duke of Bauare, earle of Henalt, Zeland & Holand, which after became mad; & Blanch maried to John of Gant, fourth sonne to Edward the third.

John of Gant duke of Lancaster.

John Plantagenet, surnamed of Gant in Flanders, where he was borne, the fourth sonne to king Edward the third, was first by his father in the fiue and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, made duke of Lancaster, so that he was duke of Lancaster, earle of Lincolne, Salisburie, Darbie and Leicester, king of Castile & Leine, and steward of England. He married three wiues, the first was Blanch the daughter and heire of Henrie duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Lincolne, Sarisburie & Darbie, in whose right he obteined all those titles of honor, whome he maried in the thirtith three yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1359, and by hir had issue Henrie Plantagenet duke of Hereford: Philip married in the tenth yeare of Richard the second (in the yeare of Christ 1386, as some saie; or rather 1385, as others haue) to the king of Portingale: and Elisabeth married to John Holland erle of Huntington. His second wife was Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Castile, whom he maried in the six & fortith yeare of Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ 1372, by whome he had issue Margaret maried to the king of Castile, which Constance died in the yere of Christ 1394, as saith Ypodigma. His third wife was Katharine the widow of Otho Swinford, and daughter to sir Paien Ruet *alias* Guien king at armes, whom he maried in the nintéenth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yere of Christ 1395, or as some saie 1396, by this woman he had before mariage Thomas Beaufort, John Beaufort, Henrie Beaufort cardinall of Winchester, & Jane maried to Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, all which children were in the twentith of Richard the second, being in the yeare 1396, legitimated by parlement: at which time the said John of Gant gaue them the surname of Beaufort. This John of Gant was also earle of Richmond and constable of France in the time of Richard the second, who made him also duke of Aquitaine in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare 1390. This John of Gant died in the two & twentith yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare 1398, or as saith Ypodigma 1399, & was buried in the quére of saint Paules church of London, on the north side.

Henrie Plantagenet duke of Lancaster and Hereford, king of England.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Henrie of Bollinbroke so surnamed of the place of his birth, the eldest son of the said John, was by inheritance duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Salisburie, Darbie, and Lincolne: he was created duke of Hereford by Richard the second, who made him earle of Darbie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1386, and after made him duke of Hereford in the 21 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1397. Which Henrie of Bollinbroke maried in the 9 yére of the reigne of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1386 Marie the second daughter, & one of the heires of Humphrie Bohune earle of Hereford & Essex, and constable of England, which woman died in the yére of Christ 1394, about the eightéenth yére of Richard the second. This Henrie was after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth.

Lionell Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Lionell Plantagenet surnamed Lionell of Antwerpe in Brabant, because he was there borne, being the third son of king Edward the third, was erle of Ulster in Ireland by his wife, and created duke of Clarence in the 36 yére of Edward the third, in the yére of Christ 1462: but other saie he was made duke in the 33 yer of Edward the third. He had two wiues, the first Elisabeth, some saie Eleanor (but rightlie as I do suppose) the daughter of William Burgh earle of Ulster, by whom he had issue Philip maried to Edmund earle of March: the second wife was Jelant or Uelant daughter to Galeas duke of Millane, to whom he was maried, as saith the English chronicle, in the two and fortith yére of Edward the third, in the yére of Christ 1368: which yére the Italians count 1367, by whom he had no issue. This Lionell was somtime regent of France, & died 1368.

Edmund Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Edmund of Langleie, fift son to Edward the third made earle of Cambridge about the six and thirtith yére of Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1361, was made duke of Yorke in the eight, or (as some haue) the ninth yére of the said king Richard the second. He in the six and fortith yére of king Edward the third, in the yére that the word became fleth 1372, married Isabell one of the daughters of Peter king of Castile, and sister by the mother to Constance second wife to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, brother to this Edmund, who was about the twentith yére of Richard the second protector of England, while the king was in Ireland, which Isabell died in the yere of Christ 1394, being about the eightéenth yére of Richard the second, & by the kings commandement was buried in the friers of Langleie. This Edmund had issue by his wife Isabell Edward earle of Rutland, and duke Albermerle, Richard earle of Cambridge, and one daughter called Constance married to Thomas lord Spencer: he died the second (as some haue) or rather the third (as others haue) of Henrie the 4, in the yére of Christ, as hath Ypodigma 1402, and was buried at Langleie.

Edward Plantagenet duke of Albermerle and Yorke.

Edward Plantagenet son and heire of Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke, was in the foureteenth of Richard the second created erle of Rutland in his fathers life, in the yére of Christ 1390, and in the twentith yeare of Richard the second, or rather the 21 of the same king, being the yeare of Christ 1397, he was made duke of Albermerle or Aumerle, and after his fathers death he was duke of Yorke: he was slaine at the battell of Agincourt, in the third yeare

yeare of Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of Chriſt 1415, he married Margaret, or rather more truelie Philip the ladie Fitzwater, and widow to ſir John Gollafer knight, baſtard ſonne to ſir John Gollafer of Cercedone or Sareſdone knight in Oxfordſhire. And here becauſe I haue mentioned the name of Gollafer, although it be digreſſing from my firſt purpoſes, onelie to treat of the dukes of England, I thinke it not amiſſe to ſaie ſomewhat of theſe two knights, of the Gollafers, ſir John the father, and ſir John the ſonne. This ſir John Gollafer the father being the ſonne of John Gollafer eſquier (whoſe anceſtors as farre as I can learne had their firſt originall from Roger Gollafer of Cercedone in the time of king John, and was buried in *Domo capitulari de Bruera in com. oxon.*) married Anne the daughter and heire of ſir Thomas Langleie lord of Langleie in Oxfordſhire (now at this date in the yeare 1585, by grant of quéene Eliſabeth, in the poſſeſſion of Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leiceſter) which Anne died ſhortlie after without anie iſſue by him. After whoſe death this ſir John Gollafer married Iſabell the ladie of Pillenden (dwelling at Pillenden) and of Queintone in Buckinghamſhire, ſhe being daughter to ſir Barnard Brocas. But this ſir John Gollafer hauing no iſſue by the ſaid Eliſabeth, and deſirous by ſome meanes or other to continue his name (which yet he could not make perpetuall nor of anie long continuance) made choiſe in the life of his wife Iſabell of another woman, whome he vſed for procreations cauſe, and by hir had iſſue two baſtards, one called Jennet Pulham after proteſſe of Burneham by Windſore, and an other baſtard called after the father John Gollafer, who in following time became a knight. Afterward this ſir John the father died at Queintone in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand, three hundred, ſeauentie and nine, falling partlie in the ſecond and third yeare of Henrie the fourth, and was buried at the Graie friers in Oxford, whoſe wife Iſabell was after buried in Pillenden prioric.

After the death of this ſir John the father, ſir John Gollafer knight his baſe ſonne being lord of Langleie, married Phillip ladie Fitzwater, after maried to this duke of Yorke (as before is ſaid) which ſir John Gollafer died at Wallingford, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand, three hundred, ninetie and ſir, being the twentith yeare of Richard the ſecond, and was buried at Weſtminſter, neere vnto the tombe of Richard the ſecond. Which ladie Philip died in the time of Henrie the firſt, and was buried at Weſtminſter, neere vnto hir huſband, whoſe ſtatelie tombe is yet extant, on the ſouth ſide almoſt directlie ouer againſt the tombe of Richard the ſecond. Thus this much for the name of Gollafer; and ſo againe to the dukes of England.

Thomas Plantagenet ſurnamed of Woodſtocke duke of Gloceſter.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwiſe called Thomas of Woodſtocke, firſt ſonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, the firſt yeare of Richard the ſecond, in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, ſeauentie and ſeauen, the daie of his coronation before dinner. This man was high conſtable of England, and created duke of Gloceſter, in the eight yeare of Richard the ſecond, of whom is more eſpeciall mention made in the treatiſe of the conſtables of England, pag. 867.

Thomas Holland duke of Surreie.

Thomas Holland, brother by the mothers ſide to king Richard the ſecond, and ſonne to the lord Thomas Holland (earle of Kent, in the right of Jane, daughter and heire to Edmund Plantagenet, ſurnamed of Woodſtocke earle of Kent) was aduanced to the title of duke of Surreie in the two and twentith years of king Richard the ſecond, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand, three hundred, ninetie and ſeauen, he maried Alice the daughter of Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell. He had iſſue ſir daughters & heires; Margaret married to John Beaufort earle of Summerſet, and marqueſſe Dorſet; Alice maried to Thomas Montacute earle of Saliſburie; Eliſabeth, married to John lord Neuill ſonne to Rafe Neuill the firſt earle of Weſtmerland, and after his death to Edward Chareleton lord Powis; Joane married to Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke; and Bridget a nun at Barking. This man with others, at a parlement held the firſt yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand, three hundred, ninetie and nine, was depriued of his name of duke, & of all honours, together with the dignities belonging to a duke, & was after in the ſame yeare (rebelling againſt king Henrie the fourth) taken by the men of Circeſter, and beheaded in the ſame towne, after that he had cauſed the towne to be ſet on fire.

John Holland duke of Exceſter.

John Holland full brother to Thomas Holland, and halfe brother to Richard the ſecond, was created earle of Huntington in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the ſecond, and made duke of Exceſter at a parlement holden in the one & twentith yeare of the ſame king, though ſome attribute that to the twentith yeare of king Richard. This man at a parlement held in the firſt of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of Chriſt 1399, was diſgraded from his title of dukedome, and was after taken at Pritewell in Eſſex in a mill, and beheaded at Plaſſie in the ſaid ſhire, in the ſaid firſt yeare of the ſaid king Henrie the fourth, he married Eliſabeth the daughter of John of Gant duke of Lancaſter, and had iſſue John Holland earle of Huntington.

John Holland duke of Exceſter.

John Holland earle of Huntington was (as it ſeemeth) made by Henrie the fourth (after the death of the duke of Exceſter his father) & admitted to be duke of Exceſter, he married Anne the daughter of Edmund earle of Stafford, he had iſſue Henrie Holland duke of Exceſter, and Anne maried to ſir John Neuill knight, brother of Rafe the third of that name erle of Weſtmerland, he died the ſix and twentith of king Henrie the ſixt on the fift of Auguſt, being the yeare of Chriſt 1448, and was buried at S. Katharins nigh the tower of London. After which his firſt wife he maried Anne the daughter of John Montacute earle of Saliſburie, by whome he had no iſſue.

Henrie Holland duke of Exceſter.

Henrie Holland ſonne of John Holland was (after the death of his father) duke of Exceſter, he was diſherited in the firſt of Edward the fourth at a parlement held then in the yeare 1461, he maried Anne daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and ſiſter to king Edward the fourth, which Anne at hir owne ſute on the twelfe of November in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Chriſt 1471, was diuorced from the ſaid duke of Exceſter. Shortlie after which, in the yeare of Chriſt 1413, being in the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, this duke was found dead in the ſea betweene Douer & Calis, but how he came there none could certenlie declare. He died without iſſue, leauing his ſiſter Anne his heire, maried (as before) to John Neuill brother to Rafe earle of Weſtmerland.

Robert Vere duke of Ireland.

Robert Vere earle of Oxford and marqueſſe of Dubline was in the yeere of Chriſt 1386, in the tenth of Richard the ſecond created duke of Ireland, he died without iſſue at Louaine in great penurie and veration of mind, as hath Ypodigma, in the yeere of Chriſt 1392, being about the ſixteenth of king Richard the ſecond, he maried the daughter of Ingerame de Couſie earle of Bedford, and after diuorced from hir he married Lancecrona one of meane parentage.

Margaret Segraue duchesse of Norffolke.

Margaret ladie Segraue the daughter and heire of Thomas Brotherton earle of Norffolke and marshall of England, was created duchesse of Norffolke in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, she had two husbands, whereof the first was John lord Segraue, by whom she had issue Elisabeth married to John Mowbrcie the third of that name. Hir second husband was sir Walter Mannic knight of the order, by whome she had a daughter married to John lord Hastings erle of Penbroke. This duchesse Margaret died in the yeare of Christ 1399, being about the three and twentith of Richard the second, and was buried in the frier Minors of London.

Thomas lord Mowbrcie duke of Norffolke.

Thomas lord Mowbrcie second sonne of Elisabeth Segraue and John lord Mowbrcie hir husband was aduanced to the dukedome of Norffolke, in the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of Richard the second. Shortlie after which he was appeled by Henrie earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castell of Windsore, where he was stronglie and safelie garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes the fiftenth date of September, in the two and twentith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norffolke was banished for euer: wherupon taking his iourneie to Jerusalem, he died at Uenice in his returne frō the said citie of Jerusalem in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, about the yeare of our redemption 1399. He maried Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Richard erle of Arundell Warren and Surreie, by whome he had issue John duke of Norffolke, and three daughters, Elisabeth maried to Michaell de la Pole the yonger erle of Suffolke, Margaret maried vnto sir Robert Howard knight, and Isabell maried to sir James Barkeleie.

John Mowbrcie duke of Norffolke.

John Mowbrcie earle of Notingham marshall of England and duke of Norffolke, baron Segraue and Bowser, was buried in the Charterhouse within the ile of Ertholme, he maried Katharine the daughter of Rafe the first earle of Westmerland, by whom he had issue John duke of Norffolke.

John Mowbrcie duke of Norffolke.

John lord Mowbrcie the first baron of the name of Mowbrcie, sonne to John duke of Norffolke, was after his father duke of Norffolke. This John was buried in Tetford priorie, who marieng Elenor the daughter of William lord Burchier earle of Ewe, had issue John duke of Norffolke.

John Mowbrcie duke of Norffolke.

John the last duke of Norffolke of the surname of Mowbrcie, the sonne of John the last before mentioned, was in his fathers life time created earle of Warren and Surreie by king Henrie the first, and after the death of his father was duke of Norffolke. This John the last duke died in his castell of Fremingham, in the yeare 1461, being the second yeare of king Edward the fourth. He maried Elisabeth daughter to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, by whome he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, maried to Richard duke of Yorke second son to Edward the fourth.

Th. Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Thomas Plantagenet second sonne to Henrie the fourth, was created duke of Clarence in the eleuenth yeare of his father, being about the yeare of our redemption 1409, and was afterward in the 13 of the same king created earle of Aumerle, and high steward of England: he was slaine the two and twentith of March, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of the victorious king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our redemption 1420, beginning the yeare of our Lord on the fiue and twentith date of March. He maried Margaret the daughter of Thomas Holland earle of Kent, and died without issue legitimat, hauing a base sonne called John the bastard of Clarence.

John Plantagenet third sonne to Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Bedford, at the parlement of Leicester, in the yeare of Christ 1414, in the second of king Henrie the fift. Of this man is more large mention made in my discourse of the protectors of England.

John Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

Humfreie Plantagenet fourth sonne of Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Glocester, who for the nobilitie of his mind and vertuous life, was made protector of England. Of whom is more spoken in my former discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfreie Plantagenet duke of Glocester.

See pag. 1165

John Beaufort (which name of Beaufort was giuen by John of Gant to his children which he had by Katharine Swineford, when they were made legitimate by parlement, about the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second as is before touched) was created marquesse Dorset by Henrie the fourth, and after aduanced to the honour of duke of Summerset, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1413. He maried Margaret the daughter of sir John Beauchampe lord of Powicke, he had issue Margaret maried to Edmund Haddam earle of Richmond father to king Henrie the seuenth: after the death of which Edmund she was maried to Thomas lord Stonleie, afterward by Henrie the seuenth created earle of Darbie, and after vnto Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham. This duke of Summerset died the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, and was buried at Winborne, in the yeare of Christ 1444. And his daughter the ladie Margaret died at Westminster on the nine and twentith of June, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ a thousand fiue hundred and nine, about three score and fiue yeares after the death of hir father.

John Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Thomas Beaufort sonne to John of Gant duke of Lancaster and Katharine Swineford was created duke of Exceter, in the fift yeare of K. Henrie the fift, of whome is mention made in my protectors.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceter.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of John Beaufort duke of Summerset, was created earle Dorton in the seuenth yeare of K. Henrie the fift. He was created marquesse Dorset and duke of Summerset by king Henrie the first, he was made regent of Normandie, and lost the whole countrie to the French: for which after his comming out of Normandie in the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, he was on the first of December the same yeare, being the yeare of our Lord 1450, apprehended and put vnder arrest, and his goods by the commons sowlie despoiled and caried awaie from the Blacke friers. He was slaine at the battell of S. Albons in Maie, the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our Lord 1455, and was with Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Clifford buried at S. Albons. He maried two wiues, the first was Elenor the daughter of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike, a widow to Thomas lord Rosse, by whom he had issue Henrie duke of Summerset, Edmund duke of Summerset, John marques Dorset, Margaret maried to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Elisabeth maried to sir Henrie Lewes knight, Elenor maried to James Butler earle of Wilshire, and after to sir Robert Spenser, Anne maried to sir William Paffone knight, and Jone maried to the lord Yeth of Ireland. His second wife was Jane, who was after maried to Henrie Bromefield knight, of the which Edmund duke of Summerset, and the other lords buried at saint Albons, thus writeth the worthie poet John Gower

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

John Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

Humfrie Plantagenet duke of Glocester.

See pag. 1665

John Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceter.

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

an. Reg. 14.

Gower with these same verses hereafter following:

Quos mors quos Martis sors sæua, suæq; sororis
Bella prosternarunt, villæ medioque necarunt,
Mors sic occisos tumulauerat hic simul ipsos,
Postq; necem requiē causauit habere perennem
Et medium sine quo vult hic requiescere nemo,
Hic lis, hic pugna mors est qui terminat arma;
Mors sors & Mauors qui strauerunt dominos hos.

Henrie Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Henrie Beaufort eldest sonne to Edmund duke of Summerset was after the death of his father erle Morton, marquesse Dorset, and duke of Summerset, he was capteine of Calis; who with other nobles in the nine and thirtith of Henrie the first slue the duke of Yorke at the battell of Wakefield, in the yeare of our redemption 1460; according to the accompt of England. Shortlie after which, K. Henrie the first, whom this duke supported all that he could, was deposed, & Edward the fourth crowned. Touching which deposing of the one, & crowning of the other, although it be impertinent to the treatise of the dukes of England, hauing here so good place therfore, I will set downe such verses as I haue found in I. Whethamsted, adding further such other verses also as I find in him, concerning a battell fiercelie fought at Ferribrig in Yorkeshire, in the yeare of Christ 1461.

X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
Postquam successit lex iuris, iure ue rexit,
Anglorum regnum vis non ius rexerat ipsum
Iam noua progenies, quia cælo venit ab alto
Saturni soboles, quæ nomine dicitur altro
Edwardus quartus, Richardo sanguine iunctus
Creditur à multis, redeunt Saturnia nostris
Temporibus sæcla, lis visq; nephas simul una
Deperiunt, iura lex & pax sunt reditura.
Fraus etiamque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
Raptus auaritiæ, subeunt verúmque fidésque:
Hæc spes plebis erat, cleri chorus hæcq; putabat.
Det ceu speratur regnum Deus vt stabuatur,
Et plebs tranquillè viuat clerus atq; quietè.

Then of the time of that former recited warre, in which the northerne men were ouercome, there were these verses made, vpon the excesse and euill which they outragiouslie committed in the south parts of England, without regard of God, obedience to their naturall prince, reuerence to the church, loue to their native countrie, or benefite to themselues:

The battell of Ferribrig the fourteenth of March in the yeare 1461, according to the accompt of the Englishmen that reare at Pontarte.

M. semel X. seno centum quater I. simul vno
In Martis mense terdena denique luce,
In patria Boreæ Ferrebrig propè iugera villæ,
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis & satis atrox.
Vicerat Arcthos in bello Martius heros,
Iunior Edwardus Hector nouus alter Achilles
Prostrauit multos Austro tunc cesserat Arcthos,
Et doluit casum supra X. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini plures & erant generosi
Illius patriæ flos vt sors tunc cecidere.
Et meritò, quoniā spoliarūt nequiter Austrum.
Laus igitur Domino, sit honor, sit gloria Christo
Cessat nunc flatus grandis Boreæq; boatus,
Ing. Austrum redijt, Acolus ventum variauit,
Est Boreas mordens, & valdè ventus adurens,
Est Auster iustus, vult mor sus rodere mor sus,
Et malè mordentes bene vires tollere eidem,
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suauis frater & eius,
Hinc Boreásq; Aquilo pro nūc claudūtur in antro.

Some 20000 slaine, whereof fiue knights & gentlemen.

Furthermore, touching the title of the same king Edward the fourth to the gouernement of the kingdome of England, and of his right and truth thereunto were these following verses composed, to declare the deposition of king Henrie the first, as before said in the coronation of Edward the fourth, and how the same kingdome of England, with all the members thereof, did belong to Edward the fourth, as vnto the rightfull lineall heire to the same with his pedegree, prouing the same also in this sort:

In sibi coniunctis [a] *Edwardi semine natis*
Ortus erat primo [b] *Leonellus* [c] *Iohnque secundo,*
Cedat lex regni vult iunior vt senior.
Attamen [d] *Henricus hæres genitúsque Iohannis*
Per vim sceptrigerum regimen tulerátque coronam,
Et tenuit multis sed non sine viribus annis.
Illi succesit rex [e] *qui si non caruisset*
Iustitiæ titulo, non Hector dignior ipso:
Non iudex Eacus, non ore politus Vlysses.
Ipso defuncto succesit [f] *filius in quo*
Stirps ea cessauit. Hæres reuocatus remeauit
Scilicet [g] *Edwardus Leonelli proximus hæres,*
Hic petyit regimen, [h] *rex obstat, dátque negamen.*
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli,
Et palmam tulerat [i] *Henricus rex fugiebat*
Bello finito, multo quóque sanguine fuso
Quum victor secum palmam ferrétque triumphum,
Vendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudebat eidem
Clamabátque sibi [k] *Viuat fœlicior omni*
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octauiano.
Hæc vox cunctorum, clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solióque leuatus
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Iuréque quo potuit, vim pressit, ius renouauit.
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,
De malè quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.
Stare diu nequit mala quanquam vis stabiliuit
Ius, nescitque mori, valeat licèt ense feriri,
Ex bene patratis bene crescit honos quoque virtus.
O rota versatilis nimis ohq; rotabilis axis!
Sorte nouercante fatóq; modum variante,
Corruit [l] *Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,*
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat
Defecitq; bonus, heus pro moderamine sensus
Próq; bono campi cor defuit Herculis illi,
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius excors,
Martem non coluit nimis à [m] *patre degenerauit*
Quo melior miles non Teucer erat vel Atrides,
Siue timor Phrygijs Aiax robustus in armis.
[n] *Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,*
Attamen in factis nimiæ vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta nouem rex præfuit annis,
Cæca manu fortuna rotam quassi fortis in armis
Voluerat, & regimen capiebat regis, eundem
Compulit ac subito sic dicere, Sum sine regno.
Oh sors prosperior, oh gratia sorteq; maior!
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
Sed mittendus erat, iam dante Deo veniebat
Hic Martis soboles, & nomine [o] *Martius heros.*
Marte triumphante, ius sceptri iusq; coronæ,
Vt decuit sumpsit, vt debuit ac sibi iunxit,
Tunc bona spes fuerat, sors prospera quod reueniret,
Lætáque pro voto colere plebs secla sub ipso
Det Deus, ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat.

[a] King Edward ye third.
[b] Lionell duke of Clarence third sonne to Edward the third.
[c] John of Gant fourth sonne to Edward the 3.
[d] Henrie the fourth.
[e] Henrie the fift.
[f] Henrie the sixt.
[g] Edward the fourth.
[h] Henrie the sixt.
[i] Henrie the sixt.
[k] Edward the fourth.

[l] King Henrie the first his disposition described.

[m] Henrie the fift.

[n] Henrie the sixt.

[o] Edward erle of March, after king Edward the fourth.

Thus after this long digression from the matter of the duke of Summerset, bicause I would set downe all the verses of Whethamsted, I must yet also ad other verses found in his register, mentioning some part of the doings of the northerne men before spoken of: which verses although they should haue gone before, yet I thinke better here than not at all to write them in this sort. Shortly after the forsaid battell of Wakefield wherin the duke of Yorke was slaine, and before the deposing of king Henrie the first, he had a battell at S. Albons, called the second battell of S. Albons with the northern men (following the quæne & this duke of Sumersets faction) & now were come as far as S. Albons, on Shroue tuesdaie the seuentæenth daie of Februarie in the said

said yeare of Christ 1460, where the king was put to flight, and fled to the quéene. Touching which battell also, thus writeth that learned abbat of saint Albons John Whethamsted in his ancient register:

The 17 of Februarie 1461 after the account of such as begin the yeare at Januarie. *Southerne men.

M simul X. seno centum quater I. simul vno,
Quum lux septena fuerat mensis quóq; dena,
Numinis illius venerantur quod morientes,
Inter Solares pugnantes & Boreales,*
Magna cohors cecidit, duo millia plebs numerauit,
Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi,
Et pugnæ campum, cæsis dedit & tumulatum,
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multisq; dolebit,
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator & omnis,
Principio pugnæ potiores Marte fuere
Australes, tandem vicit Boreásque triumphum
Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum,
Martis vt euentum fore scires sic dubiosum.
Vt veniunt cynephes, culices, brusique locustæ,
Vt vastant segetes: aliæ muscæ quóque multæ,
Sic aduenerunt similes illis Boreales,
Austri totius. His iudex sit Radamantus,
Et Minos Cretæ, coniunctus eis Eacúsque,
Atque modum pœnæ pensent seu demeruere,
Vix infernalis pro pœna sufficit ipsis,
Aut focus aut furiæ licent essent agmine mille,
Gens est Cerberea, gens Sphingia, gens Briarea,
Latratu, raptu, spolij prædaque voratu,
Laus hæc, laus Boreæ, laus est hæc laus sine laude.

Thus to returne to the duke of Summerset, we saie that afterward in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, the said duke of Summerset fled to Yorke to king Henrie the first, and the quéene, who altogither fled from thense to Berwike, and so to Edenburgh. Whereupon by parlement in the first yeare of Edward the fourth 1461, this duke was atteinted, and his goods and lands seized for the king. But after that time king Edward the fourth besieging the castels of Bamburgh, Dunstenburgh, and Alnewike, this duke of Summerset and others yelded those forts to the king on Christmas éuen, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1463. For which cause this duke was taken againe into the kings fauour, who gaue him a thousand marks by yeare, whereof he was neuer paid. Notwithstanding all which, in the yeare following, being the fourth yeare of Edward the fourth, in Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1464, this duke with others raised an armie against the king, in which battell he was taken (with Robert erle of Yungerford) by John Neuill earle of Northumberland, and beheaded. He died without lawfull issue, leauing behind him a base sonne called Charles Summerset, by king Henrie the eight created earle of Worcester.

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of the foresaid Edmund, and brother and heire to this last Henrie duke of Summerset, was also duke of Summerset. This man in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, fleéing into the church of Teukesburie at the battell of Teukesburie (which quéene Margaret the wife of Henrie the first and hir sonne prince Edward had against king Edward the fourth) lost then the field. After which this duke was taken out of the church, and was there beheaded in the said eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, and died without issue.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, was created duke of Yorke by king Henrie the first: he was also earle of Cambridge, Ulster and March, lord of Wigmore and Clare, lieutenant of the realme of France and duchie of Normandie. Of this man sée more in the protectors of England.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet the second sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was make duke of Clarence by his elder brother king Edward the fourth when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ 1461, being the first yeare of his reigne. Of this George I haue somwhat intreated in my discourse of the conestables of England, pag. 869, and in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucester.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne of Richard duke of Yorke, and brother to George duke of Clarence, was made duke of Gloucester by king Edward the fourth, in the first yéere of his reigne, being the yeare in which God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1461, of whome I haue discoursed in my conestables of England, pag. 869, and in my collection of the protectors of England.

Henrie Beauchampe duke of Warwike.

Henrie Beauchampe, the sonne of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike by Isabell ladie Spenser his second wife, succéeded his father in all his inheritances the twentith of Maie, in the seuenteenth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1439. For then the said Richard Beauchampe died at Rone in Normandie. This Henrie after that his inheritance had béene kept two years in the kings hands, was dismissed of his wardship, and restored to his liuings with great glorie. For he was crowned king of the Ile of Wight (as saith John Stow) by the kings owne hand, and nominated chiefe earle of England, in the twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ 1442. Shortlie after, in the two and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption 1444, he was created duke of Warwike, vnto whome the king gaue the castell of Brightflow or Bristow, with all the apurtenances which king John kept in his hands, to which duke also the king gaue the Iles of Garnseie and Jerseie. About two years after which, on the foure and twentith of the same king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1446, died this duke of Warwike, whose stile was duke of Warwike chiefe earle of England, lord Spenser and Aburgauennie, king of the Ile of Wight, Garnseie and Jerseie, and lord of the castell of Bristow. He died without issue, and was buried at Teukesburie, whereby his inheritance came to his foure sisters, which were (by Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Barkeleie, Lisle and Teies, first wife vnto his father) Margaret his eldest sister, maried to John Talbot first earle of Shrewsburie of that name: Elenor the second sister, first maried to Thomas lord Rosse, and after to Edmund duke of Summerset, &c: Elisabeth the third sister, maried to George Neuill lord Latimer: whose other fourth sister (by Isabell the second wife vnto Richard earle Beauchampe, daughter to Thomas lord Spenser, and mother also to the aboue named Henrie duke of Warwike, who died without issue) was Anne, maried to Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Humfreie Stafford earle Stafford, created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was slaine at the battell of Northampton. Of this man sée more in my discourse of the conestables of England, pag. 868.

Henrie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Henrie sonne to the said Humfreie duke of Buckingham was beheaded in the first yeare of Richard the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1483. Of this man is more set downe in my discourse of the conestables of England, pag. 869.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Edward Stafford, sonne to the said Henrie, was duke of Buckingham, being beheaded in the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which was the yere of our redemption 1521, of whom also I haue intreated in the said discourse of the conestables

fables of England, pag. 870.

William de la Pole duke of Suffolke.

William de la Pole earle of Suffolke created marques of Suffolke in the two & twentith of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was shortlie after also created duke of Suffolke, & in the eight & twentith of the said king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare 1450, was banished the realme for fiue yeares, to pacifie the hard opinion which the commons had conceiued against him. He toke ship to performe his banishment the third of Maie, and sailed towards France, but was on the sea incountered by a ship of the tower named the Nicholas, by which he was taken and beheaded, and his bodie cast vp at Douer sands, and buried in the charterhouse at Hull. He maried Alice the daughter and heire of Thomas Chaucer, son to that famous poet Geffreie Chaucer, by which wife the maner of Ewelme, commonlie called Newelme in Oxfordshire came to the Poles. This duke & his wife did there build a new parish church of Ewelme standing on a hill, and founded a prettie hospitall called Gods house, at the west end of Ewelme parish church, to which house he gaue the manours of Ramrige in Hampshire, Conocke in Wiltshire, and Nerth in Buckinghamshire. He also founded an hospitall at Donnington castell. This Alice wife of duke William, surviuing hir husband, was after buried in the parish church of Ewelme, on the southside of the high altar, in a rich tome of alabaster, with an image in the habit of a dutchesse crowned, lieng on the same tome, and hauing this epitaph: *Orate pro anima serenissimæ principissæ Alisiæ Sulfolchiæ huius ecclesiæ patronæ, quæ obiit 20 die mensis Maij, anno Domini* 1475, *litera dominicali A.*

John de la Pole duke of Suffolke.

John de la Pole son to the said William de la Pole duke of Suffolke, was also duke of Suffolke after the death of his father. This man on the eightenth of Aprill in the fiftenth yeere of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1415, was knighted by the king. He married Elisabeth daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to Edward the fourth, by whom he had issue Edmund erle of Suffolke; John that by Edward the fourth was created earle of Lincolne, and Anne, who by procurement of king Richard the third was maried to the duke of Rothsele, eldest son to the king of Scots.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Edward the fourth, was by his father created duke of Yorke, in the 15 yeere of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord 1474, at a parlement in the said fiftenth yeare of Edward the fourth. This duke on the fiftenth of Januarie in the seauententh yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1477, was married to ladie Anne daughter and heire to John Nowbrete duke of Norffolke, and was in the first yeere of the reigne of the tyrant king Richard the third his vncle most vnnaturallie murthered in the tower, in the yeare of Christ 1483.

George Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

George Plantagenet third sonne to king Edward the fourth was created duke of Bedford by his father, in the yeere of our redemption 1470, and died without issue being verie yong.

John Howard duke of Norffolke.

John Howard lord Howard (the son of sir Robert Howard knight, and of Margaret his wife, one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Nowbrete duke of Norffolke, earle of Notingham, and marshall of England) was created duke of Norffolke, and marshall of England, in the first yeere of the vsurping king Richard the third, being the yeere of our redemption 1483. This man following the part of the said king Richard, was at the battell of Bosworth in Leicestershire (fought in the third yeare of the said king Richard, in the yeere of Christ 1485) slaine with the said king Richard. He had two wiues, Katharine the daughter of William lord Mollins, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Surreie, after made duke of Norffolke by king Henrie the eight; Anne married to sir Edmund Gorge knight; Isabell married to sir Roger Mortimer of Esser; Jane married to sir John Timperleie; and Margaret married to sir John Windham: his second wife was Margaret the daughter of sir John Chedworth knight, by whome he had Katharine married to sir John Bourchier lord Barns.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie sonne of the said John was created duke of Norffolke, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being about the yeere of Christ 1514. Of him is more mention in my discourse of the lord treasurors of England.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard created earle of Surreie in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being high admerall and lord treasuror of England, was duke of Norffolke, after the death of his father, which fell in the sixtenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption 1524. Of this man is also more intreated in my discourse of the lord treasurors.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard the third duke of the name of Thomas, and the fourth of the name of Howard, was son to Henrie Howard earle of Surreie sonne to the last before recited Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke. This man, being the last duke that liued in England, & occasioned me to make this discourse of the dukes, was beheaded on tower hill the seauententh of September, in the thirteenth yeere of the now reigning prince Elisabeth, being the yeare of Christ 1571, and buried in the chapell of the tower. He maried three wiues; his first wife was Marie one of the daughters and heires of Henrie Fitzallen earle of Arundell, by whom he had issue Philip earle of Arundell; his second wife was Margaret daughter & onlie heire to Thomas Audleie knight, chancellor of England, and lord Audleie of Saffron Walden, the widow of the lord Henrie Dudleie youngest son to John Sutton of Dudlie duke of Northumberland, by which second wife this duke had issue Thomas, William, Elisabeth, & Margaret; his third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir James Leiborne knight, and widow of the lord Dacres of Gisseland, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Tewther duke of Yorke.

Henrie the second son of king Henrie the seuenth was by his father created duke of Yorke at Westminster, in the eleuenth yeere of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1495, or therabouts. This man was after king of England by the name of king Henrie the eight.

Jasper of Hatfield duke of Bedford.

Jasper of Hatfield the sonne of Owen Tewther esquier, by Katharine daughter to the French king, and widow to king Henrie the fift, was by king Henrie the first his brother on the mothers side created earle of Penbroke, in the yeare of Christ 1452, after which in the fiue and thirtith yeere of the said king he was made earle of Cambridge: and lastlie, in the first yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the seauenth he was created duke of Bedford on Simon and Judes daie, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, but died without issue the eightenth daie of December, in the twelfe yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the seauenth, in the yeere of Christ 1496, and was buried at Kensham.

Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke.

Charles Brandon the son of sir William Brandon knight, slaine on the part of king Henrie the seuenth at Bosworth field, was created vicount Lisle, and after on Candlemasse daie in the yeere of Christ 1513, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight he was created duke of Suffolke. He married three wiues; the first was Anne daughter of sir Anthonie Browne knight; the second Marie, second daughter of

of king Henrie the seauenth, & widow to the king of France, by whom he had issue Henrie earle of Lincolne, and Francis married to Henrie Grete duke of Suffolke; his third wife was Katharine the daughter & onlie heire of William lord Willoughbie of Erlete, by whome he had issue Henrie and Charles both dukes of Suffolke one after another, who both died within one houre of the sweat at Cambridge. This Charles the father died in the yeere of Christ 1545, and was buried at Windsore: & of the two dukes the sons thus writeth John Parkhurst sometime placed in the bishops see of Norwich:

Fratres Amyclæi Pollux cum Castore
Potuere sic cum morte depaciscier,
Vt cum alter illorum esset mortuus, tamen
Alter supereset, & reuersus sortibus
Vicissim vtérque vtriusque morte viueret.
Cur Parca nunc crudelior est, quam olim fuit?
Fratres duos nuper ea, quales hactenus
Nec vidit vnquam, nec videbit Anglia
Lumina duo, duóque propugnacula
Fortissima virtutis, reique publicæ,
Crudelis ab vno perêmit funere.
Virtus nequaquam illam, nec egregia indoles
Mouit, nec Edwardi regis, nec optimæ
Matris, neque totius gemitus Britanniæ.
O dura dura mors! ô sæua numina!

Henrie Fitz Roie duke of Richmont.

Henrie Fitz Roie the base son to king Henrie the eight, begotten vpon Elisabeth Blunt the ladie Talbotse, was by his father first created earle of Summerset and Northampton, and after duke of Richmont. This duke was verie forward in the knowledge of tongs, and also in knightlie actiuitie, as may apeere by due consideration of the historie in place where he is mentioned. He loued Iohn Leland the reuerend antiquarie, who presented vnto the said duke a booke of copies, whereby he might learne to write Romane letters great & small, as apeereth by this heraklichon, which I find among the said Iohn Lelands written epigrams in this maner set downe:

Ad illustrissimum Henricum ducem Richmontanum.

Quo Romana modo maiuscula littera pingi,
Pingi quo possit littera parua modo,
Hic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis
Princeps, Aonyi spes & alumne gregis:
Qui tibi si placeat (quod certè spero futurum)
Maxima pro paruo munere dona dabis.

He died without issue the two and twentith of Iulie, in the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeere of our redemption 1536, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke, hauing maried Marie the daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Edward Seimor duke of Summerset.

Edward Seimor knight (the son of sir John Seimor knight) was created vicount Beauchampe in Maie, the eight and twentith yeere of king Henrie the eight, being the yeere of our redemption 1536, & was after in the nine & twentith yeare of the same king on the eightéenth daie of October, in the yeere of Christ 1537 created earle of Hertford. When king Henrie being dead, he in the first yeare of king Edward the first, which was the yeere of our redemption 1546, was made protector of England, and immediatlie thereupon created duke of Summerset, being vncle by the mothers side vnto the said king Edward the first. This man had manie honors and offices, as maie apeere by his stile, which he preferred before a millíue persualorie sent to the Scots for the marriage of their yong queene Marie to our yong king Edward the first in this sort: Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerset, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe lord Seimor, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, lieutenant generall of his maiesties armies both by sea and land, treasuror and earle marshall of England, gouernor of the iles of Gerneseie and Ierseie, and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, &c. This stile he had, which I haue béene the more willing to set downe, because I do not remember that anie subiect did with like shew publish anie such stile before his time. Which honors he did not long inioie: for were it for malice of some of the nobilitie, disdaining such honor; or for cause in him offending the lawes, or for his ouer careless good disposition, that suspected no such euill from his enimies: he was the second time on the first of October in the fift yeere of king Edward the first, being the yeare of Christ 1551 committed prisoner to the tower, and the two and twentith date of Ianuarie following he was beheaded at tower hill, and buried in the tower chappell. He had two wiues, wherof the first was Katharine the daughter of sir William Filioll of Woodland knight, by whome he had a son called Edward: his second wife was Anne the daughter of sir Edward Stanhope, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Hertford, Henrie now liuing, and Edward, with Anne (married the third of June, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie to Iohn lord Dudleie, eldest sonne to Iohn earle of Warwike and duke of Northumberland) Ione, Marie, Katharine, and Elisabeth.

Henrie Grete duke of Suffolke.

Henrie Greie marquelle Dorset, lord Ferrers of Grobie, Harrington, Boneuile and Alleie, was at Hampton court created duke of Suffolke, on the eleuenth of October, in the first yeere of the reigne of king Edward the first, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one: who in the first yeere of queene Marie, being the yeere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, supposing that the queene would marrie a stranger, did flie into Leicester and Warwikeshires with a small companie, making proclamation against the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine: but the people inclined not vnto him. Whereupon a companie being sent out after him, vnder the leading of the earle of Huntington, the first date of Februarie proclamation was made at London, that the duke was discomfited and fled with his two brethren. After which the tenth of Februarie, the duke with his brother sir John Greie was brought from Couentrie (where he remained three dates after his taking, in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman of that towne) by the earle of Huntington, & attended with three hundred men to the tower. Where remaining a certeine space, he was on the three and twentith of Februarie beheaded at tower hill; and buried in the chappell of the tower (as I haue heard.) He married Francis one of the daughters to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, by whom he had issue Jane, married to Gilford the sonne of Iohn duke of Northumberland, and died without issue; Katharine and Marie.

John Sutton of Dudleie duke of Northumberland.

John Sutton of Dudleie created by king Henrie the eight vicount Lisle, being admerall, lord great chamberleine, lord great maister and earle of Warwike, was after on the eleuenth date of October, the fift yeere of king Edward the first, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, created duke of Northumberland. He, after the death of king Edward, took armes, and proclamed queene Jane, daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke; meaning to exclude queene Marie. But shortlie after perceiuing queene Marie to be proclamed at London, this duke did also proclame hir at Cambridge. Notwithstanding all which he was arrested in the Kings college there by one maister Sleg sergeant at armes, and after anew arrested by the earle

earle of Arundell. Henrie Fitzallen (sent thither for that cause) who brought him to London, where this duke was the fiue and twentith of Julie, in the said first yeare of quéene Marie commited to the tower. Shortlie after which, he was the eightéenth of August following arreigned at Westminster, there condemned, and beheadded on tower hill the two and twentith of the same moneth: whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England. He maried Jane the daughter of sir Edward Gilford knight, the sister and heire to sir Henrie Gilford knight, of whose children I will not speake, bicause they are yet fresh in memorie. And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation and the succession in lineall descents of all the dukes of England since the conquest.

French ambassadors frō Charles the ninth came into England.

About the ninth of June, Francis duke of Montmorencie, chiefe marshall of France, gouernour and lieutenant of the Ile of France, generall to Charles the ninth king of France, and Paule de Foix of the priuie councell of the said king, and Bertrand de Saligners, lord de la Mothfenelon, knights of the order of S. Michaell, ambassadors for the same king, arriued at Douer. The fourtéenth daie they shot London bridge toward Summerset house at the Strand, where they were lodged. The fiftéenth daie being sundaie, the said ambassadors repaired to the White hall, where they were honourablie receiued of the quénes maiestie, with hir nobilitie: and there in hir graces chappell, about one of the clocke in the after none, the articles of treatie, league or confederacie and sure friendship (concluded at Blois the nintéenth of Aprill as is afore shewed) betwixt the quénes maiestie, and the French king being read, the same was by hir maiestie and his ambassadors confirmed to be obserued and kept, without innouation or violation, &c. The rest of that daie, with great part of the night following, was spent in great triumph, with sumptuous banketts.

Henrie Grey duke of Suffolke.

League with France confirmed at westminster.

S. Georges feast at windsor.

The eightéenth of June, the feast of saint George was holden at Windsor, where the French ambassadors were roiallie feasted, & Francis duke of Montmorencie was stalled knight of the most honourable order of the garter. The eight and twentith daie of June, the forenamed ambassadors departed from London toward France. ¶ The fourtéenth of June, Thomas lord Wharton deceased in his house of Chanon row at Westminster. The thirtéenth daie of Julie, the quénes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cicill lord of Burghleie, lord high treasuror of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priuie seale: the earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine: sir Thomas Smith principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier capteine of the gard.

Sir William Cicill lord treasuror, lord priuie seale, lord chamberleine, with other offices.

A treatise of the treasurors of England

set downe out of ancient histories and records,
as they succeeded in order of time and
in the reigne of the kings.

Collected by Francis Thin in this yeare of Christ 1587.

THis aduancing of sir William Cicill knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasuror of England, hath rowsed my enuied pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they doo themselues, whereby gaine maie rise vnto their posteritie) in this liberall sort to set downe the names and times of such treasurors as haue liued in England, as hereafter I will doo the chancellors, and that with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselues, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come forth of Trophonius den, and that they spake from the trivet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe, for in truth I saie with Socrates, *Hoc tantum scio quod nihil scio*, or derogate from them that which their worthinesse maie merit: so shall I be glad (sith nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented or amended to and in it) that this maie whet those enuious persons to deliuer anie thing to the world, that maie in comptrolling my labours benefit their countrie, which if they will not doo, let them cease their euill spéeches: for *Qui pergit dicere quæ libet, quæ non vult audiet*. And truelie for mine owne part, I will *Canere palinodiam*, and yeld them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced: and be heartilie glad, that truth (which is all that I sæke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue done; if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne error; or if anie other either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension shall open the same vnto me: I will not for defense of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wrangling or quarrelling vpon authorities, histories and records, wilfullie persist in those faults: but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurors (almost perfected) corrected them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I séeke for, which being had (either by good intention of my welwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enuious emulators) I greatlie estéeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstane (for I vse that name more for antiquities than deuoutnesse cause) was treasuror to Eadred or Eldred king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fortie and six: of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in his booke of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of Odo Seuerus the two and twentith bishop of that see: *Edmundo* (the king of England) *defuncto, Eadredus corona regia ab Odone redimitus, & rem publicam administrans, Dunstanum (vt in eius vita plenius patebit) tam singulari amore prosequutus est, vt omnes regni thesauros illius custodiæ commendaret.*

Saint Dunstane.

Hugoline was treasuror and chamberleine to Edward the confessor, he gaue Deane and Southbrigh to Westminster, which Edward the confessor did afterward confirme to that house.

Hugoline.

Odo halfe brother to William the conqueror erle of Kent bishop of Baieux and chiefe iustice of England, was treasuror in the time of the conqueror, who had at his death (as saith Anonymus M.S.) sixtie thousand pounds, *Excepto auro, & gemmis, & vasis, & palys.*

Odo bishop of Baieux.

Geffreie lord Clinton treasuror and chamberleine to Henrie the first, he about the thirtéenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and twelue, did found the priorie of Kenelworth, and was after accused of treason in the one and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the first: but (as it séemed) restored (in short time after) to the kings fauour.

Geffreie lord Clinton.

Ranulph bishop of Durham, was treasuror to the king, whome Florentius Wigornienſis calleth *Præcipuum regis placitatorem & regni exactorem*, whose last word *Exactor* some men doo English treasuror. Of this man is more said in the chancellors of England.

Ranulph bishop of Durham.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie treasuror & chancellor of England, as appeareth by Leland, writing in this sort: Roger bishop of Sarum treasuror & chancellor to Henrie the first, made the castell of Vies such a costlie and so strong a fort, as was neuer before nor since

Roger bishop of Sarisburie.

John Sutton of Dudleie duke of Northumberland.

since set by by anie bishop of England. The keepe or dungeon of it set vpon a hill cast by hand, is a peece of worke of incredible cost. There appeare in the gate of it six or seauen places for portculices, and much goodlie building was in it. It is now in ruine, and part of the front of the towers of the gate of the keepe, and the chappell in it, were carried full vnprofitablie to the building of master Beintons house at Bromhame, scant three miles off. There remaine diuerse goodlie towers, yet in the vtter wall of the castell: but all going to ruine. The principall gate that leadeth into the towne is yet of great strength, and hath places of seauen or eight portculices. Thus much Leland in his commentaries of England, which I haue here set downe, partlie to proue Roger bishop of Salisburie to be treasuror, and partlie to commit to the world all such collections and notes as I can get of his. Besides which, to proue the same Roger treasuror at the latter end of the reigne of Henrie the first, together with William de Pontlearch at the entering of king Stephan into England, thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M.S. *Stephanus cum intrauit Angliam, Rogerũ Seresberiensem & Willielmum de Pontlearcus custodes thesaurorum ad se traduxit:* which William de Pontlearch was a witnesse with William Stigill to a certeine charter which Randulph bishop of Durham made to the monkes of Durham, commonlie called S. Cutberts monks, wherin he confirmed to them Blakestone, Standrop and Sandropshire, with the wood of Henwrath on the east part of Barneburne, as farre as it goeth to the sea. This Roger bishop of Salisburie died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, one hundred, thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan, of whome mention is made in the chancellors of England.

William de Pontlearch.

Nigellus bishop of Elie.

Nigellus the second, bishop of Elie, nephue to Roger bishop of Sarum, and treasuror to Henrie the first, was aduanced vnto that bishoprike of Elie, in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, one hundred, thirtie and three, the fift calends of June, being the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, at whose going downe to be installed in the said bishoprike, he was receiued, with such ioie, that all the whole street of Elie thorough which he should passe, was hanged with curteins and carpets, with seats set on ech side; and the monks, canons, and clerks, meeting him with procession with diuers other priests standing round about them. After his installation he returned to the dispatch of the affaires of the kingdome, committing the charge of his bishoprike to one Rafe sometime a monke of Glastenburie, and now become an apostata. Great contention was betweene this man and king Stephan. He bought the treasurorship for the summe of foure hundred marks of Henrie the second for his sonne Richard *Filius Nigelli*, or Fitz Nele, otherwise called Richard of Elie. He gouerned the bishoprike six and thirtie yeares, as most saie, and builded saint Johns college in Cambridge.

But touching the time of his death, and the yeare of his bishoprike, I cannot as yet set downe anie thing perfectlie; but onelie this contradiction found in the written booke of Elie, which I suppose to haue risen by the negligence of the transcriber: which is, that he gouerned the see of Elie six and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred sixtie and six, the third calends of June, the first houre of the sixt ferie or fridaie. Which by no account can fall to be true, accounting from the time of the first obteining of the bishoprike in the three and thirtith yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and three. For if you adde the six and thirtie yeares of his gouernement to the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and three, then must he die in the yeare of grace one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. And if you will haue him to die in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and six, then can he gouerne but three and thirtie yeares: which three and thirtie added to the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and three, in which he began his gouernement, as all authors agree, make the value of one thousand one hundred sixtie and six years of our Lord. So that considering the discordancie of the time of his death found in the written booke of his life, we cannot (I saie) as yet set downe anie certeintie of his death. Though I suppose that to be the truest which I find in Triuet, who affirmeth that he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine, and the fifteenth of king Henrie the second, after that he had gouerned six and thirtie yeares. He was honorablie buried in the church of saint Ethelred of Elie before the altar dedicated to the holie crosse.

Richard de Elie or Fitzneale, sonne of the said Nigellus bishop of Elie, was made treasuror to king Henrie the second, by the purchase of his father Nigellus, when the king went to the wars of Tolous. Of whom the history of Elie writeth, that after the buriall of Nigellus his father, this Richard being also an enimie to the church of Elie, as his father had beene before, made hast to passe ouer the seas to king Henrie the second, fearing that some euill would be prepared against him, if the church should haue sent anie other thither before him. At whose comming to the king, he accused the monks of manie things, and did therewith so edge the king against them, that the king sending into England, charged by Wunnerus one of his chaplens, that the prior of Elie should be deposed, & the monks with all their goods to be proscribed and banished. This man being treasuror to king Henrie the second, the treasure of the said Henrie the second at his death came vnto one hundred thousand marks; notwithstanding the excessiue charges of the king manie waies. Which Richard being bishop of London, by the name of Richard the third, and the kings treasuror, was chosen to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred eightie and nine, being the first yeere of king Richard the first, and was consecrated bishop at Lambeth, by Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1190: he died the fourth ides of September, in the yeere of grace 1198, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first.

Richard of Elie.

Williams of Elie.

William of Elie being of kin to the last Richard bishop of London, was treasuror to king Richard the first, and to king John. To which William then treasuror, Richard his kinsman the bishop of London An. Dom. 1196 being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Richard the first, and the same number of yeares of the gouernment of the said Richard in the bishoprike of London, did giue all his houses in Westminster, which the said William did long after giue to the abbat and monks of Westminster, as by the charter therof appeers by me in this sort abridged:

Vniuersis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum peruenerit, Gulielmus de Elie quondam regum Angliæ thesaurarius salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me dedisse, &c: Deo & monachis Westminster, &c: pro animabus Richardi & Iohannis regum Angliæ, & pro anima Richardi London episcopi, &c: domos meas, & curiam cum pertinentibus in villa Westminster, &c: quas habui ex dono Richardi episcopi London, & quæ sunt de feodo Westminster, &c: testis Eustachius Fauconbridge domini regis thesaurarius, &c. He died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie two, being the first yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as noteth Matthew Paris and Westminster, who write that then *obiit Guliel-*

mus Elien

An. Reg. 14.

A deane of Paules treasuror.

A dea… appéreth … shop of … *dem tempo…* of Hubert Christ 11… and the d… in the ye… *rarij regn…* goeth on

Walter Gyele bishop of Worcester.

Wal… call trea… vnto I d… of other… him, in… treasuro…

Geffreie archdeacon of Norwich.

Geff… king Jo… munica… in the li… turbarie… ning the… excomm… bels abo… *quum ad … negotys re… excommu… manitque … bus benefi… deserens, … rat) seces… Talbot mi… blica cust… pertæsus …* death is … 305, th… *paucos, reg… indutus p… ponderosit…* which ti… Christ or… bout the… by the k… ton (in h…

John Ruthall

Joh… out of th… the third

Eustace de Fauconbridge bishop of London.

Eusta… fines, ch… rie the t… crated b… tion one… the fift … chius in… London … Westm… of king … Christ o… died the … yeare of … Henrie … the quee… vnder a… the wall… *conbridge … contulit …*

John de Font nes or Fount nens.

Ioanne… of Elie … of king … This ma… saie) … Westm… Christ 12…

mus Elienſis Angliæ theſaurarius.

Deane of Paules treaſurer.

A deane of Paules was treaſuror to the king, as apeereth by Mat. Parker, in the life of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, writing after this maner: *Eodem tempore* (which was a time betweene the creating of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie in the yeere of Chriſt 1194, being the firſt yeare of Richard the firſt, and the death of the ſaid Richard the firſt, which fell in the yeare of Chriſt 1199) *eccleſiæ Paulinæ decanus erarij regij cuſtos fuit, ſiue (vt vocant) theſaurarius:* and ſo goeth on with a diſcourſe of his miſerable death.

Walter Gzete biſhop of Woꝛceſter.

Walter Gzete biſhop of Woꝛceſter, whom ſome call treaſuroꝛ, in the eleuenth of king John, whereunto I dw not yet agree, leauing it to the iudgement of others, and to the finall receiuing oꝛ reiecting of him, in the large booke of the whole liues of the loꝛd treaſuroꝛs of England.

Geffreie archdeacon of Noꝛwich.

Geffreie archdeacon of Noꝛwich, treaſuroꝛ to king John, who foꝛſoke his maiſter the king ercommunicat by the pope: as writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Stephan Langton archbiſhop of Canturburie, in theſe following woꝛds: *Inter quos* (meaning the biſhops, which durſt not openlie publiſh the ercommunication of the king, but ſecretlie caſt libels about the high waies, which gaue notice therof) *quum ad fiſcum regium Gaufridus Noruicenſis archidiaconus negotijs regijs intendens ſediſſet, cœpit aſſidentibus exponere excommunicationis ſententiam, in regem iam latam, affirmauitque non eſſe tutum capellanis & eccleſiaſticis dignitatibus beneficiiſque affectis ſeruire regi amplius. Ideóque aulam deſerens, ad eccleſiaſtica beneficia (quæ regis ſeruicio acquiſierat) ſeceſſit. Rex hunc tam proditoriè à ſe deficientè per Williel. Talbot militem prehendi & ad ſe reduci fecit, eúmque in publica cuſtodia ſeruatum (donec ſiue pœnæ ſiue conſcientiæ tædio pertæſus vitæ fuit, & expirauit) detinuit:* whoſe maner of death is in this ſoꝛt ſet dowꝛne by Matth. Paris pag. 305, that he was committed to pꝛiſon, *Vbi poſt dies paucos, rege præfato* (which was king John) *iubente, capa indutus plumbea, tàm victualium penuria quàm ipſius capæ ponderoſitate cõpreſſus migrauit ad dominum.* Much about which time (as I ſuppoſe) which was the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundꝛed and nine, being about the eleuenth yéere of K. John, the checker was by the king remoued from London to Noꝛthampton (in hatred of the Londoners) vntill Chriſtmas.

John Ruthall

John Ruthall *Cuſtos officij theſaurarij*, as is pꝛoued out of the recoꝛds of the exchéker, had that office in the third yeare of Henrie the third, in the yéere 1219.

Euſtachius de Fauconbꝛidge biſhop of Lonꝛdon.

Euſtachius de Fauconbꝛidge, a iuſtice to receiue fines, chancelloꝛ of the exchéker & treaſuroꝛ to Henrie the third, was by the biſhop of Rochéſter conſecrated biſhop of London, in the yere of our redemption one thouſand two hundꝛed twentie & one, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the third. Which Euſtachius in the yéere 1222, with the deane & chapter of London, had great ſutes againſt William abbat of Weſtminſter: he was treaſuroꝛ in the third yeare of king Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundꝛed and nineténe: he died the daie beforе the kalends of Nouember in the yeare of Chriſt 1228, being the thirtéenth of king Henrie the third, and is buried on the ſouth ſide of the quére of Paules (beſides Henrie Wengham) vnder a faire monument of marble, ouer whom on the wall is this inſcription: *Hîc iacet Euſtachius de Fauconbridge quondam epiſcopus huius eccleſiæ, qui multa bona contulit miniſtris eccleſiæ ſancti Pauli.*

John de Font tes oꝛ Fountaines.

Ioannes de Fontibus, oꝛ John de Fontnes was biſhop of Elie and treaſuroꝛ in the ninth and eleuenth yéere of king Henrie the third, and beforе, as I take it. This man being abbat of Fontnes, and (as authoꝛs ſaie) *Vir ſimplex & iuſtus, ac recedens à malo*, was at Weſtminſter made biſhop of Elie, in the yeare of Chriſt 1220: he died after that he had bin biſhop fiue yéeres & od moneths, in the yeare of Chriſt 1225, being the ninth yéere of Henrie the third, & was buried in the church of Elie, toward the altar of S. Andꝛew.

Walter Malclerke biſhop of Carleill.

Walter Malclerke oꝛ ſkilleſſe clerke, treaſuroꝛ of England, was made biſhop of Carleill, in the yéere of our Loꝛd 1223, being about the ſeuenth yeare of Henrie the third, who in the yeare of Chriſt 1233, being the ſeuentéenth of the ſaid king, was by the counſell of Peter de Laroches biſhop of Wincheſter not onlie remoued from his office of treaſuroꝛſhip, but alſo put to the fine of 100 marks, which he paied, with the loſſe of certeine holds, giuen him by charter, during his life. After which he would haue fled beyond the ſeas, but entring the ſhip at Dower, he & all his were ſtaied and euillie intreted by the kings ſeruants. This man, in the yeare of Chriſt 1246, being the thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, did on the daie of Peter and Paule at Dꝛenfoꝛd enter into the habit of the frier pꝛeachers. After which, in the yeare of Chriſt 1248, being about the two & thirtith of Henrie the third, he ſurrendꝛed his ſoule to God.

Ranulph Bziton

Ranulph Bziton by ſome is made treaſuroꝛ of England, but vntrulie as I ſuppoſe: foꝛ in truth he was but treaſuroꝛ of the chamber, foꝛ anie thing I can learne, and remoued from that place in the ſixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Grace 1232, in whoſe place came Peter de Riuall. Of this Ranulph is mention had in the chancelloꝛs. Beſides which, about this time I read, that Hubert of Boꝛrow was treaſuroꝛ: foꝛ thus writeth Iohannes Londonienſis. *Rex* (about the yeare of our Loꝛd 1232) *fecit ipſum* (which was Hubert of Boꝛrow) *ſuum iuſticiarium principalem totius Angliæ, & poſtea theſaurarium.*

Peter de Dziall.

Peter de Dziall, in Latine called *Petrus de Riuallis*, was treaſuroꝛ of the chamber, and treaſuroꝛ of the king, chamberleine of England and Ireland, gardian of all the foꝛeſts of England, of all the eſcheats, of all the poꝛts of the ſea, and of all the pꝛiſes of England and Ireland; being ſo déere to the king (as hath Matthew Weſtminſter) that *Expulſis caſtrorũ cuſtodibus per totam ferè Angliam, rex omnia ſub ipſius Petri cuſtodia commendarat.* This man was made treaſuroꝛ after Walter Malclerke, in the yéere of Chriſt one thouſand two hundꝛed thirtie and three, being about the ſeuentéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, and in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, who (as I gather) was togither with Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, Stephan de Segraue, & Robert Paſſelew, called to accounts, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundꝛed thirtie & foure, foꝛ the kings treaſure and ſeale euillie imploied & kept. Wherupon Peter de Riuallis hid himſelfe in the cathedꝛall church of Wincheſter. Which Peter biſhop of Wincheſter & Peter de Riuallis the king remoued by the perſuaſion of Edmund of Abindon biſhop of Canturburie, as they beforе had remoued Walter Malclerke. After which it ſéemeth that growing into fauoꝛ againe, this *Petrus de Riuallis* was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundꝛed fiftie & ſeuen, being the one & foꝛtith yeare of king Henrie the third, made treaſuroꝛ of the chamber. Foꝛ thus writeth Matthew Paris: *Circa feſtum ſancti Michaelis* (which was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundꝛed fiftie and ſeuen) *mortuo Hurtaldo domini regis conciliario & clerico ſpeciali ac theſaurario de camera regis, ſubrogatur Petrus de Riuallis.* Under this Peter de Riuallis did Robert Paſſelew kéepe the kings treaſure. Touching which Robert Paſſelew, whome ſome will haue onelie treaſuroꝛ of the chamber, ſome to be treaſuroꝛ of England, & ſome to be vndertreaſuroꝛ vnder Peter de Riuallis, I will ſet dowꝛne out of ſeuerall authoꝛs what I haue read therof, leauing to the reader to thinke thereof what he liſt at this time, ſith I determine

Robert Paſſelew whether treaſuroꝛ of England oꝛ no.

termine fullie hereafter (not hauing now leisure therefore) to define the same in my large volume of the liues of the lord treasurors. Thus therefore touching him writeth Matthew Parker. *Quo etiam tempore* (which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, being about the eightéenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third) *Robertus de Passelew, qui in thesauris regys custodiendis & augendis totus versatus est, eóque nomine regi charus, ab ecclesiæ cathedralis Cicestrensis canonicis, qui regi placere studuerant, Cicestrensis episcopus electus est. Quod Bonifacius Cantuariensis archiepisc. indignè tulit, & episcopis prouinciæ suæ cõuocatis, in difficilimis quibusdam & nodosis quæstionibus per Lincolniesem episcopum compositis serió examinauit, deinde electione rescissa hunc Robertum repulit, & Richardum quendam de Wiz loco suo (incõsulto rege) substituit.* Mert writeth Matthew Westminster, that in the yeare of Christ 1233, being the seuentéenth of Henrie the third, the nobilitie accused manie of the kings councellors, amongst whome they placed *Robertum Passelew thesaurarium*. Againe a little after he saith: *Et sic abscondit se iterum Robertus Passelew, qui post Walterum Carleolensem officium thesaurarij administrauerat*. Of whose death Matthew Paris writeth thus: *Eodem quoq; anno* (which was 1252, being the fiue and thirtith yeere of Henrie the third) *octauo idus Iunij, obyt apud Waltham Robertus Passelew archidiaconus Lewis, &c.*: whome I will here leaue, although not in that place in which he should come, if I had once resolued with my selfe that he had beene treasuror of England. But because I had to speake of him with Peter de Riuallis, I thought here in one place to set downe what I had read of them both; and so to ioine them after their death, which were so fast ioined in offices during their liues.

Hugh Pateshull. Hugh Pateshull, treasuror of the exchéker, which was treasuror of the grééne wax, or of the seale, was also treasuror to the king in the eightéenth and nineteenth yeare of his reigne, and after made iustice of all England: as Matthew Paris hath set downe in these words, *Rex autẽ fretus consilio saniori* (in the yere of Christ 1234, being the 18 yéere of Henrie the third) *Hugonem de Pateshull clericum filium videlicet Simonis de Pateshull, qui quandóque habenas moderabatur totius regni iusticiarij, virum fidelem & honestum, loco prædictorum* (which were Stephan Segraue chéefe iustice of England and Peter de Riuallis treasuror) *subrogauit. Administrauerat enim idem Hugo officium scaccarij antea laudabiliter, secundum quod appellatur secretum sigillum custodiendo, & definitam pecuniam à vicecomitibus recipiendo: quare plenior fides est ei adhibita, paterna fidelitate testimoniũ fidei perhibente*. He was confirmed bishop of Couentrie, in the yéere of Christ one thousand two hundred and fortie, being the 24 yere of Henrie the third, who (hauing bin the kings treasuror before) did now with great solemnitie take his leaue of the barons of the exchéker with teares, and they all rose vp and kissed him. Of whose election (in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred thirtie and nine) to that bishoprike, thus further writeth the said Matth. touching the monks of Couentrie. *Eligerunt secundum prædictam formam dominum Hugonem de Pateshull, &c. canonicum sancti Pauli London: & domini regis cancellariũ, in episcopum & custodem animarum suarum.* Concerning whome I collected this note out of the register of Westminster, that Philip Coleuille knight, the sonne of William Coleuille, the sonne of Agnes Foliot, gaue to Richard abbat of Westminster all his part of the inheritance which was Robert Foliots, brother to the said Agnes, in Langden. Poxton, and Chalneie; witnesses Rafe bishop of Chichester chancellor, and Hugh Pateshull treasuror in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, which Pateshull Matthew Westminster, in the yeere of Grace 1234, calleth *Summum thesaurarium*.

Galfridus Templarius, whome some will haue treasuror, but by what reson I cannot conceiue as yet, and therefore will not obstinatlie reiect him, nor hastilie receiue him into this place of the treasuror: of this man is more spoken amongst the chancellors. Galfridus Templarius.

William Hauerhull, a canon of Paules church in London, was made treasuror to king Henrie the third, the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred and fortie, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, in which place he continued the eight and twentith yeare of the said Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1244. He died at London in the yeere one thousand two hundred fiftie two, being the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, as saith the addition to Matthew Paris fol. 1128, after which the said author fol. 1226, laied his death, in the yere of Christ 1256, being the 39 yeare of king Henrie the third, such error is crept into histories by the negligence of the transcriber: but I suppose the first note of his death to be the truer, because the same is confirmed by Matth. West. speaking in the said yeare 1252 of the death of this man, for whose epitaph these following verses were made: William de Hauerhull.

Hîc iacet Hauerhulle iaces protothesaurarie regis,
Hinc Hauerhulle gemis non paritura talem:*
Fercula culta dabas, empyrea vina pluebas,
A modo sit Christus cibus & esca tibi.*

* Pariunt. * Potus.

I haue also read a note of one William Hauerhull (which might be this man) which saith that William Hauerhull the sonne of Bythmarus de Hauerhull, gaue houses in Cheapeside to the abbete of Westminster, and that one Thomas de Hauerhull was the sonne and heire of William Hauerhull.

Richard de Barking abbat of Westminster, as witnesseth the liues of the abbats, was one especiall councellor to Henrie the third, chéefe baron of the exchéker, and treasuror of England, who I suppose did follow William Hauerhull. For his death, which happened on the three and twentith date of Nouember, in the thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1246, after that he had béene abbat foure and twentie yéeres, must néeds proue him to be treasuror before Philip Louell: yea and peraduenture (as is most likelie) before Hugh Pateshull. Yet Matthew Paris, speaking of the death of Hauerhull, will néeds haue Philip Louell to succéed William Hauerhull, as after shall appéere. This Richard de Barking was buried in Westminster church, before the midle of the altar in our ladie chapell in a tome of marble, which after in the time of William Colchester abbat of that place, was pulled downe by frier Combe, a sacrist of that house of Westminster, who laied a faire plaine marble stone ouer him, with this present epitaph thus inscribed: Richard de Barking.

Richardus Barking prior & post inclytus abbas,
Henrici regis prudens fuit iste minister:
Huius erat prima laus, insula rebus opima,
Altera laus éque Thorp, census, Ocham, decimæque,
Tertia Mortone castrum simili ratione,
Et regis quarta de multis commoda charta,
Clementis festo mundo migrauit ab isto,
M. Domini C. bis, xl. sextóque sub anno,
Cui detur venia parte pia virgo Maria.

Philip Louell or Louell, was in this order aduanced to the office of treasuror, as appeereth by these words of Matthew Paris vpon the death of William Hauerhull. *Et cùm crederetur quod dominus rex Iohannem Franciscum officio Wilhelmi* (which was Hauerhull) *subrogaret, fabricatis rumoribus quòd idem Iohannes in partibus remotis Angliæ Borealibus* (vt contra quosdam religiosos plantauerat) *obijsset, constituit dominus rex Philippum Louell clericum, virum prudentem, facundum & generosum, in loco memorati Willelmi suum thesaurarium,* Philip Louell.

saurarij, quod factum est apud sanctū Albanū, procurante vt dicitur Iohanne Mansell amico Philippi speciali. This man was treasuror in the 35 and so vntill the 42 yeare of Henrie the third, & was in the same yeare deposed by the barons, he died at Yamesley, in the yeare of Christ 1259, whose executors were Philip Louell & Robert de Mercenton. But his goods after his death the king commanded to be confiscat. And heere before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse to note that some haue mistaken themselues in the accompt of the kings treasuror much about this time, making these persons Walter Bruell & Peter Catchpoze or Chacepoze to be the kings treasuror, which by no accompt of yeares can be true, for they were the queenes and not the kings treasurors, as may apeere both by Mat. Paris and Mat. Westmin. whereof the first writeth thus: *obijt & Walterus de Brudell eiusdem reginæ thesaurarius*, which he placeth in the yere of Christ 1255, being the thirtie ninth yeare of king Henrie the third. Of the second person Chacepoze thus writeth Mat. West. in the yeare of Christ 1254: *Veniens autem rex ad mare nec ventum habēs prosperum, apud Boloniam moratus est inuitus, vbi obijt Petrus Chaceporc natione Pictauensis, reginæ thesaurarius & regis clericus & conciliarius specialis.* And thus this much by the waie of the two treasurors of the queens, supposed by some (but not rightlie) to haue beene the kings.

John Crakehall. John Crakehall archdeacon of Bedford was treasuror in 42, 43, 44 yeare of Henrie the third, to whom the king in the fortie fourth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1260, gaue a prebendarie, wherin being inuested, he was from thence remoued by a former collation therof made to one John le Gras. The said Crakehall after died the same yere at London.

John abbat of Peterborow. John abbat of Peterborow was by the barons in the 44 yeare of Henrie the third made treasuror, as the other officers of the king also were, Nicholas of Elie was then made chancellor, & Hugh de Spenser chefe iustice, which office of treasurorship this John continued, in the 46 yeare of Henrie the first, 1262.

Nicholas de Elie. Nicholas de Elie so called bicause he was archdeacon of Elie, was treasuror to the king in the seuen and fourtith of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1263, whereof I haue seene this note of record. *Memorandum quod in crastino Paschæ, Anno 47 H. 3. In præsentia Rogeri le Bigot comite Norffolke & marischalli Angliæ, Hugo le Bigot, Arnoldi de Berkeley baron, de scaccario magistri, Iohannis de Chisull cancellar. regis, &c. Recepit magister Nicholaus archidiaconus Eliensis thesaurarius subscripta in thesauraria dom. regis, &c.* This man as before appeereth had bin chancellor, of whom is mention made in my following tretise of the chancellors.

Thomas de Wimundham. Thomas Wimundham. This man being chiefe chanter of Lichfield, was by the barons in the yeare of Christ 1258, in the one and fourtith yeare of king Henrie the third, made treasuror (at the exchekr) of the seale or place where the writs be sealed with greene wax, after which he was treasuror to the king in the 50, 51, & 52 yeares of king Henrie the third.

John Chisull. John Chisull sometime chancellor was treasuror in the foure & fiftith yeare of Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred three score and nine. He was deane of Paules, chosen bishop of London in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and three, and consecrat to that place in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, in which place he continued about fiue yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption 1279, being in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of the victorous prince king Edward the first of that name. See more of this Chisull in my following discourse of the chancellors.

Philip de Eie. Philip de Eie was treasuror (as appeareth by the records of the exchekr) in the 56 yeare of king Henrie the third, and in the first yeare of king Edward the first, partlie falling in the yeare of our redemption 1272, and 1273.

Joseph de Chancie. Joseph de Chancie, whom one anonymall author calleth John de Chancie, but not rightlie as I suppose, was treasuror in the second yeere of the scourger of the Scots king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1274.

William bishop of Bath. William Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles was treasuror to Edward the first, he was remoued to Yorke in the yeare of Christ 1265, this man is by manie chronicles, and that perhaps most truelie called Walter Gifford. He died in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1279 as hath Nicholas Triuet. Of this man see more in the chancellors of England.

Robert Burnell. Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, and treasuror to king Edward the first, is by the Welsh historie pag. 328, called chiefe iustice of England. Leland reporteth that an abbat told him how that a bishop Burnell built the castell of Acton Burnell. Of this man shall be more spoken hereafter in the chancellors of England.

Joseph de Chancie. Joseph de Chancie the second time treasuror to king Edward the first, in the first yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, was also prior of S. Johns Jerusalem in Anglia, as I take it; and by an other name called the lord of S. Johns or of the knights of the Rhodes in England.

Thomas Becke. Thomas Becke archdeacon of Worcester, was treasuror in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1278 as some haue, but 1279 as other haue (by the witnesse of Leland, out of a monke of Glastenburie) in his booke De assertione Arthuri, reciting the words of the said monke in this sort.

Anno Domini 1267: Eadueardus rex Henrici tertij filius, venit cum regina sua Glasconiam. Die verò Martis proxima sequenti, fuit rex & tota curia accepta sumptibus monasterij. Quo die in crepusculo, fecit apperiri sepulchrum inclyti Arthuri, vbi in duabus cistis imaginibus & armis eorū depictis, ossa dicti regis miræ grossitudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem reginæ coronata, imaginis regiæ corona fuit prostrata, cum abscissione sinistræ auriculæ; & vestigijs plagæ vnde moriebatur: inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino, videlicet die Mercurij rex ossa regis, reginæ ossa reginæ, pallijs pretiosis reuoluta, in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes, præceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis externis capitibus propter populi deuotionem; appositaque huiusmodi scriptura: Hæc sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arthury, quæ anno dominicæ incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calendas Maij, per dominum Eadueardum regem Angliæ illustrem hic fuerunt sic collocata, præsentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem regis consorte, & filia domini Ferandi regis Hispaniæ, magistro William de Middleton nunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorsitensi & prædicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lasciæ comite Lincolniæ, domino Amideo comite Subaudiæ, & multis magnatibus Angliæ. Thus farre the monke of Glastenburie.

Richard de Ware. Richard Warren or de Ware abbat of Westminster, was made abbat about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the foure and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, who was made treasuror, as hath Iohn de Euersden, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred & foure score, being the eight yeare of king Edward the first: which yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred and foure score, some doo falslie make to fall in the tenth, some in the eleuenth yeare of the said Edward the first, which contrarietie hath onelie risen by the default of the transcriber. But most certeine it is that he was treasuror in the ninth, eleuenth, and part of the twelfe of the said king Edward the first. This man going to Rome for

his consecration, brought from thense certeine workemen and rich purphyrie stones, where of and by whom he made that rare pauement (conteining a discourse of the whole world) which is at this date most beautifull, and to be seene at Westminster before the communion table: a thing of that singularitie, curiousnesse, and rarenesse, that England hath not the like againe, in which pauement are circularie written in letters of brasse these ten verses following:

Si lector posita prudenter cuncta reuoluat,
Hic finem primi mobilis inueniet.
Sepes trina canes, & equos, homines superaddas,
Ceruos, & cornos, aquilas, immania cete,
Mundum quòd sequens præcuntis triplicat annos,
Sphericus archetypũ globum hic monstrat microcosmum.
Christi milleno, bis centeno, duodeno,
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor anno,
Tertius Henricus, rex, vrbs, Odoricus & abbas
Hos compegere purphyreos lapides.

Anno Domini 1268 Henricus tertius vrbs Roma Odoricus cementator & abbas Richardus de Ware fecerunt id pauimentum.

The full explanation of which verses shall be at large set downe in the whole discourse of this abbats life, in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors. Which abbat with those workemen and those stones did also frame the shrine of Edward the confessor with these verses, carued out of stone and also gilded set about the same shrine or monument:

Anno milleno Domini, cum septuageno,
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum,
Romanus ciuis. Homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus sancti præsentis amicus.

This abbat died the second date of December, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred foure score and three, being the twelfe yeare of king Edward the first; after that he had gouerned the monasterie three and twentie yeares and more, and was buried there at Westminster, in the foresaid plaine pauement of purphyrie on the north side neere vnto the tome (as is yet well to be seene) of Ddomer or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, on which graue is ingraued this breefe epitaph heere insuing:

Abbas Richardus de Wara qui requiescit
Hic portat lapides, quos hic portauit ab vrbe.

Walter Wenlocke.

Walter Wenlocke abbat of Westminster, whom Matthew Westminster calleth William de Wenloke, was made abbat of Westminster after the death of Richard de Ware, & was treasuror to king Edward the first, as hath the register of the liues of the abbats of Westminster, and other records that I haue seene. Which office it seemeth that he had, meane betweene the twelfe and the fourteenth yeare of the said king Edward the first, as I suppose. This man after that he had beene abbat six and twentie yeares lacking six dates, died the fiue and twentith of December on the Christmas date at night, in his manour of Pireford in Glocestershire, in the first yeare of Edward the sonne of Edward (which was Edward the second) being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuen, and was buried in the church of Westminster, besides the high altar then standing without the south doore of saint Edwards shrine before the presbiterie there, vnder a plaine pauement and a marble stone decentlie adorned with this epitaph to his high commendation:

Abbas Walterus iacet hic sub marmore tectus,
Non fuit austerus, sed mitis, famine rectus.

Bishop of Couentrie.

A bishop of Couentrie (and Lichfield) was treasuror of England in the fourteenth yeere of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1286, in whose place in the same yeare came John Kirkbie.

John Kirkbie bishop of Elie.

John Kirkbie deane of Wimburne and archdeacon of Couentrie, & treasuror to king Edward the first, was on the seuenth calends of August in the yeare of our Lord 1286, being the fourteenth yeare of the said Edward (then at Paris) made bishop of Elie, whome Leland (the refiner of all names doth in his cõment vpon his song of the swan in the word Winchelsega thus terme; *Iohannes Cherchebius episcopus Anguillarinus regi à thesauris.* This man was treasuror in the sixteenth, seuentéenth, & part of the eightéenth of Edward the first, in which yeare (as it séemeth) being part of the yeare of Christ 1290 this bishop died, the seuenth calends of Aprill, after that he had béene bishop three yeares some moneths and some dates, and was buried by Walepole bishop of Norwich in the church of Elie, on the north part of the quére before the altar of saint John Baptist.

William de Marchia.

William de Marchia or Gulielmus Martius was treasuror in Easter terme, in the eightéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued about fiue yeares, & was remoued from that place on the 23 yeare of the said king Edward the first, and Peter of Leicester baron of the exchéker, with the two chamberleins executed all functions of that office vntill a new treasuror was made. This William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath and Welles, in the yeare of Christ 1293, being the 22 yeare of king Edward the third, in which sée he remained almost ten yeares, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1302, being about the 32 yeare of the said king Edward the first, and was buried in the church of Welles in the wall, betwéene the doore of the cloister and the altar of saint Martine, at whose tome in time past (as the nature of that credulous age did hastilie beléeue) were manie miracles done; as some haue left in memorie to the following posteritie.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie was made treasuror after William de Marchia, in the 23 yeare of king Edward the first, in which office he continued (as I gather) during the life of king Edward the first, which fell in the 35 yeare of his reigne, being the yéere of our redemption 1307, and was then remoued and imprisoned in the tower with two men onelie by Edward the second then comming to the crowne, bicause the said Walter Langhstone had caused king Edward the first to imprison, and as some haue to banish this new king Edward the second for breaking downe the parkes of the said bishop Walter Langhstone. During the time that this Peter de Willebie was vnder treasuror or lieutenant of the treasuror, for the words be *Locum tenens thesaurarij*, in the thirtith, one and thirtith, two and thirtith of Edward the first, this Walter was made bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the three and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, and the same yeare that he was made treasuror. He died about the yeare of our redemption 1321, being about the fourteenth yeare of king Edward the second, to which bishop the lord Cobham now liuing his heire, as being descended from Margaret the sister and heire of John Penerell the cosine and heire to this Walter Langhstone, which Margaret was maried to sir William de la Pole of Albie knight, frõ whom the lord Cobham is issued. And here sith I haue before made mention of the death of Edward the first, although it be somewhat impertinent to the treasurors; yet for that I do not remember that the same verses are set downe in any of our late English chronicles, & for that I would haue a perpetuall memorie of them, I will here deliuer such epitaphicall verses as I haue found touching king Edward the first:

Dum viguit (rex) & valuit tua magna potestas,
Franglatuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestas,
Scotos Eadwardus, dum vixit, suppeditauit,
Temnit, afflixit, depressit, dilaniauit.

Walter Reinolds

Walter Reinolds scholemaster to Edw. 2. bishop of

Walter bishop of Worcester. of Worcester, and after of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was aduanced to the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the 1. Edw. 2. being the yeare of Christ 1307, after which in the yeare of our Lord 1308, he was made bishop of Worcester, he continued in the office of treasuror vntill some part of the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, at what time came in his place John Sandall, who was lieutenant vnto the said Walter in place of the treasuror, as appeareth by manie writs directed vnto him by the name of John Sandall *Locum tenenti W. episcopi Wigorniæ.* Of him is more spoken in the chancellors of England. But here I cannot passe ouer some both skilfull in antiquitie, & persons of no small name by reason of their office, whereof the one in print, and the other in a booke of the nobilitie of England since the conquest vnprinted, do make Hugh Spenser the elder treasuror of England, which as yet I cannot find to be true, for that I doubt that king Edw. 2. louing him so entierlie would euer after remoue him, & for that the full succession of treasurors before set downe, being true and taken out of ancient and most certeine records, will not afford him anie place among them. But leauing that matter to others who can better defend the same, I will descend to the other treasurors.

William de Marchia.

Hugh Spenser the elder.

John de Sandall. John de Sandall being clerke, Scutifer regis, chancellor of the exchéker, and chancellor of England, hauing béene before vnder treasuror or deputie for the high treasuror, came now in the fourth yeare of Edward the second to be made chiefe treasuror, & entered into that office in Easter terme about the beginning of the said fourth yeare of Edward the second. But in the yere following, which was the fift of Edward the second, he gaue place to another. He was chosen bishop of Winchester in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1316. Of whome thus writeth Anomymus M. S. *Obierunt episcopus Winton & Eli viri sacra professione insigniti, quorum primo successit Iohannes de Sandall cancellarius Angliæ vir cunctis affabilis & necessarium communitati. Secundo successit Iohannes de Hothum scaccar. regis, vir siquidem scientiæ penitus ignarus, qui statim episcopatus ascenso culmine, ad honorum pariter & officij thesaurarij rex ipsum in sui fauorem sublimauit.* Of which John Sandall, and also of John Hothume, shall be more said hereafter.

Walter Langhton bishop of Lichfield.

Walter Norwich. Walter Norwich, knight, treasuror in the fift yeare of Edward the second, and afterward in Easter tearme in the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did on the third date of October in the said eight yeare of king Edward the second receiue the office of the treasurorship, and on the same date tooke a corporall oth before the barons and chamberleins of the exchéker, to behaue himselfe well and faithfullie in the same office, which he had receiued of king Edward the second, by his letters dated at Yorke the six and twentith date of September, in the eight yeare of the said king Edward the second, which he kept not long at that time.

John Sandall. John Sandall was the second time lord treasuror, in the six and seuenth yeare of king Edward the second. This man being bishop of Winchester, was treasuror. Of him sée more in the chancellors of England.

Walter de Norwich. Walter de Norwich being treasuror as before in the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did not long inioy the same, but as I suppose gaue place to John Drokensford.

John Drokenford. John de Drokensford, the fourteenth bishop of Bath & Welles, had (as I haue read) the great seale deliuered vnto him, and was also treasuror of England. But bicause I find not as yet in what yeare, although it were in the time of king Edward the second, I cannot set downe the certeintie. Of whome thus writeth the register of the bishops of Bath. *Iohannes Drokensford thesaurarius 14. Bathon episcopus post Walterum Haselshawes, successit in episcopatum Bathon, annis 19, iste episcopatum pluribus ædificijs insigniuit, francheſias per reges episcopatui concessas non solum literatorie renouauit sed etiam ampliauit. Et quo ad ditationem & exaltationem parentelæ suæ ferè fuit æqualis prædecessori suo Roberto Bornell. Et Welliæ sepelitur ante altare sancti Iohannis Baptistæ.*

John Hothum bishop of Elie. John Hothum Bishop of Elie (as is before noted out of one anonymall chronicle) obteined the place and honour of treasurorship, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, which he did not long inioy. For in the Michaelmas tearme in the twelfe yere of king Edward the second, came William Walwaine. Of this John Hothum is mention made in the discourse of the chancellors hereafter.

William Walwaine. William Walwaine treasuror of England in the twelfe yeare of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1318, was (as it should séeme) for his negligence and vnworthines of the place most worthilie remoued at the parlement at Yorke, in such sort that he possessed not that place (as I coniecture) aboue halfe a yere. For in the same twelfe yeare came the bishop of Winchester.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester. John Stratford bishop of Winchester, vpon the remouing of Walwaine, was in the same twelfe yeare of king Edward the second admitted into the office of the treasurorship, vntill the king should otherwise determine. Which bishop found not in the treasurie aboue nine & twentie pounds seuenteene shillings and eight pence, which might well be the cause of the displacing of the said Walwaine, who had ouer prodigallie dispersed the kings treasure.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester. Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester was treasuror in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1319, in which I suppose he continued vntill the fifteenth yeare of the said king, being about the yere of Christ 1321. Of this man doth more follow.

Walter Norwich. Walter Norwich knight was the third time made treasuror, which place he inioied in the fifteenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yéere of our redemption 1321, or there abouts. Walsingham saith that in the second of Edward the third *Obyit* William de Norwich.

Roger Northborow or Norberus. Roger Northborow Scutifer or keéper of the seale, being taken by the Scots at the battell of Bannockesburne about the seuenth yeare of Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1313, was also clearke of the wardrobe, and treasuror in the thirteenth of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1322. Of whom thus writeth one anonymall chronicle M.S. *Anno Domini* 1321 *obyt Walterus de Langtone episcopus Cestren. cui successit in episcopatus honore per viâ impressionis & ambitionis Rogerus de Northburgh, clericus, de regis garderobia, sibi regis in cunctis fauentibus auxilio & voluntate.* I haue read of one Godfrete de Northburgh bishop of Chester that died in the three and thirtith of king Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1359, which perhaps should be this Roger Northborow, Godfrete being by the transcriber placed in stéed of Roger. But I will not at this time define anie certeintie thereof, although I find an other note of one Roger Northborow consecrated bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of Christ 1321, who sat in that sée eight and thirtie years, which eight and thirtie yeares added to the yeare of Christ, in which this Roger was made bishop, do make vp the number of the yeare of Christ 1359, in which it is said that Godfreie Northborow died.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester. Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, the second time treasuror in the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the second, & before, was remoued in Easter tearme in the same yeare. In which Easter tearme

was William bishop of Yorke also made treasuror, as is prooued by the pell of Exitus, that terme being thus intituled, *De termino Paschæ anno 18 Ed. 2. tam tempore W. episcopi Exon. quàm W. archiepiscopi Eborum.* This Walter being elected to the bishoprike of Excester, in the yeare of our redemption 1307, did sit in that place twentie yeares, and was beheaded at the comming into England of quéene Isabell to depose Edward the second, in the twentith yere of the said king Edward the second, in the yéere of our redemption 1326. The cause of whose beheading was, for that he had procured the banishment of the said quéene Isabell, and of hir sonne prince Edward.

William Welton. William Welton archbishop of Yorke made lord treasuror in Easter terme, in the eightéenth yéere of Edward the second, kept the same office vntill the deposition of himselfe from that place, & of his maister from his kingdome, in the twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the second, and then gaue place to John Stratford.

John Stratford. John Stratford bishop of Winchester was the second time made treasuror of England, in the twentith yeare of the deposed king Edward, after the death of Walter Stapleton. This John the fourteenth daie of Nouember, in the said twentith yeare of Edward the second, comming into the excheker, brought thither the kings patent, or open writ, or commandement, vnder the seale of Edward the kings eldest son, to witnes his election and creation to that place of treasuror: the tenor of which writ I haue thought good to set downe, because it was done by the son in the fathers name, and vnder the testé of the son, the father yet being king in shew; but the son indéed as gouernor of the realme: which title he inioied, vntill that he most vnnaturallie by the malice of his mother, the ambition of himselfe, and the flatterie of his followers had deposed his father. The tenor of which writ was in these words, as followeth.

EDwardus rex Angliæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, baronibus & camerarijs suis de scaccario suo salutem. Quùm pro eo quod venerabilis pater W. archiepiscopus Eborum nuper thesaurarius scaccarij prædicti, circa diuersa negotia in partibus Borealibus est occupatus, quominùs intendere possit ad ea quæ ad officium illud in dicto scaccario pertinent exercenda: constituerimus venerabilem patrem Iohannem Wintoniensem episcopum, tenentem locum thesaurarij scaccarij prædicti, quousque de officio illo aliter duximus ordinandum. Percipiendo in eodem officio (dum illud sic tenuerit) feodum consuetum prout in literis nostris patentibus præfato episcopo inde confectis plenius continetur. Vobis mandamus, quod ipsum episcopum ad officium admittatis, & ei in his quæ ad officium prædictum pertineant intendatis in forma prædicta. Teste Edwardo filio nostro primogenito custode regni nostri. Apud Hereford sexto die Nouembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

Adam Tarleton. Adam Tarleton, or de Dzleton borne in Herefordshire, being *Decretorum* doctor, was made bishop of Hereford by the pope at Auinion in the yeare one thousand three hundred and seauenteene, about the tenth or eleuenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the second, being he that made the sermon for the deposition of king Edward the second, and wrote the amphibologicall epistle for the death of the king, conteining these words, *Regem occidere nolite timere bonum est*, which hath by a comma or point made at *Timere* one sense, and by a comma made at *Nolite* another sense. Which Adam was made lord treasuror in the first yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in which office he continued not long. For in the Easter terme of the said king came Henrie bishop of Lincolne. This man was made bishop of Winchester in the yére one thousand three hundred thirtie and fiue, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third: in which seat he sate twelue yeares. The death of which Adam (who gaue Yenningfield parsonage to the church of Hereford) sir Thomas de la More doth most plentifullie set forth.

Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne was lord treasuror in Easter terme, in the first yére of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, in which office he continued vntill the second yeare of Edward the third, and was afterward remoued. Henrie Burwash or Burgelle bishop of Lincolne.

Thomas bishop of Hereford inioied the honorable place of the lord treasuror, in the third yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and nine: but in the yére following another came in place. Thomas bishop of Hereford.

Robert Woodhouse possessed the roome of the high tresuror of England, in the fourth yére of the reigne of the said yong king Edward the third, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was also treasuror some part of Michaelmasse terme, in the fift yére of king Eward the third, who in the yére following did giue place vnto another. Robert Woodhouse.

William archbishop of Yorke was againe treasuror of England, in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and inioied that place some part of Michaelmasse terme in the said yeare, after whome came the bishop of Norwich. William Melton.

W. bishop of Norwich was made treasuror in Michaelmas terme in the said fift yére of the reigne of king Edward the third: in which terme there had béene three lord treasurors successiuelie (a thing seldome or neuer heard, nor I thinke likelie againe euer to be) which office this bishop kept all Michaelmasse terme, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, and somewhat more in the end, yet yelding that honor to another. W. bishop of Norwich.

Robert le Aileftone, being lord treasuror in the seuenth yére of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, continued in the same office vntill the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred thirtie six, which was about three yeares, the same being a longer time than anie other had possessed that place, since the beginning of the reigne of the said king Edward the third. Robert le Aileftone.

Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne was againe treasuror the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, in which yéere (as hath Scala chronicorum) the king holding his parlement at London, was aduised by his councell to prosecute his title to the crowne of France. Whereupon king Edward sent ambassadors to the duke of Bauiere emperor (which had married the other sister to the earle of Henalt, as king Edward the third had maried one) for suertie of aliance, and to retaine noble men about him with no small charge, which ambassadors were Henrie Burgwash bishop of Lincolne, and the earles William Pontacute of Sarum, and William Clinton of Huntington, who returned to the parlement at London with their answer well liked. Of this man see more in the chancellors, being yet after his ambassage treasuror in some part of the eleuenth yéere of Edward the third. Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne.

Richard de Burie bishop of Durham did inioie the honor of lord treasuror, in the eleuenth yeare of the Richard de Burie bishop of Durham.

the reigne of king Edward the third: he was a man of great grauitie, and much esteemed of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the north. Of this man is more spoken in the chancellors of England.

William de la Zouch. William de la Zouch borne of the noble house of the lord Zouch, was treasuror of England, in the twelfe yéere of king Edward the third, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and eight; he being bishop of Yorke was vicegerent to the king in the north parts, in the twentith yéere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, and in the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred fortie and six, at what time he toke Dauid Bruce king of Scots. This man went to Rome, and after a long contention betweene him and William Kelsleie, Kilsbie, or Kelseie (for all these different names are found in authors) touching the archbishoprike of Yorke, he was after two yeares thus spent consecrated bishop of Yorke by pope Clement the sixt. After which this William in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, being long troubled with a grieuous disease, began the worke of a chappell on the south side adioining to the church of saint Peters in Yorke, where he purposed to be buried: but died before it was finished, and lieth interred in the said church before the altar of saint Edward the confessor.

Richard Sadington knight. Sir Richard Sadington knight was treasuror in the fouretéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred & fortie. There was one Robert Sadington liuing about this time, of whom is more mention in the chancellors of England: but as yet I well know not whether they were both one man or no; sith authors maie misplace Robert for Richard, as they haue often done.

Robert Northborow bishop of Couentrie. Robert Northborow, being at that time (as I iudge) bishop of Couentrie, was treasuror of England, in the fouretéenth yéere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and fortie, in which yeare he was remoued, whom with the chancellor the king meant afterward (as after shall appeare) to haue sent into Flanders as pledges for monie which the K. owght there. After whom I suppose that Sadington came in place, although I haue a little misplaced him at this time, following the fansies of other men more than mine owne.

A bishop of Chester. A bishop of Chester was lord treasuror of England in the fiftéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yéere that the woord became flesh, one thousand thrée hundred fortie and one, in which office he did not long continue.

Robert Perning. Robert Perning or Pernicke was lord treasuror in the Easter terme, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred fortie and one, being the fiftéenth yéere of king Edward the third, in which yéere also he was made chancellor, and so continued both offices a while, vntill in the sixtéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, as I gather by all circumstances of times, records, and histories: who in the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred fortie and thrée (as appeareth by the bookes of the law) being chancellor, deliuered a record with his hands into the court of the kings bench. Of this man more shall be set downe hereafter in my discourse of the chancellors.

Roger Northborow bishop of Couentrie. Roger Northborow (as I take it) being then bishop of Couentrie, did honorable possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the sixtéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred fortie and two. Of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie: *Ibi* (meaning at the tower) *conciliatum est, tandémque definitū, vt archiepiscopus & episcopus Cicestrensis regni cancellarius & Coitentrensis thesaurarius, vnà cum alijs à satellitibus & licioribus deprehensi, ad publicam custodiam rerum à se, absente rege, gestarum rationem reddituri ducerentur. Mane accedunt satellites Lamethamū, sed * archiepiscopus ei pridiè decesserat: tum Londinum reuersi Couentrensem & Cicestrensem episcopos cum alijs designatis capiunt, captos ad turrim deducunt, &c.* * John Stratford.

William de Culsans. William de Culsans, being lord treasuror in the seauentéenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, thrée hundred, fortie and thrée, continued in the same office all Michaelmasse tearme, in the eightéenth yeare of the said Edward the third, and the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred fortie and foure: and being a yeare more. Betweene whom & Thomas Henlæ abbat of Westminster was great contention about the iurisdiction of the hospitall of saint James in the parish of saint Margaret in Westminster, which hospitall is now a statelie house belonging to the prince, and built by king Henrie the eight called the manor of saint James with a parke walled about with bricke.

William de Edington bishop of Winchester. William de Edington, lord chancellor and treasuror of England, and bishop of Winchester, was lord treasuror in Easter terme the nineteenth yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand, thrée hundred fortie and fiue, in which office he continued vntill the two and thirtith of the said king, one thousand thrée hundred fiftie and eight, being fourteene years, which was (as I thinke) as manie more years, as anie one man did possesse that place, since the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the third, vntill the time of this William Edington. He was so surnamed of the place where hée was borne, being the towne of Edington in Wiltshire: he was made bishop of Winchester (as some haue) about the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred fortie and seuen, being about the one and twentith yeare of king Edward the third. This man (chosen bishop of Canturburie, but yet neuer bishop) died (as hath Walsingham) in the fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred sixtie and six. I haue read of a bishop of Norwich that should also be treasuror in the foure and twentith of Edward the third, which must fall in the time that this Edington did continue that office: but how true it is, I leaue to others to consider, vntill I haue in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors dissolued that, and all other doubts and contrarieties that are here touched, or by authors reported.

John bishop of Rochester. John bishop of Rochester was lord treasuror in the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1358, in which office he continued in the thirtie thrée and thirtie fourth yéere of Edward the third.

Simon Langham bishop of Elie. Simon Langham, being of the priorie of Westminster, made abbat of that house, was shortlie after made lord treasuror of England, which office he held in the fiue & thirtith and six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, who being bishop of London (as hath Matthew Parker) was in the yeare that the woord of the father toke on it, the forme of a seruant, by due account 1361, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, by the pope made bishop of Elie, where he sat fiue yeares, and was after in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, thrée hundred, sixtie and six, being the fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, chosen bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated in the yeare of our redemption 1367, as saith the same Matthew Parker. On which date of his consecration he demanded homage

homage of the erle Stafford of Thomas Rolle, John Kirrell, Robert Brockill, & Rafe Sentleger, knights for their lands which they held of the see of Canturburie. Shortlie after which in the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, sixtie and eight, being the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, he was made cardinall, & died at Auinere the two and twentith date of Julie, about the yeare of our redemption, as saith one Anonymus M.S. 1376, being the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, and was buried beside Auinion, in a place which he had raised from the foundation: three yeares after which his bones were brought to Westminster where at this date he hath one honorable tome on the south side of the shrine amongst the kings, on whose tome the monks of Westminster did sometime place this same epitaph in the remembrance of him:

Simon de Langham sub petris his tumulatus,
Istius ecclesiæ monachus fuerat, prior, abbas,
Sede vacante fuit electus Londoniensis
Præsul & insignis eligi, sed postea primas
Totius regni, magnus regisque minister:
Nam thesaurarius & cancellarius eius,
Ac cardinalis in Roma presbyter iste,
Postque Prænestinus est factus episcopus atque
Nuntius ex parte papæ, transmittitur istuc
Orbe dolente pater, quem nunc revocare nequimus:
Magdalenæ festo milleno septuageno
Et ter centeno sexto Christi ruit anno:
Hunc Deus absoluat de cunctis quæ malè gessit,
Et meritis matris sibi cœlica gaudia donet.

Of this man I haue intreated in my discourse of the cardinals pag. 1165. and in my collection of all the chancellors of England hereafter following.

John Barnet bishop of Worcester.

John Barnet made bishop of Worcester in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and two, being the six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, was treasuror of England in the seuen and thirtith yeere of Edward the third, in which office he continued, being treasuror in Michaelmasse tearme in the eight & thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the third, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie & foure, and so he continued in the three & fortith yeere of king Edward the third still treasuror. He was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our redemption 1363, in which bishoprike he remained three yeares, and was by Urbane the first then bishop of Rome translated from Bath to Elie in the yeare of Christ 1866, being the fortith yeere of the reigne of king Edward the third, in which place he sat six yeares: and being a verie old man, and hauing beene treasuror about six yeares, he died at Hatfield the seuenth ides of June, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred seuentie and three, and the seuen and fortith yeere of the often named king Edward the third, he was buried in the church of Elie besides the high altar on the south part.

Richard de Chesterfield.

I haue read and seene by manie noted that one named Richard de Chesterfield was treasuror to the king in the one and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, whome they will haue lord treasuror: which by no possible meanes as farre as I can yet conceiue maie be true: because it appeareth by record that Iohn bishop of Elie (which was this Barnet if you marke the time of his translating to Elie) was treasuror in the same yeare: but it maie be that he was treasuror of the chamber or houshold to the said king in the said one and fortith yeare of his reigne.

Thomas de Brantington.

Thomas de Brantington, being treasuror for the king in the parts of Guisnes marches and Calis, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and seuen, being the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made bishop of Exceter by especiall letters of the king in the yeere of our saluation one thousand three hundred sixtie and eight, being the three and fortith yeare of the said Edward the third, and was lord treasuror of England in the foure and fortith & fiue & fortith yeere of Edward the third: in which fiue and fortith yeare, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and one, he was in a parlement at the petition of the lords remoued, at what time also there passed a law, that the chancellor, treasuror, and clerke of the priuie seale, should no more be spirituall men: but that secular men should haue those offices.

Sir Richard Scrope or Scrobs knight lord of Bolton and chancellor of England, was treasuror of England in the six and fortith, seuen & fortith, & eight and fortith of Edward the third, and then gaue place to sir Robert Ashton knight. This Richard made out of the ground the castell of Bolton consisting of foure great strong towers, and of other statelie lodgings, which castell was erecting eighténe yeares, the charges whereof came yearelie vnto a thousand marks, which was eighténe thousand markes, or twelue thousand pounds: the ounce of siluer being then but at twentie pence, which being now trebled and at fiue shillings, doth at this date amount vnto six and thirtie thousand pounds, which castell he finished before Richard the second died. He bought the heire generall of saint Quintine, that was honor of Hornelie castell in Richmondshire, which heire he was content one Conters a seruant of his should marrie, and haue the preferrement of that ward; and so Hornelie castell came to the Conierses, of which house the first lord was William Conters, grandfather to him that died in the time of queene Maris without heire male, whereby his inheritance came to his three daughters. Which William the first lord Conters of that name did much cost vpon Hornelie castell: being before but a meane thing. I haue read of this lord Scrope, that he had a sonne called William, whereof we will speake more hereafter, that was earle of Wilshire, who being beheaded in his fathers life, left no issue behind him. After which the father surviuing was made treasuror to the king and died in honor, although he was not restored to his dignitie of chancellorship: but at what time he should be the second time treasuror (after the death of his sonne William) in the time of Henrie the fourth, I can not as yet certeinlie learne. But it maie be that he was againe treasuror in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth, for that I find not by any former search who then possessed that place. It seemeth that he had two wiues, the one the daughter of the lord Spenser the other the daughter of Michaell de la Pole erle of Suffolke called Blanch. He had three sons, for whom he bought of the king the three daughters and heires of Robert lord Tiptoft, whereof the eldest daughter Margaret was married to Roger his second sonne, the second daughter was married to William his eldest sonne, the third daughter called Millescent was married to Stephan the third sonne of the said Richard.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton.

Sir Robert Ashton.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, constable of Douer castell, was lord treasuror in the fiftith and one and fiftith of king Edward the third in Michaelmasse tearme, which was the last Michaelmasse tearme wherein the king reigned, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, of which name there was also one that was chiefe baron in the time of Edward the second, as I haue read.

Henrie Wake bishop of Worcester.

Henrie Wake or Wakefield, being made bishop of Worcester in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and fiue, being the fortie and ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made lord treasuror of England in the yeare

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Thomas Brantington bishop of Exceter.

Richard earle of Arundell.

Robert Hales.

Hugh lord Segraue.

John Fordham bishop of Durham.

yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the woman, one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, in the one and fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued part of Easter tearme in the first yeare of king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, as saith Walsingham.

Thomas Bytantington bishop of Excester was made lord treasuror of England towards the latter end of Easter tearme, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, as I at this time account it: from which place he was shortlie remoued in the second yeare of king Richard the second.

Thomas Bytantington bishop of Excester.

Richard earle of Arundell.

Richard earle of Arundell and Surrie, made lord treasuror of England in the second yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, whereof part fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, & part in the yeare one thousand three hundred seauentie and nine, continued about one yeare in the same, and then gaue place to him which possessed the same office last before him, he married Elisabeth the daughter of William de Bohune earle of Northampton & Hereford, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Arundell, Ione married to William Beauchampe lord Aburgauennie, Elisabeth married to Thomas lord Mowbraie, Margaret married to sir Rowland Lenthall, and Alice married to John Charleton lord Powes: this Richard was beheaded in the one and twentith yeare of Richard the second.

Thomas Bytantington bishop of Excester.

Thomas Bytantington bishop of Excester was the third time lord treasuror of England, in the third yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, & was remoued from his office in the fourth yeare of the said Richard, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie, after the account of such as begin the yeare on the fiue and twentith of March.

Robert Hales.

Robert Hales chiefe prior of the knights of the Rhodes, intituled by the name of the knights of S. Johns Jerusalem in England, was lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Richard the second, in which office he continued during his life: for shortlie after that he came into that place (which as I suppose he held Easter terme, and some moneths after) in the said yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one (the rebelles hauing spoiled the hospitall or famous college of those knights of saint Johns by Smithfield neare vnto London) amongest others did fetch this Robert Hales out of the tower of London (where the king then laie) and beheaded him on the tower hill.

Hugh lord Segraue.

Hugh Segraue knight, whome Walsingham calleth *Regis senescallum* the kings steward, was made lord treasuror of England in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, who continued in the said office the first, seauenth, eight, and some part of the Michaelmasse terme in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and fiue.

John Fortham bishop of Durham.

John Fortham canon, being secretarie to the king, was made bishop of Durham the nine and twentith of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one, being the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, and was inthronized in September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and two, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second. This man was made lord treasuror in Michaelmasse terme the ninth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred eightie and fiue: and so continued part of the tenth yeare of king Richard the second, vntill he was by parlement discharged. He was translated from the bishoprike of Durham to Elie by Boniface the pope the fift calends of October, as hath the booke of Durham, one thousand three hundred eightie nine, being the twelfe yeare of the same Richard: but as saith the booke of Elie one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, being the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second. Which both may be true, because the one may haue relation to the yeare of his translation, and the other to the yeare of his inthronization, both which manie times happened in seuerall yeares of manie other bishops. He was bishop of Elie seuen and thirtie years, three moneths, and foure daies, and died a verie old man the thirteenth of December, in his manor of Dunham, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue, falling in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John bishop of Hereford.

John Gilbert bishop of Hereford was by parlement made lord treasuror in the tenth yeare of king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and six, as I for this time take it, in which office he continued the eleuenth, and all Michaelmasse terme in the twelfe yeare of king Richard the second, and the one and twentith of March following: after which he was againe remoued, and then he with twelue more were appointed by commission to the gouernment of the whole realme vnder the king, of whome thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M.S. *Is fuit de ordine prædicatorū, vir qui plus linguaquàm fide regebat*, which bishop (as I suppose) was remoued to saint Dauids, after that he had beene thirteene yeares bishop of Hereford.

Thomas Bytantington bishop of Excester.

Thomas Bytantington bishop of Excester. I haue read that the bishop of Excester was made treasuror in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second, vpon the remouing of John Gilbert, which bishop of Excester could not be Edmund Gifford, as some falselie name him, for there is no such man as I can find in the catalog of all the bishops of Excester: neither was it Edmund Stafford, for he was not made bishop of Excester vntill the twentith of June one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the one and twentith yeare of his reigne, which is eight yeers after the time whereof we now intreat. Wherefore it must needs be Thomas Bytantington, for he being consecrated bishop of Excester the tenth of March, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred & seuentie, being the foure and fortith yeare of Edward the third, and gouerning that see foure and twentie years, till the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, in which came Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale; it must needs be that (the bishop of Excester being treasuror in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight) it was this man Bytantington, and that he was the fourth time made lord treasuror of England, about the eightenth yeare after that he was made bishop of Excester, who died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, as hath Ypodigma.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales was lord treasuror in the thirteenth and foureteenth yeares of the reigne of the deposed king Richard the second. Of whome, because there is somewhat spoken before, we will intreat the lesse of him in this place.

John

John Waltham bishop of Salisburie.

John Waltham, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of William Courtneie was bishop of Salisburie, maister of the rolles in the first yeare of Richard the second, and keeper of the priuie seale, after which he was treasuror of England, in the fiftéenth, sixtéenth, seauentéenth, and part of the eightéenth of Richard the second, for he died in Michaelmas terme in the said 18 yeare of Richard the second, in the yere of Christ 1395, others saie 1394, of whome thus writeth Walsingham: *Hoc anno* (which was 1395) *obijt Iohannes de Waltham episcopus Sarum & regni thesaurarius, qui tantùm regi complacuerit, vt etiam (multis licèt murmurantibus) apud monasterium inter reges meruit sepulturam.*

Roger Walden bishop of London.

Roger Walden sometime secretarie to the king and treasuror of the towne of Calis (in the twelfe yére of Richard the second) was made lord treasuror in the eightéenth of the same king, about the yére of our Lord 1365, in which office he continued the two and twentith of the said Richard the second. He was elected and made bishop of Canturburie, but after reiected and deposed, and thereupon was by pope Innocent the seuenth made bishop of London on the tenth of December, in the yére of Christ 1404, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the which bishoprike he continued about one yere, and died in the yeare 1406, being buried at saint Bartholomews priorie in Smithfield, who of a poore man (as saith Walsingham) was made lord treasuror of England.

G. bishop of saint Dauids in Wales.

G. bishop of S. Dauids was lord treasuror of England in the two and twentith yere of Richard the second, which bishop I suppose to be Guido de Mone, whom the booke Ypodigma & Thomas Walsingham call bishop of S. Dauids, and saie that he died in the yére of our redemption 1407, writing in this sort: *Eodem anno Guido de Mone Meneuensis episcopus præsentis lucis sensit eclipsim, qui dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit.*

William Scrope earle of Wiltshire.

William Scrope knight, vicechamberleine to Richard the second was lord treasuror, he bought of William Montacute earle of Salisburie the Ile of Man, with the crowne thereof. He was one of those to whom king Richard the second let the kingdom to farme, he was lord treasuror of England in the 21 of Richard the second, and was after created earle of Wiltshire, in the said 21 yere of the same Richard the second, in the yéere of Christ 1397. He was after beheded at Bristow in the 23 and last yeare of the then deposed king Richard. Of which William Scrope and others thus writeth that worthie poet sir Iohn Gower in his historie of Richard the second, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled *Vox clamantis.*

*Henrie Bolingbroke cõming into England and deposing Richard the second.

* *Dux probus audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci*
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur,
Sic tres exosos, magis omnibus ambitiosos,
Regni tortores, inuenerat ipse priores,
Ense repercussi pereunt, Gren, Scrop, quoq; Bussi,
Hi qui regales fuerant cum rege sodales,
Scrop comes & miles, cuius Bristolia viles
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat.
Gren quoque sorte pari, statuit dux decapitari
Bussi conuictus, similes quoque sustinet ictus,
Vnanimes mente, pariter mors vna repente,
Hos tres prostrauit gladius, quos fine vorauit,
Sicut & egerunt alijs, sic hi ceciderunt,
Quo dux laudatur, regnúmque per omne iocatur.

Sir John Northberie.

Sir John Northberie made lord treasuror in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that God toke on him the forme of a seruant, a thousand three hundred nintie and nine, and continued in the same in the third yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which yeare he was also keeper of the priuie garderobe in the tower.

Henrie Bowet.

Henrie Bowet made bishop of Bath, about the yeare of our redemption 1401, being also about the second yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which bishoprike he continued eight yeares, and was after at the kings instance in the yére of Christ a thousand foure hundred and seuen, about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth remoued to Yorke. This man was lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption 1403, in which place he continued not aboue a yére, if so long.

William lord Rosse.

William lord Rosse, the sonne of Thomas lord Rosse, did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuror of England, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and foure, and shortlie after gaue place to the lord Furniuall. He married Margaret daughter of Fitzallen lord Matrauars, he had issue Thomas lord Rosse slaine in France, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, about the ninth yeare of Henrie the first, and manie other children.

Thomas lord Furniuall.

Thomas lord Furniuall kept the place and office of the lord treasuror of England, the first, seuenth, and some part of the eight yeare of king Henrie the fourth, as in Michaelmasse tearme of the same eight yeare, falling in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand foure hundred and six, after which this lord Furniuall (who had the custodie of the castell and honour of Wigmore, being in the kings hands by reason of the wardship and minoritie of Edmund Mortimer earle of March) was (as it séemeth) remoued from the treasurorship, in whose rome succeeded the bishop of London. To these lord Furniuals did Furniuals inne of Holborne sometime apperteine as their mansion house, being now an inne of chancerie for yong students of the law and atturneies, and belonging vnto Lincolns inne in Chancerie lane.

Nicholas Bubwith made bishop of London.

Nicholas Bubwith bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six: being the eight yére of Henrie the fourth, must be that bishop of London (as farre as I can yet conceiue) who was lord treasuror of England in Michaelmas tearme in the said eight yeare of Henrie the fourth: which office it séemeth that he held not long, for in Easter terme after in the same eight yeare, the office of the treasuror remained in the kings hands, and the accompts of the same terme go vnder the same title of being in the kings hands.

Sir Richard Scrope lord Scrope of Bolton.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton (whereof is so much spoken before) was as I suppose the second time treasuror of England in this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: whereunto I am induced by this reason; that first the king would not keepe that office so long in his hands as almost amounted vnto two yeares, but that he would bestow the same vpon some other: secondlie, for that I read that this Richard Scrope father to William Scrope earle of Wiltshire beheaded (by this Henrie the fourth before he came to the crowne) at Bristow (in the last yeare of Richard the second, and in the first of this kings reigne) was after the death of the said William made treasuror of England, and so died in honour: thirdlie for that I cannot see how he might be treasuror in anie yeare since the death of the said William, vntill this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: and lastlie, for that I cannot in anie record or other author find anie other man mentioned to supplie that place in this yeare: for which causes I haue attempted to bestow him here, and that rightlie, for anie thing that I can yet learne.

Sir John Tiptoft knight.

Sir John Tiptoft or Tibetot knight, did possesse the place and office of the lord treasurorship of England in Michelmas terme, in the tenth yeare of king

Henrie

Henrie the fourth, being in the yere of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and eight.

Henrie lord Scrope. Henrie lord Scrope of Masham and of Flaxfleet, was made lord treasuror of England, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of K. Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and ten, as hath Walsingham: in which office he continued vntill the death of king Henrie the fourth, which hapned in the fourteenth yeare of the same king, and in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & twelue, after the account of England: but one thousand foure hundred and thirteene after the account of such as doo begin the yeare at Januarie. He rebelled against king Henrie the fift, and was beheaded at Southhampton in the third yeare of K. Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and fifteene the last of Julie. Of which Henrie so conspiring against Henrie the fift, I find these verses in a written booke of parchment, intituled *Extractum breue de chronica* Thomæ Helmham, *prior Lenton de tempore regis Henrici quinti.* In which verses by the capitall letters are set down the names of the principall conspirators, & the yere of our Lord wherein the same was done, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & thirteene: the greater Romane capitall letters in the third verse seruing for the yere of Christ, & for the name Zorc deriued of this word COR in the fourth verse, & the English capitall letters onelie seruing for the names of the persons in this sort couched togither for common capacitie:

Mox rex nauigium parat vt mare transeat armis,
Scrop furit Henricus proditione fremens,
SCrVtans [a] ConsIrat RIMatVr DLenCIa PLebi,
[b] Rumpe Iugo COR Iuens Res Dabit Vltra Sonum
[c] EJI Ruit Gens Iuita Malis Opus Hoste Triũphat,
Vota voluntatis sic sacre Christe tuæ.
Versibus his quinque prætactis traditionem
Lector scire potes: hinc repetendo stude.
Hi tres, Richardus Zorc, Henri Scrúpque, Thomas Gray,
In regem surgunt proditione pares:
Munere Francorum corrupti terga dedere,
Iusto munus habet vindice quisque suum.

[a] This C serueth for the name of Scrope and the yeare of Christ.
[b] Richard is called by the first letters of the fourth verse, & Zorc by changing the letters of the word Cor, and adding to it the letter z, which signifieth a point.
[c] By the first letter of the words of the fift verse set togither backward ariseth the name of Thomas Gray.

Thomas Fitz Allen earle of Arundell and Surreie was aduanced to the honorable office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, being the first yeare of the reigne of the most victorious prince K. Henrie the fift, in which office it seemeth that he continued the first, second, and third of Henrie the fift. He in the yeare 1405, being the seuenth of Henrie the fift, on the nert date of the feast of saint Katharine, married Beatrice the bastard daughter of the king of Portingale, by whom he had no issue, hauing his sisters his heires, and died in the yeare 1415, being the third yeare of Henrie the fift, and was buried in the college at Arundell.

Sir Roger Lech knight. Sir Roger Lech (whom some call but not rightlie as I suppose sir Philip Lech, being brother vnto the said sir Roger) was treasuror of England, in Michaelmas and Easter tearme in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and sixteene. He was at the seege of Rone with this king Henrie, in the first yeare of his reigne, being also treasuror for the warres in that voiage.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh. Henrie lord Fitz Hugh was aduanced to the office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & seuenteene, in which office he continued (as I gather) vntill the death of the said king Henrie the fift, which happened in August, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and two.

John Stafford. John Stafford clerke was made lord treasuror of England in the first yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare that the word became flesh 1422, in which office he continued in Michaelmas terme, and fourth of the said king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of Christ 1425, he was chosen bishop of Bath, in the third yeare of king Henrie the sixt, in the yere 1424, he was chancellor of England, and remoued to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, of whome is mention made hereafter in the discourse of the chancellors of England, & touching whom I will for this time onelie set downe heere what Matthew Parker writeth of him in the life of Henrie Chicheleie an archbishop of Canturburie. *Archiepiscopus* (saith he) in the yeare of Christ our redeemer 1424: *Cantuariensis 12. Octob. clerum in ecclesia Paulina conuocauit, in ea Henricus Beauford Winton episcopus regni cãcellarius, & Iohannes Stafford Bathoniẽsis electus episcopus regni thesaurarius, ad bellũ Gallicum opẽ à clero petiuit, & interposita paucorum dierum deliberatione, Wilhelmus Lindwood officialis curiæ Cãtuariẽsis de arcubus, hos responsum ab inferiori cleri synodo acceptum episcopis declarauit: non esse penes cleri procuratores potestatem subsidium concedendi. Nam cùm in dicta synodo in singulis diocœsibus cõstituti essent, clerus his solutionibus consentiendi licentiã expressè ademit: quia tantis tributis diu pendendis ad magnam inopiam & egestatem deuenit. Itaque cancellarius à superiori synodo ad inferiorẽ transiens, longa & diserta oratione, ac regis iam minoris necessitate, ac de instanti in Gallia bello egit, ac nequicquam suasit.*

Walter lord Hungerford. Walter lord Hungerford knight of the garter, the sonne of sir Thomas Hungerford knight, was made lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, being the yere of Christ 1425, in which office he continued about six yeares, vntill some part of Michaelmas tearme in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred thirtie and one. He was also one of the councell to the said king, of whome is mention made by Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, in these words: *Proximo anno* (which was about the yeare of our Lord 1425) *synodus sub eodem archiepiscopo, 15 Aprilis inchoata est. Qua Iohanne Kempo Eboracẽsi archiepiscopo & Waltero Hungerfordo milite, regijs conciliarijs (illo cancellario hoc thesaurario regni) regis nomine postulantibus regi decimam concessit. Ac eisdem his petentibus, triennio post in recenti synodo media decima regi à clero data est.* This lord treasuror maried Katharine, the daughter and heire of Thomas Peuerell knight, by whom he had issue Walter lord Hungerford of Hatchberie knight of the garter, that died without issue, sir Robert lord Hungerford of Hatchberie. Edmund Hungerford knight, that died without issue, Margaret maried to sir Walter Rodneie knight, and Elisabeth maried to Philip Courtneie knight: which Robert lord Hungerford and Margaret his wife, John Cheineie of Pim esquier, John Meruin esquier and others did (by the kings licence granted vnto them in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth) build the hospitall of Hatchberie in Wiltshire.

John lord Scrope. John lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham, made lord treasuror in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption 1431, in which office he continued vntill some part of the twelfe yere of the said king, as I for this time doo gather. Of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie, touching a synod holden in the yeare of our Lord 1430, at what time, of the clergie he saith that *Iohan-*

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nes Stafford episcopus Bathoniensis cancellarius, & D. Scrope thesaurarius regni, necnon Wilhelmus Lindwood, custos priuati sigilli, pro rege subsidium postularunt, & mediam decimam tandem aegrè impetrarunt.

Rafe lord Cromwell.

Rafe lord Cromwell, the son of Rafe Cromwell lord of Tatershall, possessed the place of the lord treasurorship of England, in Easter terme in the twelfe yeare of the after deposed K. Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1434, and so continued in that office about ten years, falling (as I suppose) in the yeare of our redemption 1444. This man being knight was created lord Cromwell by the said king Henrie the first, and was lineallie descended of one of the heires of Robert lord Tatershall, that married one of the daughters and heires of William Dalbinie earle of Arundell. This Rafe lord treasuror died without issue, and made his testament in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure, being in the three and thirtith yere of king Henrie the first, after whose death the inheritance came to the three aunts being his heirs, whereof the first was married to the lord Bardolfe slaine at Bramcehome more in Northumberland, the second was married to sir William Fitzwilliams knight of the sepulchre, the third Elisabeth to sir John Clifton knight, & after his death to sir Edmund Benested knight. Of one Rafe lord Cromwell I find this note set downe by Leland. *Dominus Radulphus Cromewell & Matildis vxor eius fundatores collegij sanctæ trinitatis de Tatershall, quúmque Roberti ordine domini erant de Tatershall, hos sequutus est Radulphus Cromewell.*

Sir Rafe Butler lord Sudleie.

Sir Rafe Butler knight of the garter, lord Sudleie (descended from John lord Sudleie, and William Butler baron of Wem, which maried Jone daughter and heire to John Sudleie lord Sudleie) did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasurorship of England the seuenth of Julie, in the two and twentith yere of king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, which office he kept about three yeres; for in the fiue and twentith yeare of the said king, was the bishop of Carleill lord treasuror. This Rafe lord Sudleie builded the castell of Sudleie, in the time of king Henrie the first, and of Edward the fourth; who in the time of the said Edward the fourth was committed to prison by the king, first sending for him to come to his presence. Whereupon he going to the king, and resting on an hill, from whense he did behold Sudleie castell, said: It is thou, it is thou Sudleie castell and not I which am the traitor. After which comming to king Edward the fourth, he resigned the said Sudleie castell into the kings hands. Which castell came after to Jasper duke of Bedford, and is now in the yeare 1585 in the possession of Giles a Bridges lord Shandois. This Rafe being made baron in the twentith yeare of Henrie the first, maried Elisabeth the daughter of sir John Northberie, by whome he had issue Thomas his son that died without issue, leauing his two sisters to be his heires; wherof the eldest daughter called Elisabeth, was maried to sir John Northberie, whose heire generall was maried to John Halwell of Deuonshire, who had issue Jone his daughter and heire married to Edward lord Braie, of whome the lord Cobham now liuing is descended. The other sister married to sir Hamond Belknap, of whome is descended the worthie gentleman Thomas Wotton of Bacton Maleherbe in Kent esquire now liuing. The which Rafe lord Butler of Sudleie was Vexillifer, and high Butler of England, and steward in house to king Henrie the first.

Marmaduke bishop of Carleill.

Marmaduke bishop of Carleill was made lord treasuror of England in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued about two yeares, in the seuen and twentith yere of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption 1448, or (as some haue) 1449.

James Fines lord Dale and Sele.

James Fines created at Burie baron of Dale and of Sele, on the third of March, in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption, according to the English account 1446, was constable of Douer castell, and lord treasuror of England in the eight and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the first, and was from thense remoued (as some haue) in the nine & twentith yere of the said king, & was by the rebels of Kent Jacke Cade and his felowes taken out of the tower to the Guildhall, where he was areigned before the maior and other the kings Justices; who desiring to be tried by his péeres, was by the rebels forceablie taken from the officers, and beheaded at the standard in Cheape. The maner whereof shall be more fullie set downe hereafter in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors. Which his beheading some do attribute to the eight and twentith yere of the said Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1450. He had issue sir William Fines knight, and one daughter maried to sir William Cromer knight, shiriffe of Kent, beheaded at that time also with his father inlaw. Of which Cromer is James Cromer of Kent now liuing descended.

John lord Beauchampe.

John Lord Beauchampe, a person of great worthinesse, possessed the place of the treasurorship of England, the nine and twentith and thirtith yeares of king Henrie the first.

John Tiptoft.

John Tiptoft earle of Worcester possessed the place of the lord treasuror, in the one and thirtith and two and thirtith of king Henrie the first. Of whome is more mention made hereafter.

James Butler earle of Wiltshire.

James Butler, the sonne of James earle of Ormond, being earle of Wiltshire and Ormond, possessed the office of the lord treasuror of England in Easter tearme the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1455. Of whom is more spoken hereafter.

Henrie vicount Bourchier.

Henrie vicount Bourchier, borne of the noble house of the Bourchiers, the sonne of William Bourchier earle of Ewe in Normandie, was lord treasuror of England in the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the deposed king Henrie the first, in which office he did not long remaine.

John Talbot earle of Shrewsburie.

John Talbot earle of Shrewsburie, the sonne of John Talbot, the first earle of Shrewsburie of that name, possessed the place of the treasurorship of England in the fiue and thirtith and six and thirtith yeres of king Henrie the first, and then gaue place to the earle of Wiltshire. This earle was slaine at the battell of Northampton, in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our saluation 1460. He maried Elisabeth the daughter of James Butler erle of Ormond, and had issue, John erle of Shrewesburie, James, Gilbert, Christopher, and George; Anne maried to sir Henrie Vernon, and Margaret: this man was buried in the priorie of Worksop.

James earle of Wiltshire.

James Butler, sonne to James the fourth of that name earle of Ormond, was the second time made lord treasuror of England, about the 37 yere of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued (as I suppose) in the eight & thirtith yeare of the said king. This man in the said eight and thirtith yeare of the king conueied himselfe awaie out of England into Dutchland (for feare of the nobilitie, as the duke of Yorke and others that rebelled against the king) sending backe his souldiers into England, which he had before assembled vpon the sea: but after he returned into England, and was againe put to flight at Mortimers crosse by Edward earle of March after king

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by the name of king Edward the fourth. He was made earle of Ormond in the nine and thirtith yeare and last yeare of king Henrie the first. He married Eleanor the daughter of Edmund duke of Summerset, and died without issue, being beheaded at Newcastell in the yeare one thousand foure hundred sixtie one, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth.

Henrie viscount Bourchier.

Henrie viscount Bourchier was lord treasuror of England the second time, in the nine and thirtith and last yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & sixtie. Who vpon the deposition of the said king Henrie the first by Edward the fourth, was also removed from his office.

Thomas lord Bourchier.

Thomas Bourchier, made lord treasuror of England in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred sixtie and one, continued not long in that office, but gaue place to John earle of Worcester.

John earle of Worcester.

John Tiptoft earle of Worcester, the second time possessed the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the second and third yeare of king Edward the fourth. Of whom is more spoken before by me in my treatise of the conestables of England pag. 869.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine after earle of Kent.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, the sonne of John lord Greie of Ruthine, did inioy the office of the lord treasuror ship of England, in the fourth yeare of the noble prince king Edward the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1464. This man secretlie in hart forsaking the part of king Henrie the first, for iniuries received at the same king Henries hands, aided the said Edward the fourth, and was the chiefe means whereby he attained the crowne. In Michaelmas tearme in the said fourth yeare of the king, there was a sergeants feast held in Holborne in the bishop of Elies house, to which the maior and aldermen repaired, being bidden thither. But when the maior looked to be set to kéepe the state in the hall (forgetting that he was out of his owne liberties, for the bishops palace was an exempt place) as it had béene vsed (saith Iohn Stow) in all places of the citie & liberties of the same, out of the kings presence: the lord Greie of Ruthine then treasuror of England vnknowne to the sergeants, and (against their wils as they said) was placed in the highest rome. Whereupon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed. This Edmund doth Matthew Parker, in the life of Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie, make to be treasuror in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1463: which may well inough stand with the former, being treasuror to John earle of Worcester in the said third yeare of the king. For vpon the removing of the said earle in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, came this lord Greie in place. The words of which Matthew Parker (with a note of the yeare of Christ 1463 in the margent) are in this order: *Edwardus rex, duobus iam annis fœliciter gesto regno, parliamentum Westmonasterij tenuit, quo etiã tempore archiepiscopus* (which was Thomas Bourchier the brother of Henrie Bourchier earle of Eller) *& clerus in synodo conuenerunt. In hac synodo Iohannes comes Wigorniæ, Henricus comes Essexiæ, D. Edmundus Grey thesaurarius Angliæ, D. Humfridus Cromewell, D. Wenlocke, D. Iohannes prior sancti Iohannis, & Robertus Stillington legum doctor iustos priuati sigilli, regni conciliarij, allatis literis regijs petierunt a clero decerni regi ad Scotos repellendos subsidium. Quod quidem gratissimis omnium animis tam munifico regi concessum est: qui superiori anno ecclesiæ immunitates atque iura iniquis iudiciorum calumnijs (vti in Iohanne Stafford antea diximus) conuulsa & labefactata diplomate regio restaurauit.*

Besides which, thus writeth Iohn Whethamsted, that learned abbat of saint Albons, of this lord Greie; declaring in what authoritie he was at first, in the daies of Henrie the first, and then in the reigne of Edward the fourth. His words be these. *Anno 36 H. 6. venerunt tres viri monachi de cœnobio Cluniacensi, quibus ad audiendum eorũ nuntium missi sunt episcopus Dunelmensis custos priuati sigilli, dominus Edmundus Greie de Ruthine, & secretarius regis, quibus isti viri dixerunt eorum aduentum esse ob tria. Primò ad aperiendum quomodo reges Angliæ & præcipuè Henricus secundus fuerunt tam magni benefactores ad eorum ecclesiam, vt potius pro nunc dicatur earum patronus ac præcipuus fundator. Secundò venerunt ad petendum possessionem & confirmationem bonorum illorum, quæ dicti progenitores eis contulerant, & per tempus non paucum iamdudum à manibus eorum detenta & distracta erant. Tertiò ad impetrandum liberum licentiam ad ingrediendum singula loca religiosa ab eorum cœnobio dependentia, & quæ per nobiles progenitores regis posita fuerũt sub eorum regimine. Sed nihil hic eis gratũ fuit actum, ita vt tristes discederent.* Out of the which words of Whethamsted maie other things be gathered, besides the doings of the lord Greie: as that the kings of England, and spectallie Henrie the second, haue bene great benefactors and founders of the Charterhouse monks: with manie mo matters conteined in the same, which I referre to the wise and learned reader, which made me the willinger to set downe his words so largelie.

Moreover, the same Whethamsted, continuing the historie of Henrie the first, writeth of the battell of Northampton, wherin was this lord Greie, in this sort. *In prælio Northamptonensi Edmundus Grey dominus Ruthine corpore licèt præsens* (euen as the lord Stanleie was in the battell fought betwixt Richard the third & Henrie erle of Richmond, after king by the name of Henrie the seuenth) *in campo domini regis Henrici sexti steterat, cor tamen eius non erat rectum in eo, nèq; omnino fidelis habitus aut inuentus fuit. Nam venientibus turmis dictis ad fossam circumuallationis, & ipsam nõ multum promptè propter eleuationem vertiçis in parte vlteriore ascendere valentibus, occurrit ipsis dominus cum suis copijs obuiam, porrigendoq; ipsis dextram traxit eos per manus in campum Martium, iuxta votum suum.* Thus much Whethamsted of Edmund Greie lord Ruthine, who was made earle of Kent in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464.

This Edmund Greie being lord Hastings, Wellsford, and Ruthine (before he had the honour of this earledome) did by his deed of indenture dated the 18 of November, in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1446, giue to John Pinchbecke prior of Duffield in Northamptonshire in almesse, during the life of the said prior, his field called Challocke, belonging to the manour of Challocke, to kéepe the obits of sir John Greie, father to the said sir Edmund, and of dame Cullance the widow of the earle marshall, and daughter of John Holland duke of Exceter and erle of Huntington, mother to the said sir Edmund, with masse, &c. and such other collects as the said Edmund should deuise vnto the said prior. Out of this house of the Greies haue issued manie noble houses, and those of great antiquitie, whereof at this daie there yet remaineth two honourable houses: the one being Henrie Greie earle of Kent now liuing, a man of singular estimation in the countrie of Bedford where he now liueth, as well for the nobilitie of his race, being descended of this Edmund Greie lord treasuror of England, for the good gouernment and carriage of himselfe, and for the orderlie and wise managing of the affaires of that countrie,

deserning no lesse honourable place in the commonwealth, than the honour of his race, and worthinesse of his behauiour do well merit.

The lord Greie of Wilton.

The other house at this daie in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton knight of the garter, and sometime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his seruice abrode in the feats of armes, than is the other Greie for his seruice at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some more malicioullie than trulie blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and neuer benefited by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should vse anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine euen in despite of malice. But againe to the matter. There haue out of this house of the Greies, besides manie noble houses, issued one duke of Suffolke, two marquesses of Dorset, and fiue earles of Kent.

The seuerall houses of the Greies.

Againe I thinke it not impertinent for the continuance of antiquities, and of deserts of honour, to mention how manie seuerall houses there haue bin of the nobilitie of these Greis, and in what time they liued. First there was Reignold Greie lord Greie of Codnor, in the time of king Stephan: the second was Reignold lord Greie of Rotherfield, in the time of Richard the second: the third John Greie earle of Tankeruile in Normandie, in the time of Henrie the fift: the fourth this Edmund Greie lord Ruthine earle of Kent, and treasuror of England in the time of king Edward the fourth: the fift house Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the first Edward Greie lord Lisle in the time of king Edward the fourth: the seuenth Edward Greie lord Powes, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the eight Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, in the time of Edward the first. So that there were at one time, in one kings daies, which was the time of Edward the fourth, six noble men liuing of the name of Greies, which were the marquesse Dorset, the earle of Kent, the lord Lisle, the lord Powes, the lord Greie of Wilton, and the lord Greie of Rotherfield.

The Greies right honourable.

Wherefore to draw to an end of this lord treasuror, who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord treasuror or noble name besides (for manie priuat reasons which I reserue to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors of England, and knit vp this Edmund Greie lord treasuror with the marieng of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue George Greie earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert baron of Greistocke; and Anne maried to John lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Walter Blunt knight

Sir Walter Blunt knight, who was the first lord Montioie, possessed the place of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, which fell in the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine 1465. Of this man is mention made in the booke of the law called Long Quinto of Edward the fourth. He maried the daughter of one Dirham, and had issue, William, John, and James.

Sir Richard Woduile.

Sir Richard Woduile knight, chamberleine to the king, and constable of England, was made baron on the ninth of Maie in the second yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1424, and was after created earle Riuers in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1465, who thus aduanced was after lord treasuror in the first, seuenth, & eight of Edward the fourth. In which eight yeare of Edward the fourth, Thomas Cooke late maior of London, was accused of treason and arreigned for the same. Who after that he had beene manie times purged thereof, was yet at last found giltie, and by this lord Riuers then lord treasuror so handled, as that he could not be deliuered vntill he had paied eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred to the queene. This lord treasuror maried Iaquet the widow of John duke of Bedford, daughter to Peter of Lucenburgh earle of S. Paule, by whom he had issue Richard earle Riuers, Antonie lord Scales in the right of his wife, Edward Woduile knight slaine at the battell of S. Albine in Britaine in the third yeare of Henrie the seuenth: Lionell bishop of Salisburie, Margaret maried to Thomas erle of Arundell, Margaret maried to William Herbert erle of Huntington, Anne first maried to William Bucher erle of Esser and after to George Greie erle of Kent; Iaquet maried to John lord Strange, Elisabeth maried to sir John Greie yonger sonne to the lord Greie of Ruthine, and after the death of the said sir John Greie to king Edward the fourth: and Katharine maried to Henrie duke of Buckingham. Besides all which I haue read of one John, which was sonne to this earle Riuers, which John maried the old duchesse of Norfolke, & was beheaded with his father: the truth whereof I leaue to further triall. This Richard erle Riuers the lord treasuror in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1469, was by Robert Hiltard, who named himselfe Robert of Ridesdale, taken in the forrest of Dene as some haue, others saie at Grafton, and from thence brought to Northampton, where he was beheaded.

John Longstrother

John Longstrother, prior of saint Johns Jerusalem in England, possessed the place of the lord treasuror of the realme, in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nine, for in the same yeare he gaue place to the bishop of Elie.

William Bu bishop of El

William Greie bishop of Elie, was after the translation of Thomas Burcher from Eke to Canturburie, aduanced to that see by Nicholas the fift then bishop of Rome, who gaue it to the said William being then procurator for king Henrie the first at Rome, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure. This man was lord treasuror in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare in which God became man one thousand foure hundred three score and nine, in which office he continued (as I gather) vntill the eleuenth of king Edward the fourth, or thereabouts. This Greie was borne of the noble house of the lord Greies of Codnor, as saith Bale, and trauelled into Italie to atteine great learning, where he heard the noble clerke Guarinus Veronensis read in Ferraria. He continued bishop of Elie foure and twentie yeares, eleuen moneths and two daies, departing this life at Dunham the fourth of August, in the yere that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine, one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, as I haue red; and was buried at Elie betweene two marble pillers, hauing bestowed great summes of monie vpon the reparation of that famous belfrie of the church of Elie, and vpon other ornaments of the same church.

Henrie Bu cher.

Henrie Bourcher erle of Esser did the third time possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuror of England, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, in which office he continued (as I gather) about twelue yeares, being all the rest of the life of the said Edward the fourth, who departed this world about the ninth daie of Aprill, in the yeare from the conception of the Messiah one thousand foure

foure hundred foure score and three, which Bourchier being made earle of Eller in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1461, maried Elisabeth the daughter of Richard de Conisburgh earle of Cambridge the sister of Richard duke of Yorke, by whome he had issue William lord Bourchier, Thomas, John, Henrie, and Humfreie knights.

Sir Richard Wood.

Sir Richard Wood knight, whome some call sir John Wood, being before vnder treasurer in the three and twentith yeare of king Edward the fourth, was in the same yeare of the same king made knight, about a moneth before the death of the said king Edward the fourth. This man did possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England (as I gather out of the record of *Pellis exitus* of that yeare) in the second yeare of the reigne of the vnnaturall, bloudie, and vsurping tyrant king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1484, which office I suppose that he kept, vntill the said Richard the third was slaine by Henrie earle of Richmond afterwards king of England, by the name of Henrie the 7. And here I thinke it not amisse before I go anie further (although it be somewhat out of order, sith it is best to obserue *Decorum*, and vnorderlie to treat of vnorderlie officers vnder such an vnorderlie king as Richard the third was) to make report of sir William Hopton knight, whome some will haue to be treasurer in the first yeare of the reigne of the same king, in the yeare of Christ 1483, attending on him to his coronation. But trulie, sauing the correction of better séene antiquaries than my selfe, I can not as yet receiue him into the catalog of the lord treasurers of England, but rather suppose that he was treasurer of the houshold.

Sir William Hopton.

Sir Reinold Bzaie knight.

Sir Reinold Bzaie knight (the sonne of Richard Bzaie physician as some haue noted to king Henrie the first) being seruant to Margaret countesse of Richmond mother to Henrie the seuenth, was for the fidelitie to his ladie, & good seruice in furthering king Henrie the seuenth to the crowne, received into great fauour with the said king, and made lord treasurer of England, as appeareth by the record of *Pellis exitus* made vnder his name in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand, foure hundred, eightie, and fiue: besides which office he had manie other offices and honours, part whereof were, that he was treasurer of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to K. Henrie the seuenth, that he was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blacke heath field. He died the eightéenth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred & three, and was honorablie buried at Windsore.

Sir John Dinham knight.

Sir John Dinham knight (the sonne of sir John Dinham knight) a faithfull seruant to the house of Yorke aswell in aiding the duke of Yorke, as in seruing king Edward the fourth sonne to the said duke of Yorke; to whom the said Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of his reigne had giuen one annuitie of fortie pounds by yeare, did after the death of the said king Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and six, and so continued vntill in the sixtéenth yéere of king Henrie the seuenth, and then gaue place to Thomas earle of Surreie, of which lord Dinham thus writeth Leland: *Diminus Denham primus fuit fundator sancti Nicholai alias Hortland.* He was created lord Dinham in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, shortlie after the coronation of the said king, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one, he died in the sixtenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, and the thirtith of Januarie was brought to the Greie friers in London; there buried: he maried Elisabeth the daughter of the lord Fitzwater, by whom he had issue George and Philip, and sir Thomas Dinham his base sonne that maried one of the daughters and heires of sir John Dymond, which Thomas was buried at Alhzug three miles from Berkhamsted. Besides which children this lord Dinham or Denham, for so I find both written in chronicles, had by his legitimat wife diuerse daughters, which were Margaret maried to Nicholas baron of Carew, Joane maried to the lord Touch, Elisabeth maried to the lord Fitz Warren, and Katharine maried to sir Thomas Arundell of Cornewall knight.

Here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of a note which I haue séene, that maketh John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer, which note is this. John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer of England, died the six and twentith date of December, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and ten, falling in the first yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, and had issue James lord Audelie beheaded the eight and twentith of June, in the yeare of Christ 1497, being the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, he maried the daughter of sir Richard Dauell knight: thus much the note. But trulie for anie thing I can yet learne, I can not perceiue when this John Touchet should be treasurer, and so cannot perceiue where he should be placed in this catalog of the treasurers of England. But as I will not receiue him into anie place of this succession at this time; so I will not altogither reiect him, in hope that following time will informe me of the truth therein.

Thomas Howard erle of Surreie.

Thomas Howard the sonne of John lord Howard (created the first duke of Norffolke of that name in the time of Richard the third) was at the same time also created earle of Surreie. This man (after the slaughter of his father at Bosworth field, when the tyrant Richard the third was slaine by Henrie the seuenth) was after receiued into such fauour with the said king Henrie the seuenth, that he was aduanced to be lord treasurer of England, in the sixtenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred, which place he continued all the life of the said king Henrie the seuenth, who died in the foure and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and nine. After which for the good seruice he vsed in the time of Henrie the seuenth, king Henrie the eight also permitted him to keepe that office, which he possessed vntill the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three.

This man was created duke of Norffolke on Candelmasse daie, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and thirtéene, at what time also his son Thomas Howard was made earle of Surreie. This duke was aduanced to that honour (in recompense of the death of the king of Scots, and for the good seruice that he did against that nation in the said fift yeare of Henrie the eight) with an augmentation of his armes, to beare the armes of Scotland in the bend of the arms of Howard. Touching which victorie and death of the king of Scots Buchanan *lib.* 13. writeth to this effect, that the said Thomas Howard (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants his cognisance (to weare on their left arme) being a white lion (the beast which he bare before as the proper

ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes. This Thomas duke of Norffolke maried two wiues; his first wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Frederike Tilneie knight, by whom he had issue Thomas erle of Surreie after duke of Norffolke, Edward slaine at Bret admerall of England, & Edmund Howard, with Elisabeth maried to Thomas Bullene earle of Wilshire, and Muriell married to John Greie viscount Lisle. His second wife was Agnes daughter of sir Philip Tilneie knight, by whome he had issue William lord Howard of Effingham, with manie others. This Thomas duke of Norffolke died in the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke.

Thomas Howard.

Thomas Howard (sonne to the said Thomas duke of Norffolke) being earle of Surreie, possessed the place of the lord treasuror in the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare that Christ toke flesh of the virgine Marie one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three: the which office he continued in the eight and thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six; in which yeare on the eight and twentith of Januarie, the said king Henrie died (so that this duke and his father were lord treasurors of England almost eight and fortie yeares.) But about some few daies more than a moneth before the death of the said king, that is to saie, on the twelfe of December, this duke with his sonne Henrie earle of Surreie were committed to the tower, the one by water the other by land. Shortlie after which the said Henrie was beheaded at tower hill, the ninetœnth daie of Januarie: about nine daies before the death of the king. And the duke remained as condemned to perpetuall prison, till the beginning of the reigne of quœne Marie, who then set him at libertie. He married for his first wife Anne the daughter of king Edward the fourth, but had no issue by hir: after whose death he married Elisabeth daughter to Edward duke of Buckingham, by whome he had issue, Henrie earle of Surreie beheaded as before, Thomas vicount Bindon, and Marie married to Henrie Fitzroie duke of Richmont. He died about the beginning of the reigne of quœne Marie.

Edward Seimor.

Edward Seimor earle of Hertford was after the death of king Henrie the eight made lord treasuror of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the first: being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie & six, in which yeare he was also made protector of England and duke of Summerset: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, calling him *Regni camerarium*, in the life of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie in these words page 397. *In testamento* (meaning king Henrie the eight) *Edwardo principi minori nouem annis nato hæredi suo sexdecim tutores, ex episcopis solos Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & Cutbertum Tonstallum Dunelmensem episcopum dedit.* And a little after pag. 398. followeth: *Verum pluribus (vt diximus) ei minori* (that was king Edward) *a patre constitutis curatoribus, ne numero suo atque multitudine ad dissentiones faciles essent & proclines vnus electus est, qui ex consilijs reliquorum impuberis regis tutelam solus administraret. Is fuit Edwardus Seimerus comes Hertfordiensis, totius regni camerarius regisque auunculus. Qui suscepta tutela regis, totius regni atque dominiorum suorum protector & Somerseti dux nuncupatus atque creatus est.* This duke of Summerset being treasuror of England continued in the same office vntill his death (as I gather) more than foure years, and was beheaded in the fift yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one.

Sir William Paulet.

Sir William Paulet knight, marquesse of Winchester was made lord treasuror vpon the death of the duke of Summerset: in the fift yeare of king Edward the first, and the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, which office he kept by the space of twentie yeares and more: a longer time than euer anie other treasuror had done before, except the two last dukes of Norffolke. This man being a man of extreme age (as atteining to the yeares of ninetie seuen) died lord treasuror of England (the tenth of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the famous quœne Elisabeth) at his manor of Basing. He in his life time did see the children of his children children growne to the number of one hundred and three, a rare blessing of God to men of his calling. He married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Capell knight, by whome he had issue John marquesse of Winchester, Thomas, Chidiocke, and Giles; Alice married to Richard Stowell, Margaret married to sir William Berkeleie, Margerie married to Richard Waller, and Eleanor married to sir Richard Peckshall.

Sir William Cecill.

Sir William Cecill knight of the garter and lord Burghleie, was aduanced to the honorable place of lord treasuror of England on the thirtéenth daie of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, fiue hundred, seauentie and two, being the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of our gratious quœne Elisabeth. This man was descended of the honorable familie of the Sitsylts of Wales, sometime lords of Beaupor in the daies of Henrie the first, as appeareth by this pedegrée here inserted.

D. Powell *in hist. Cambr. pa. 142, 143, &c.*

Robert Sitsylt.

1 In the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and one, Robert Sitsylt came with Robert Fitzhamon to the conquest of the countrie of Glamorgan, and after wedded a ladie, by whom he had Halterennes and other lands in Hereford and Glocestershires: he had a sonne called James Sitsylt.

James Sitsylt.

2 James Sitsylt toke part with Pawd the empresse against king Stephan, and was slaine at the siege of the castell of Wallingford *Anno quarto Stephani*, hauing then vpon him a vesture, whereon was wrought in needle worke his armes or ensignes, as they be made on the tome of Gerald Sitsylt in the abbeie of Doze, which are afterward trulie blazed, in a iudgement giuen by commission of king Edward the third, for the ancient right of the same armes. This James had a sonne called John Sitsylt, and foure daughters.

John Sitsylt.

3 John Sitsylt, the sonne of James, was after the death of his father, in the same warres with Roger earle of Hereford, and constable of England, and being taken prisoner at the siege of Lincolne, *Anno. 6. Stephani*, he paid for his ransome foure hundred marks, and therefore sold his lordship of Beaupor, and all his lands in the countie of Glocester: he toke to wife a ladie called Pawd de Frenes and had issue Eustace.

Eustace Sitsylt.

4 Eustace Sitsylt the son of John was wedded to Elianor the daughter of sir Walter Pembridge knight, and had by hir Baldwin and John; and foure daughters, whereof one of them was the wife of sir Thomas Fitzneale knight.

Baldwin Sitsylt.

5 Baldwin Sitsylt the sonne of Eustace, was made knight by king Henrie the second, in the warres that the king had against the Welchmen, he was also killed in the same warres, at the siege of the castell of Cardiffe, his father being aliue; he toke to wife the daughter of Maurice de Bromptton, and had by hir Gerald Sitsylt, Eustace Sitsylt, Henrie

Henrie Sitsylt, John Sitsylt, and Walter Sitsylt; and two daughters, Catharine and Elianor. Catharine was the wife of Hugh Wuredake, and Elianor was the wife of Walter Wallis. This Baldwin Sitsylt knight toke to his second wife, Margerie the daughter of Stephan Radnor knight, and had by hir, Stephan Sitsylt, Roger Sitsylt, Hugh Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt; and three daughters, the first was Dawd and she was a Nun, the second was Jone and she was the wife of John de Solers, the third daughter Anne was the wife of Owen ap Meredith. This man gaue certeine lands in the townelhip of Rigestone, vnto the monks of Dore, and granted vnto the same monks fréedome of common and pasture, and other liberties in his woods.

Gerald Sitsylt.

6 Gerald Sitsylt, the first sonne of Baldwin Sitsylt knight, toke to wife Mabill the daughter of Sir William Moigne knight, and had by hir three sonnes, Gerald Sitsylt that died a child, Robert Sitsylt that married and had children, and Owen Sitsylt a monke of the abbeie of Dore. He had also three daughters, Catharine, that was wedded to sir Griffin ap Rosefod, and after to Dauid ap Euan, and the third time to Geffreie de Bret, sonne of sir Walter Bret knight. Anne the second daughter of Gerald Sitsylt was wedded to Robert the sonne of Richard Bromewich. And Ellen the third daughter of Gerald Sitsylt, was the wife of John Abrahall, father of sir John Abrahall knight.

Robert Sitsylt.

7 Robert Sitsylt, the sonne of Gerald toke to wife Alicia daughter of sir Robert Tregois knight, and had by hir James Sitsylt his first sonne, Gerald the second sonne, Thomas the third sonne, and Baldwin the fourth sonne; and Margaret the first daughter, and Elisabeth the second daughter.

James Sitsylt.

8 James Sitsylt the sonne of Robert, toke to wife Isabell the daughter of sir John Knell knight, and had by hir James and Gerald twins; James died yong: he had also Robert Sitsylt, and John Sitsylt; and fiue daughters, that is to saie, Alicia wedded to Walter Monington, Grace wedded to Roger sonne of William Blunt, Elianor wedded to Thomas Paine, Margerie wedded to Morgan ap Meredith, and Sibie married to Howell ap Blethin, and after to sir Hugh Bruge.

Gerald Sitsylt.

9 Gerald Sitsylt, sonne of James, toke to wife Margaret, daughter of Stephan Dalaber, and by hir had John Sitsylt; and after he wedded Bridget the widow of sir Simon Ward knight, and had by hir James Sitsylt, and the third time married the daughter of Martine Hopton, and had by hir Martine Sitsylt, Henrie Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt, and Jone a daughter. And the fourth time the same Gerald Sitsylt toke to wife Jane the daughter of Robert Emerton, and had by hir one sonne named Stigand Sitsylt, that was slaine in the warres of Striuelin in the time of king Edward the second, and had no issue, as the register of the abbie of Dore maketh mention.

Chron. de Dor. John Sitsylt.

10 John Sitsylt, the sonne of Gerald, toke to wife Sibill the daughter of Robert of Ewyas, and had by hir sir John Sitsylt knight, George Sitsylt, and a daughter named Margaret, that was the wife of sir Robert Baskeruile knight, who had by hir sir John Baskeruile knight; and by his second wife he had sir Richard Baskeruile knight, that toke to wife Jane the daughter and heire of George Sitsylt second sonne of this John Sitsylt, and had by hir sir John Baskeruile knight.

Sir John Sitsylt.

11 Sir John Sitsylt knight, toke to wife Alicia, the sister of the said sir Roger Baskeruile, and sir Roger married his sister, as is afore said. This sir John Sitsylt had John Sitsylt and Roger Sitsylt.

✻ In the time of the warres that king Edward the third made against Scotland, at a place called Halidon hill nére Barwike anno 6. of Edward the third, there arose a great variance and contention betweene sir William de Facknaham knight, on the one side appellant, & this sir John Sitsylt knight, on the other side defendant, for an ensigne of armes, that is to saie; The field of ten barrets siluer and azure, supported of fiue scutcheons sable charged with so manie lions of the first rampants incensed geuls, which ensigne both the parties did claime as their right. But as both parties put themselues to their force to mainteine their quarrell, and vaunted to mainteine the same by their bodies; it pleased the king that iustice should be yelded for triall of the quarrell, without shedding of bloud: and so the bearing of the ensigne was solemnelie adiudged to be the right of the said sir John Sitsylt, as heire of blod lineallie descended of the bodie of Iames Sitsylt, lord of Beaupart slaine at the siege of Wallingford, as before is declared. The finall order and determination of which controuersie is laid downe by John Boswell gentleman, in his booke intituled The concords of Armorie, fol. 80. This sir John Sitsylt had a charge of men at arms, for the custodie of the marches to Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the third. D. Powell.

John Sitsylt.

12 John Sitsylt, the sonne of sir John Sitsylt knight, toke to wife Jone daughter of sir Richard Monington knight, and had by hir John Sitsylt (that died, his father being aliue) and Thomas Sitsylt.

Thomas Sitsylt.

13 Thomas Sitsylt married Margaret the daughter and heire of Gilbert de Winston, and had by hir Philip Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt. This man was a great benefactor to the monks of Dore, and forgaue them great sums of monie which they did owe him.

Philip Sitsylt.

14 Philip Sitsylt married Margaret, the daughter of John Philips, and had by hir Richard, John, and Margaret.

Richard Sitsylt.

15 Richard Sitsylt or Cecill married Margaret the daughter of Philip Vaughan, and had by hir Philip Cecill, Margaret Cecill, John Cecill, Dauid Cecill, and James or Jenkin Cecill.

✻ These pedegrées & descents I gathered faithfullie out of sundrie ancient records and euidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with seales autentike thereunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth therof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable sir William Cecill, knight of the noble order of the garter, lord Burghleie, and lord high treasuror of England, who is lineallie descended from the last recited Richard Sitsylt, father to Dauid Cecill, grandfather to the said sir William Cecill now lord Burghleie. And at this date William Sitsylt or Cecill esquier cosen german to the said lord Burghleie, remoued by one degrée onelie, is possessed of the foresaid house of Halterennes in Ewyas land as the heire male of the house of Sitsylts, and is descended of Philip Cecill, elder brother to the said Dauid. D. Powell.

The descent of sir William Cecill now lord treasuror.

This sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, liuing at this instant in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, fiue hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, doth worthilie inioy the place of the lord treasuror of England, of whome (for auoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that good which we the subiects of England do féele by his meanes, and all the world doth sée in his rare and wise gouernment. And therefore leauing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countriemen, as well Fr. Thin.

for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almightie Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting vp this discourse of the treasurors, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie in that their age: this being knowne as singular in policie as the other was supposed to be in prelacie, I here set end to that which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of purse, I haue brought to this forme what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thin touching the treasurors of England.]

The earle of Northumberland beheaded.

The 22 of August Thomas Persie earle of Northumberland late of Topclife, who had beene before attainted by parlement of high treason, as one of the principall conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had fled, was beheaded at Yorke about two of the clocke in the afternoone, on a new scaffold set vp for that purpose in the market place. In this moneth of August sir Thomas Smith, one of the quéenes maiesties priuie councell, carefullie tendering the reformation of Ireland, sent his son Thomas Smith esquier thither with a certeine number of Englishmen to inhabit the Ards in Vlster, after the maner of a colonie vsed by the Romans.

Englishmen sent to Vlster in Ireland.

Anno Reg. 15

A strange star appeared; the bignesse therof, and of what continuance.

The eightéenth of Nouember in the morning was séene a star northward verie bright and cléere, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the backe of hir chaire, which with thrée chéefe fired stars of the said constellation made a geometricall figure lozengwise, of the learned men called Rhombus. This starre in bignes at the first appéering séemed bigger than Iupiter, & not much lesse than Venus when she séemeth greatest. Also the said starre neuer changing his place, was caried about with the dailie motion of heauen, as all fired starres commonlie are, and so continued (by little and little to the eie appearing lesse) for the space of almost sixtéene moneths: at what time it was so small, that rather thought by exercises of oft vewing might imagine the place, than anie eie could iudge the présence of the same. And one thing is herein chéefelie to be noted, that (by the skill and consent of the best and most expert mathematicians, which obserued the state, propertie, and other circumstances belonging to the same starre) it was found to haue béene in place celestiall far aboue the moone, otherwise than euer anie comet hath béene séene, or naturallie can apéere. Therefore it is supposed that the signification therof is directed purposelie and speciallie to some matter, not naturall, but celestiall, or rather superceleſtiall, so strange, as from the beginning of the world neuer was the like.

Earle of Darbie deceased.

The foure and twentith of Nouember Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanleie, & Strange, of Knocking, lord and gouernor of the Iles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the quéens maiesties priuie councell deceased at his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death deseruing commendation, and crauing memorie to be imitated, was such as followeth. His fidelitie vnto two kings and two quéenes in dangerous times and great rebellions, in which time, and alwaies as cause serued, he was lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and latelie offered ten thousand men vnto the quéenes maiestie of his owne charge for the suppression of the last rebellion. His godlie disposition to his tenants, neuer forcing anie seruice at their hands, but due paiment of their rent. His liberalitie to strangers, and such as shewed themselues

The life and death of the foresaid earle of Darbie.

gratefull to him. His famous housekéeping, and cleuen score in checkroll, neuer discontinuing the space of twelue yeares. His féeding especiallie of aged persons twise a daie thrée score and od; besides all commers thrise a weéke appointed for his dealing daies; and euerie god fridaie three fiue and thirtie yeares one with another two thousand seauen hundred, with meat, drinke, monie, and monie worth. There was neuer gentleman or other that waited in his seruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwise for horsse and man. His yerlie portion for the expenses of his house foure thousand pounds. His cunning in setting bones dislocated or broken, his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore, his deliuerie of the George and seale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might kéepe it so vnspotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had, and his zeale that he died in the quéenes fauour. His ioifull parting this world, his taking leaue of all his seruants by shaking of hands, & his remembrance to the last daie.

Rare qualities in a noble man.

Hall and Wilkinson executed.

The eight and twentith of Nouember John Hall late of Battell in Sussex gentleman, and Oswold Wilkinson late of Yorke and gaoler of Yorke castell (being before arreigned and condemned of treason) were drawne from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

Great frost and a sharpe winter.

This yéere a great and sharpe frost almost continuallie lasted, from before the feast of All saints, till after the feast of the Epiphanie of our Lord, with sometime great and déepe snowes, and sometime raines, which freésed as fast as the same fell to the ground: whereby through at Wrotham in Kent, and manie other places, the armes and boughs of trées being ouercharged with ise, brake off, and fell from the stockes of the same trées. Also the wind continued north and east, till after the Ascension daie, with sharpe frosts and snowes, whereby followed a late spring.

1573.

Lord priuie seale deceased.

The twelfe of Januarie William lord Howard, baron of Effingham, lord priuie seale, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the priuie councell deceased at Hampton court.

Earle of Worcester sent into France.

The eightéenth of Januarie William lord Sommerset earle of Worcester began his iourneie towards France, to the christening of the kings daughter there in stead of the quéenes maiestie of England, who sent with him a font of gold for that purpose, weieng thrée hundred and six and twentie ounces.

Earle of Worcester robbed on the sea.

The said earle with manie of his companie were robbed vpon the sea by pirats of much of their baggage, and thrée or foure of their men slaine. In France he and his traine were honorablie receiued. At the christening he gaue the child to name Elisabeth. They returned into England the seauen and twentith of Februarie.

The narrow seas scowred.

In the moneth of Februarie, thorough sundrie heinous complaints brought to the quéenes maiestie and hir councell of pirats that kept the narrow seas, doing manie robberies, as also the robbing of the earle of Worcester (as is aforesaid) hir highnesse, by the aduise of hir honourable councell, tooke order with the lord admerall of England, that he should send to the seas, ships and men to scowre the narow seas, & to apprehend so manie pirats ships as might be met with. And for the better doing thereof, it pleased hir maiestie to send one of hir owne ships, named the Swallow to be the admerall, vnder the charge of William Holstocke of London esquier, comptrollor of hir highnesse ships, who had with him the Gillian, the barke Garet, and the barke of Yarmouth, and thrée hundred and thrée score able marriners, gunners, and souldiors in the said thrée ships, and one barke which scowred the narrow seas, from the north foreland, as farre westward as Falmouth in Cornewall, and tooke twentie ships and barks of sundrie

sundrie nations, to wit, English, French, and Flemings (but all pirats) and in fashion of warre. He apprehended in those ships and barks to the number of nine hundred men of all nations, and sent them toward to Sandwich, Douer, Wight, and Portesmouth (whereof three of them that robbed the earle of Worcester were shortlie after executed at Wight.) Also the said William Holstocke did rescue and take from the aboue said pirats ships, fifteene other merchants ships laden with merchandize, that were their prises, being of sundrie nations, and set at libertie the said fifteene merchants ships and goods: which done, he returned to Portesmouth, and there ended his voiage in March.

Pirats on the east seas.

Pirats executed.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chains in saint Georges field beyond Southworke of London, for murthering the gailor of Horsham in the same field. The seuentéenth of March deceassed Reinold Greie of Ruthin, earle of Kent, at Herneseie, and was buried at saint Giles without Creplegate. About the same time died Edmund lord Shandois.

A man hanged in saint Georges field.

The earle of Kent deceased.

Rare qualities in a noble man.

The fiue and twentith of March being wednesdaie in Easter weeke, and the feast of the Annuntiation of our ladie, George Browne cruellie murthered two honest men neere to Shoters hill in Kent, the ons of them was a wealthie merchant of London named George Sanders, the other John Beane of Woolwich, which murther was committed in manner as followeth. On tuesdaie in Easter weeke (the foure and twentith of March) the said George Browne receiuing secret intelligence by letter from mistresse Anne Dzurie, that master Sanders should lodge the same night at the house of one master Barnes in Woolwich, and from thense go on fot to saint Marie Craie; the next morning he laie in wait for him by the waie, a little from Shoters hill, and there slue both him & John Beane seruant to master Barnes. But John Beane hauing ten or eleuen wounds, & being left for dead, by Gods prouidence did reuiue againe: and créeping awaie on all foure, was found by an old man and his maiden, and conueied vnto Woolwich, where he gaue euident marks of the murtherer.

George Sanders murthered at Shoters hill.

Hall and Wilkinson executed.

Discourse of the murther practised and committed.

Great frost and a sharpe winter.

1573.

Lord priuie seale deceased.

Earle of Worcester sent into France.

Immediatlie vpon the déed doing, Browne sent mistresse Dzurie word thereof by Roger Clement (among them called truslie Roger) he himselfe repaired forthwith to the court at Grenewich, & anon after him came thither the report of the murther also. Then departed he thense vnto London, and came to the house of mistresse Dzurie, where though he spake not personallie with hir, after conference had with hir seruant truslie Roger, she prouided him twentie pounds that same daie, for the which she laid certeine plate of hir owne, & of mistresse Sanders to gage. On the next morning being thursdaie (hauing intelligence that Browne was sought for) they sent him six pounds more by the same Roger, warning him to shift for himselfe by flight, which thing he forbare not to do. Neuertheless, the lords of the queens maiesties councell caused so spéedie and narrow search to be made for him, that vpon the eight and twentith of the same moneth he was apprehended in a mans house of his owne name at Rochester and being brought backe againe to the court, was examined by the councell: vnto whome he confessed the déed (as you haue heard) and that he had oftentimes before pretended and sought to do the same, by the instigation of the said mistresse Dzurie, who had promised to make a marriage betweene him and mistresse Sanders (whome he seemed to loue excessiuelie) neuertheless he protested (though vntrulie) that mistresse Sanders was not priuie nor consenting thereunto.

Roger Clement alias truslie Roger.

Earle of Worcester robbed on the sea.

Browne the murtherer reuiued with wine.

The narrow seas fenced.

He confesseth his offence vpon his examination.

Upon his confession he was arreigned at the kings bench in Westminster hall the eighteenth of Aprill, where he acknowledged himselfe guiltie, and was condemned as principall of the murther, according to which sentence he was executed in Smithfield, on mondaie the twentith of Aprill: at which time also vntrulie (as he him selfe confessed afterward) he laboured by all meanes to cleere mistresse Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him, and then flung himselfe beside the ladder. He was after hanged vp in chains neere vnto the place where he had done the fact. In the meane time mistresse Dzurie and hir man being examined, as well by their owne confessions, as by falling out of the matter, and also by Brownes appeachment thought culpable, were committed to ward. And after mistresse Sanders being deliuered of child, and churched (for at the time of hir husbands death she loked presentlie to lie downe) was vpon mistresse Dzuries mans confession, and other great likelihods, likewise committed to the tower, and on wednesdaie the first of Maie she was arreigned with mistresse Dzurie at the Guildhall.

George Browne hanged in Smithfield, and afterward in chains on Shooters hill.

The effect of their indictment was, that they by a letter written had béene procurers of the said murther: & knowing the murther done, had by monie & otherwise reléeued the murtherer: wherevnto they pleaded not giltie. Howbeit they were both condemned as accessaries to master Sanders death, and executed in Smithfield the thirteenth of Maie, being wednesdaie in Whitsunweeke, at which time they both confessed themselues guiltie of the fact. Truslie Roger mistresse Dzuries man was arreigned on fridaie the eight of Maie, & being there condemned as accessarie, was executed with his mistresse at the time and place aforesaid. Not long after, Anthonie Browne brother to the foresaid George Browne, was for notable felonies conueied from Newgate to Yorke, and there hanged.

Anne Sanders, Anne Dzurie, and truslie Roger hanged in Smithfield.

Anthonie Browne hanged at Yorke.

The tenth of Aprill seauen pirats which among others had béene taken on the north seas, were lead from Southworke to Wapping, and fiue of them were there hanged: the other two had their pardon at the gallowes. The seauentéenth of Aprill a chandelers wife without Aldersgate of London, who had practised hir husbands death by poisoning and otherwise, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with three other women, who had béene of hir counsell: two of them were with hir there whipped.

Pirats hanged at Wapping.

Foure women on the pillorie.

The seauenth of June, betweene the houres of one and two of the clocke in the after none, a great tempest of haile and raine happened at Tocester in Northamptonshire, wherethrough six houses in that towne were borne downe, and foureteene more sore perished with the waters which rose of that tempest. The hailstones were square, & six inches about. One child was there drowned, and manie sheepe with other cattell, which when the water was fallen, manie of them were lieng on the high hedges, where the waters had left them. The sixteenth of June, Thomas Woodhouse, a priest of Lincolnshire, who had laine long prisoner in the Fleet, was arreigned in the Guildhall of London, and there condemned of high treason, who had iudgement to be hanged and quartered, and was executed at Tiburne the nineteenth of June.

Haile in Northamptonshire.

Thomas woodhouse.

The sixteenth of August, Walter earle of Essex, accompanied with the lord Rich, and diuerse other gentlemen, imbarked themselues in seuerall ships at Leirpole, and the wind sitting verie well, tooke their voiage towards Ireland. The earle after manie and great dangers on the sea, at length wone Copemans Iland, from whence in a pinnesse of capteine Perses he was brought safe to Knockfergus. The lord Rich with the like danger landed at castell Kil-

Erle of Essex and the lord Rich with other sailed into Ireland.

life,

life, where being met by capteine Malbie, maister Smith, & maister Moze pensioners, he was conducted to Inchabbate maister Malbies house, where he had in a readinesse on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horsemen for their safegard to Knockfergus, beside fiftie Kerns which went a foot through the woods: there was among these a thirtie bowes with a bagpipe, the rest had darts. Sir Brian Makephelin had preied the countrie, and taken awaie what was to be carried or driuen, but on the first of September he came to Knockfergus, to the earle of Esser, and there made his submission: the number of kine were esteemed thirtie thousand, besides sheepe and swine.

Bowes, bagpipes & darts among the Irish.

After him Ferdorough Macgillaspicke the blind Scots sonne, Roze, Oge, Macwilline did the like: and diuerse other sent their messengers to the earle, to signifie that they were at his lordships disposition as the baron of Dongarrow, Condenell, Odonell, and the capteine of Kilulto. The earle of Esser hauing the countrie of Clantboie and other, the queens maiestie of England directed hir letters to the lord deputie of Ireland, willing him to make by commission the earle of Esser capteine generall of the Irish nation in the prouince of Ulster, and to diuide the countrie woone, Clantboie, and elsewhere, &c. The eleuenth of October, Peter Burchet gentleman of the middle temple, with his dagger suddenlie assailed, cruellie wounded, and meant to haue murthered a seruiceable gentleman named John Hawkins esquier, as he with sir William Winter, and an other gentleman rode towards Westminster, in the high street neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London: for which fact the said Burchet being apprehended and commited to the tower, was afterward examined concerning the fact. Who answered that he toke the said maister Hawkins for an other gentleman: and being further examined, he was found to hold certeine erronious opinions, for the which he was sent to the Lollards tower.

Erle of Esser capteine generall of Ulster in Ireland.

Peter Burchet wounded maister Hawkins.

Peter Burchet found to be an heretike.

From thence being called into the consistorie of Paules church, before the right reuerend father Edwine bishop of London, and others, & by them examined, he stood in his opinions, till the sentence of death as an heretike was readie to haue beene pronounced against him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earnest persuasions of diuerse learned men, who toke great paines in that matter, he renounced, forswore, and abiured his opinions for erronious & damnable, promising neuer to returne to them, and also willinglie to doo and performe all such penance as the bishop his ordinarie should inioine him.

Peter Burchet abiured his heresie, & submitted himselfe to doo penance.

The ninth of Nouember, the said Peter Burchet was remoued from the Lollards tower, to the tower of London, where on the next morrow about none, whilest one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doore after him, leauing an other with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking vp and downe in the chamber, toke a billets end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had striken him starke dead: for the which on the next morrow he was arreigned & condemned at Westminster, and then returned to Summerset house, where he remained that night: and on the next morrow being the twelfe of Nouember, he was brought to the gibet, where (after his right hand being striken off, and nailed to the gibbet) he was hanged nigh the place where hee wounded maister Hawkins. This yeare about Lammas, wheat was sold at London for three shillings the bushell: but shortlie after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, six shillings: & before Christmas to a noble, and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twentie pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price, all kind of salt fish verie deare, as fiue herings two pence, &c: yet great plentie of fresh fish, and oft times the same verie cheape: peasе at foure shillings the bushell, otemeale at foure shillings eight pence: bate salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of anie thing to them that wanted not monie.

Peter Burchet hanged.

Anno Reg. 16.

Dearth without scarsitie, & afterwards plentie to them that had monie.

The fourth of Aprill being Palme sundaie, there was taken saieng of masse in the lord Mozleis house within Algate of London, one Albon Dalman priest, and the ladie Mozleie with hir children, and diuerse others were also taken hearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same date and houre for saieng masse at the ladie Gilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliuer Heiwood priest: and for hearing of the said masse, the said ladie Gilford with diuerse other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the ladie Browns house in Cowlane for saieng masse, one Thomas Heiwood priest, and one John Cowper priest, with the ladie Browne, and diuers other were likewise taken being hearers of the said masse. All which persons were for the same offenses indicted, conuicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case prouided. There was also found in their seuerall chapels, diuerse Latine bookes, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pixes, pares, and such like.

1574

Priests saieng masse apprehended.

The ninth of Julie at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet besids Ramesgate, in the parish of saint Peter vnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shot himselfe on shore, where for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land. The length of this fish was twentie two yards, the nether law twelue foot the opening: one of his eies, being taken out of his head, was more than six horsse in a cart could draw, a man stood vpright in the place from whence the eie was taken. The thicknesse from the backe whereon he laie, to the top of his bellie (which was vpward) was foureteene foot, his taile of the same breadth: betweene his eies twelue foot, three men stood vpright in his mouth, some of the ribs were six foot long, his tong was fifteene foot long, his liuer two cart lode, into his nostrils anie man might haue crept: the oile being boiled out of the head was *parmasitie, the oile of his bodie was whitish and sweet of taste. The seuenth of August, a solemne obsequie was kept in saint Paules church at London for Charles the ninth king of France, who deceassed on the twentie day of Maie last before passed.

A monstrous fish (but not so monstrous as some reported) for his eies being great, were in his head and not in his backe.

*Sperma ceti.

Obsequie at Pauls for the French king.

On the fifteenth daie of August being sundaie, Agnes Bridges, a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wench about eleuen or twelue yeares old, who both of them had counterfetted to be possessed by the diuell (wherby they had not onelie maruellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diuerse such persons as otherwise seemed to be of good wit and vnderstanding) stood before the preacher at Paules crosse, where they acknowledged their hypocriticall counterfetting, with penitent behauiours, requiring forgiuenesse of God and the world, and the people to praie for them. Also their seuerall examinations and confessions were there openlie read by the preacher, and afterwards published in print for the further posteritie hereafter to beware of the like deceiuers.

Agnes Bridges & Rachell Pinder at Pauls crosse for counterfetting to be possessed.

The fourth of September in the after none, such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of

A lad of eighteene yeares

long

long time could not be remembred, whereth̄rough the chancls of the citie suddenlie rising, ran with such a forceable course towards the common sewes, that a lad about the age of eighteen yeares, minding to haue lept ouer the chanell where vnto Dowgate, was borne ouer with the streame, and by the same caried from the conduit there towards the Thames, with such a swiftnesse, that no man with staues or otherwise could stop him, till he came against a cart whele that stood in the water gate, aboue which he was drowned and starke dead.

Adiourned mechaell in London.

This yeare the maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth, as hath bene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, although great prouision had bene made for that purpose, but dined at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen: the companies dined at their seuerall halles. This was done by the speciall appointment of the quenes maiesties councell, to auoid infection of the plague, like to haue increased by comming togither of such a multitude. This weke from the two and twentith, vnto the eight and twentith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties, conteining an hundred and eight parishes, of all diseases, one hundred threescore & six, of the which number threescore and fiue were accounted to die of the plague. Michaelmas tearme, which had bene adiourned by proclamation, began at Westminster on the first of Nouember. The same first day in the morning, there happened two great tides at London, in the riuer of Thames, the first by course, the other within one houre following, which ouerflowed the marshes, with manie vaults and cellars neare adioining.

Maiors feast at the Guildhall.

1574 Priests saieng masse apprehended.

Tearme adiourned.

Two tides in one houre.

The fourteenth of Nouember being sundaie, about midnight following, diuerse strange impressions of fire and smoke were seene in the aire to proceed forth of a blacke cloud in the north toward the south, which so continued till the next morning that it was daie light. The next night following, the heauens from all parts did seeme to burne maruellous raginglie, & ouer our heads the flames from the horizon round about rising did meet, and there double and roll one in another, as if it had bene in a cleare fornace. The eighteenth daie at night blew verie stormie & tempestuous winds out of the south, as hath not bene knowne the like out of that quarter, especiallie after midnight, till the next morning that it was daie light. These are to be receiued as tokens of Gods wrath readie bent against the world for sinne now abounding, and also of his great mercie, who doth onlie thus but to shew vs the rod wherwith we dailie deserue to be beaten.

Fierie impressions marueilous.

Anno Reg. 17.

Tempestuous winds out of the south.

This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall, from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell, at which price it staied (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after: but baie salt was raised from three shillings to foure shillings, fiue shillings, and six shillings the bushell, the like whereof had neuer bene seene or heard within this realme. The 24 day of Februarie, being the feast of saint Matthie, on which daie the faire was kept at Teukesburie, a strange thing happened there. For after a flood which was not great, but such as therby the medows neere adioining were couered with water, in the after none there came downe the riuer of Seuerne great numbers of flies & beetels, such as in summer euenings vse to strike men in the face, in great heapes, a foot thicke aboue the water, so that to credible mens iudgement there were seene within a paire of buts length of those flies aboue a hundred quarters. The mils there about were dammed vp with them for the space of foure daies after, and then were clensed by digging them out with shouels: from whence they came is yet vnknowne: but the daie was cold and a hard frost.

Baie salt deare.

1575

Flies in February the number strange.

The six and twentith of Februarie, betweene foure and six of the clocke in the after none, great earthquakes happened in the cities of Yorke, Worcester, Glocester, Bristow, Hereford, and in the countries about, which caused the people to runne out of their houses: for feare they should haue fallen on their heads. In Teukesburie, Bredon, and other places, the dishes fell from the cupbords, and the bookes in mens studies from the shelues. In Norton chappell, the people being on their knees at euening praier, the ground mouing, caused them to run awaie in great feare that the dead bodies would haue risen, or the chappell to haue fallen: part of Ruthen castell fell downe with certeine bricke chimneies in gentlemens houses. The bell in the shire hall at Denbigh was also caused to toll twise, by shaking of the hall, &c.

In earthquake in sundrie places of England, and what effects it wrought.

On Easter daie, which was the third of Aprill, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, was disclosed a congregation of anabaptists, Duchmen, in a house without the bars of Aldgate at London, whereof seauen and twentie were taken and sent to prison: and foure of them bearing fagots recanted at Paules crosse, on the fiftenth daie of Maie in forme as followeth.

Anabaptists bare fagots at Paules crosse.

The forme of recantation openlie made by the said anabaptists.

WHereas I. I. T. R. H. being seduced by the diuell the spirit of error, and by false teachers his ministers, haue fallen into certeine most detestable and damnable heresies, namelie:

The anabaptists heresies.

1 That Christ toke not flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be baptised:
3 That a christian man may not be a magistrat or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
4 That it is not lawfull for a christian to take an oth:

Now by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned ministers of Christ his church, I do vnderstand and acknowlege the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and do aske God here before his church mercie for my said former errors, and do forsake them, recant, and renounce them, and abiure them from the bottome of my heart, professing that I certeinlie beleeue:

Recanted.

1 That Christ toke flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
2 That infants of the faithfull ought to be baptised:
3 That a christian man may be a magistrat, or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
4 That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an oth.

And further I confesse, that the whole doctrine and religion established and published in this realme of England, as also that which is receiued and preached in the Dutch church here in this citie, is sound, true, and according to the word of God: whervnto in all things I submit my selfe, and will most gladlie be a member of the said Dutch church, from henceforth vtterlie abandoning and forsaking all and euerie anabaptisticall error. This is my faith now, in the which I do purpose and trust to stand firme and stedfast to the end. And that I may so do, I beseech you all to praie with me, and for me, to God the heauenlie father, in the name of his sonne our sauiour

Jesus

Jesus Christ. The like recantation was made by them afterwards in the Dutch church.

Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

The seauentéenth of Maie about midnight following, the reuerend father in God Matthew Parker doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceased at Lambeth, and was there honorablie buried, on whose tombe (being of blacke marble) is written this most worthie epitaph here following:

Walter Haddon.

Sobrius & prudens, studijs excultus & vsu,
Integer & veræ relligionis amans,
Matthæus vixit Parkerus, fouerat illum
Aula virum iuuenem, fouit & aula senem,
Ordine res gessit, recti defensor & æqui,
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.

Matthew Parker liued soberlie and wise,
Learned by studie and continuall practise,
Louing, true, of life vncontrold,
The court did foster him both yoong and old,
Orderlie he dealt, the right he did defend,
He liued vnto God, to God he made his end.

Io. St. 1182. Matthew Parker a learned antiquarie, and what monuments of his loue to learning he left behind him.

¶ This reuerend father examined throughlie the English translation of the holie bibles, wherein he partlie vsed the helpe of his brethren bishops, and other doctors, and caused the same to be newlie printed in the largest volume, for the due furniture of manie churches then wanting. Also making diligent search for the antiquities of the Britons, and English Saxons, to the end those monuments might be carefullie kept, he caused them to be well bound and trimlie couered: and such whereof he knew verie few examples to be extant (among the which was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus, and Thomas Walsingham) he caused to be printed. The famous palace of his see at Canturburie, by long continuance decaied & consumed with fire, he renewed, builded, and fullie restored with the charges of more than fourtéene hundred pounds. He founded a grammar schole in Rochdale in the countie of Lancaster.

Founder of a grammar schole.

A benefactor to Corpus christi college.

To Corpus Christi college in Cambridge he procured thirtéene scholarships, and bare the charges in making and furnishing two chambers for scholars, and the inward librarie of the same college. Item he gaue to the outward and inward librarie of the said college a godlie companie of printed bookes, & a great number of written boks of great antiquitie & much value. Item he procured to the said college the patronage of saint Marie Abchurch in London. Item he hath founded two felowships in the said college, and procured one charter of mortmaine to the summe of one hundred pounds by yeare. Item he hath giuen to the same college of siluer plate double guilt three hundred nine ounces, and three quarters, & surrendred to them a lease with the improuement of fourtéene pounds and eight shillings yerelie for seuentéene yéeres. Item one hundred pounds to the maintenance of a fier in the hall from Halomas to Candlemas; and by his last will and testament fiue hundred pounds. Item to diuers scholars chambers within the said college diuerse bedsteads, with sufficient bedding & bokes to remaine for euer. Item he hath founded for euer fiue sermons to be preached in diuerse places of Norfolke euerie yéere in Rogation wéeke; and fortie shillings to be diuided at Norwich to the poore and others. Item to the citie of Norwich one bason and ewer of siluer and double guilt of one hundred seauentie and fiue ounces. Item to the towne of Watsall in Norfolke for euer an annuitie of fiftie shillings to be diuided to the poore with a sermon in Rogation wéeke. Item to Gunuill and Caius college one scholarship, with a standing cup, and a pot of siluer double guilt of fiue and fiftie ounces and three quarters, and one nest of goblets with a couer siluer and guilt; with a number of good bookes to their librarie. Item to Trinitie hall one scholarship, a standing cup and a pot of siluer and guilt of three and fiftie ounces, a nest of goblets siluer and guilt with a couer; and bookes to their librarie. Item to the vniuersitie librarie fiftie old ancient written bookes, and fiftie printed bookes. Of this prelat, to his further commendation the aforesaid doctor Haddon, in the second booke of his poems maketh very honorable mention, comprising in sir verses the ensignes of his ancestors, with those also which were accessarie by the grationsnesse of the prince, who preferred him to his prelacie. In the same verses also is comprehended as it were an harmonie or consent of most godlie qualities answerable vnto the ensignes that he bare; as thus:

Sermons perpetuallie founded at his charges in Norfolke: and what other particuler gifts he bestowed to good purposes.

Sunt antiquorum claues monumenta parentum, — De insignibus einsdem Matthei.
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex.
Sic bene conspirant virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placidæ pacis semina læta serunt.
Sed tamen ad finem decurrunt gaudia vitæ,
Ac homo puluis erit, puluis vt ante fuit.]

The 21 of Maie being Whitsun éeuen, one man and ten women anabaptists Dutch, were in the consistorie of Paules condemned to be burned in Smithfield: but after great pains taken with them, onlie one woman was conuerted, the other were banished the land. On the first of June the nine women being led by the shiriffs officers, and the man also tied to a cart & whiped, were all conueied from Newgate to the waters side, where they were shiped awaie neuer to returne againe. The twelfe of June stood at Paules crosse fiue persons Englishmen of the sect termed the familie of loue, who there confessed themselues vtterlie to detest as well the author of that sect H. N. as all his damnable errors and heresies.

Anabaptists banished.

Fiue persons of the familie of loue stood at Paules crosse.

The two and twentith of Julie two Dutchmen anabaptists were burned in Smithfield, who died in great horror with roring and crieng. The thirtith of Julie in the afternoone was a great tempest of lightening and thunder, wherethrough both men and beasts in diuerse places were striken dead. Also at that time fell great abundance of haile, whereof the stones in manie places were found to be six or seuen inches about. The fourth of September being sundaie about seuen of the clocke in the morning, a certeine glasse house, which sometime had béene the crossed friers hall nere to the tower of London burst out on a terrible fire: whereunto the lord maior, aldermen and shiriffes with all expedition repaired, and practised there all means possible, by water buckets, hookes, and otherwise to haue quenched it. All which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in a small time before had consumed great quantitie of wood by making of fine drinking glasses; now it selfe hauing within it nere fortie thousand billets of wood was all consumed to the stone walles, which walles greatlie defended the fire from spreading further, and doing anie more harme.

Anabaptists burned in Smithfield.

Thunder and haile, whereof insued great hurt.

The glasse house burned.

The six and twentith of September, a pulters wife in the parish of Christs church within Newgate of London was deliuered & brought to bed of foure children at one burthen, all females or maiden children, which were christened by the names of Elisabeth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothie: and the same daie moneth the mother was buried, but all the foure children liuing, and in good liking, were borne to church after hir. ¶ On Michaelmas éeuen at night the like impressions of fire and smoke were séene in the aire to flash out of the northeast, north and northwest, as had béene on the fiue and twentith of November last before passed.

A woman brought a bed of foure children at one burthen.

The tenth of October manie French, and some Englishmen, but all pirats of the seas, were arreigned

Co the number of two and twentie pirats condemned and iudged to die. Nineteen of them stood at the Guildhall, and why?

The plague asswaged in London.

Archbishop elected.

Tilt bote drowned.

Gréne hanged.

Frobishers first voiage for the discouerie of Catai.

A rumor that capteine Frobisher was cast awaie. Queene Elisabeths forreland.

A woman burnt at Tunbridge for poisoning hir husband.

1 St. pag. 1185. God punisheth periurie.

The number of two and twentie persons condemned and ordered to die.

Pyrats hanged at the Gundhall, and burnt.

ne at the admeraltie court in Southwarke, where to the number of two and twentie were condemned, and had sentence of death pronounced against them. The maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth as hath beene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, but dined at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen and others. The companies dined at their seuerall halles, &c. This was done as in the yeere last before passed, to auoid the infection of the plague, which might haue increased by comming togither of greater numbers of people. That weeke, from the two and twentith vnto the eight and twentith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties of all diseases one hundred thirtie and two, of the which number six and thirtie were accounted to die of the plague. The next weeke following ending the third of Nouember (thanks be giuen to God therefore) there deceased of all diseases but one hundred and ten, and of them of the plague but six and twentie.

The plague decreased in London.

De insignibus eiusdem Maioris.

15. pag. 1185. Gog and Magog the giants.

¶ The eleuenth of Februarie Anne Aueries, widow, forswearing hir selfe for a little monie that she should haue paid for six pounds of tow at a shop in Woodstreet of London, fell immediatlie downe speechlesse, casting vp at hir mouth in great aboundance, & with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue beene voided downewards, till she died. A terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of swearing against their brother. The fifteenth of Februarie, Edmund Grindale sometime bishop of London, late archbishop of Yorke, was in the chapterhouse of S. Paules church at London elected archbishop of Canturburie. The first of March in the night through a great flaw of wind then in the northeast, a tilt bote with about the number of one and thirtie persons, men and women, comming from Grauesend toward London, were all drowned; one boie excepted. The thirtith of Maie Thomas Greene goldsmith was drawen from Newgate of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for cliping of coine both gold and siluer.

Anabaptists banished.

Archbishop dead.

Fiue persons of the familie of loue stood at Paules crosse.

Tilt bote drowned.

Anabaptists burned in Smithfield.

Greene hanged.

Thunder and haile, wherein insued great hurt.

The fifteenth of June Martine Frobisher being furnished of aduenturors, with two small barkes & one pinnesse departed from Blackewall, vpon his voiage for the discouerie of a passage to Cataia by the northwest seas. Upon the first of Julie he had sight (as he iudged) of Freeland, but durst not approch the same, by reason of the great yce that laie alongst the coast. Not far from thense he lost his pinnesse and one of his barkes, who mistrusting the danger of tempests returned home, with report that their generall Martine Frobisher was cast awaie: which worthie capteine notwithstanding continued his course northwest, beyond anie man that hath heretofore discouered, and the twentith of Julie had sight of a high land, which he named Queene Elisabeths foreland; and after that another foreland with a great passage, diuiding (as it were) the two maine lands asunder: this place he named Frobishers streits. After he had passed sixtie leagues further, he went ashoare, found the same to be inhabited with sauage people, caught one of them into his barke, and returning, arriued in England in the moneth of August following. One of his companie brought from thense a peece of a blacke stone, much like to a seacole in colour, which being brought to certeine goldsmiths in London, to make a saie thereof, found it to hold gold, and that verie richlie for the quantitie.

Frobishers first voiage for the discouerie of Cataia.

A rumor that capteine Frobisher was cast awaie.

Queene Elisabeths foreland.

A woman brought a bed of foure children at one burthen.

The nineteenth of Julie a woman was burnt at Tunbridge in Kent for poisoning of hir husband: and two daies before a man, named Orleie, was hanged at Maidstone for being accessarie to the same fact. The tenth of August a rare peece of worke and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne in the citie of London named Peter Bales, who by his industrie and practise of his pen, contriued and writ within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords praier, the creed, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the queene, his posie, his name, the date of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the queene. And on the seuentéenth of August next following at Hampton court he presented the same to the queens maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, couered with a christall, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle by him deuised for the easier reading thereof: wherewith hir maiestie read all that was written therein with great admiration, and commended the same to the lords of the councell, and the ambassadors, and did weare the same manie times vpon hir finger.]

Rare workemanship shewed in the compasse of a penie by the handwriting of an Englishman.

This yeare, by reason of the troubles in the low countries, the English merchants sustained great losses diuers waies. For the men of warre that kept the seas, aduowing themselues to be reteined with the prince of Orenge, vnder colour to serch for their aduersaries goods, oftentimes boorded the English ships as they met with them on the seas, smallie to the profit of them to whome the same ships and goods apperteined. Some they staied and toke awaie with them. And at length there was a generall restraint made by the prince of Orenge, that no English ships should passe to or fro the towne of Antwerpe by the riuer of Scheld, such being arrested and detetned at Flishing as were comming downe that riuer, and other likewise that were bound vp the same time towards Antwerpe.

Anno Reg. 18. 1576

English merchants sustaine great losse by sea, and why?

The English merchants, féeling themselues thus molested and damnified at sundrie seasons, exhibited their complaints to the queenes maiesties councell, who accordinglie dealt from time to time with the prince of Orenge and his deputies for redresse, but speciallie now vpon this generall restreint. And although great difficultie appeared in the matter, aswell for contenting of the aduenturors of Flishing, as for that there had beene foure ships belonging to the prince arrested and staied at Falmouth: at length yet such English ships as were kept and holden at Flishing were released and sent home; but not till two of the English merchants aduenturors * men of good calling and estimation (hauing first as hath bin said made a certeine manor of protest) were faine to enter into bond for the loane of a summe of monie, and were therewith kept at Flishing till the contract in that behalfe might be performed. Wherevpon the queenes maiestie, misliking that hir subiects should be thus hardlie dealt with, armed and set forth certeine of hir ships, which going to the seas to see that hir subiects might trauerse the same in safetie, toke diuerse of the Flishingers vessels, and brought them into the English streames. The Flishingers herewith on the other part toke and arrested other of the English ships, so that the troubles séemed rather to increase than to be in any wise appeased: although afterwards by sending to and fro, the matter was taken vp, and such order had as was thought to stand verie well for the suertie, commoditie, and good liking of the English merchants.

The English merchants complaine to the queene of their wrongs.

These foure ships were staied for satisfaction of one Simons ship, out of the which a Flishinger had taken certeine tuns of Canarie wines.

* Martin Caltrop & William Goddard.

The troubles increase.

But in the meane time, and before this could be brought to passe, through a disordered mutinie which chanced among the Spanish souldiers, it so fell out, that the states of those low countries agreed with the prince of Orenge, and set themselues wholie against the Spaniards. Wherevpon the yong count de Egmont, the marquesse de Hauerie entered the towne of Antwerpe, with a power of souldiers for the States, and meant to haue kept that towne against

the

This was the fourth of November, 9500 one with another slain, drowned and burned.

the Spaniards that held the castell. But they doubting to be inclosed & shut vp by some siege, got more of their fellowes to them, entred the towne by force, & spitefullie killing no small number of people, sacked the towne, and put aswell the townesmen as others that were merchants resident there to their ransoms. Amongst other our Englishmen escaped not altogither free, so as diuerse were spoiled of that they had, and the whole number put to their ransome; although vpon the sending ouer of doctor Willson hir maiesties ambassador, so much of the ransome as remained vnpaid was promised to be remitted.

Thus were our merchants euill intreated on each hand, by reason of those ciuill tumults in the low countries, aswell this yeare as in the former yeares past, and small hope would be of better successe there, if some end should not be had of that ciuill dissention, which hath so long continued betwixt the king of Spaine and his subiects in those countries, not onelie to the hinderance of themselues, but also of others that haue to trade among them, specially for traffike sake and intercourse of merchandize. But at length they haue compounded their controuersies, and are growen to a full agréement and perfect conclusion of peace, which God grant may take place so effectuallie, as may turne to the quietnesse and publike commoditie not onlie of those countries but of their neighbors, whereby merchants and passengers may in suertie passe to and fro without disturbance, so as no occasion be giuen of breach of leagues and amities betwixt princes and countries, but that the same may be mainteined to Gods glorie, and the suertie of the christian commonwealth.

A conclusion of peace betweene the parties before diuided.

In this yeare the right honorable Walter Deuereux earle of Esser and Eu, earle marshall of Ireland, vicount Hereford and Bourcher, lord Ferrers of Chartlie, Bourcher & Louaine, knight of the most noble order of the garter, fell sicke of a lowsenesse of his bodie the one and twentith of August being fridaie, and for the space of two and twentie daies together he was so grieuouslie tormented therwith, that finallie on saturdaie the two & twentith of September he departed out of this transitorie life, passing from hence to the ioies of heauen, as by his godlie end all that were about him gaue testimonie. The losse of this noble man was greatlie bemoned, aswell by the English as Irish, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the aduancement of the commonwealth which appeered in him.

Walter Deuereux earle of Essex departeth this life.

¶ So that it were a fowle fault in the highest degree, not to laie vp some commemoration of so worthie and well deseruing a gentleman, both of prince and people, in perpetuall records: which I will doo by Gods grace none otherwise than I am lead by such matter, yea memorable matter, as I find in a funerall sermon, made by the reuerend father in God Richard bishop of saint Dauis, at the buriall of this right honorable earle of Esser, in the parish church of Caermerthin in Wales, where the said bishop taking for his text these words of S. Iohn, in the 14 of the reuelation, *Audiui vocem de cælo, dicentem: Beati mortui, &c.* I heard a voice from heauen, saieng: Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. After he had discoursed vpon the text as the spirit of God gaue him vtterance, he descended at last to a particular treatise tending wholie to the praise of this right noble man: saieng in sort as followeth.

Abr. Fl. *ex concione funebri, vt patet in contextu.*

Behold the heauie hand of God for our sins, vpon all the whole countrie in the death of this noble man, which is not onelie a messenger of Gods wrath towards this towne and countrie (wherein he was borne) but also in verie deed a great losse to the whole realme. And although this countrie, who shall misse so noble and so worthie a ruler and magistrate, that

The place of the erls birth: What losse all England hath of him.

bore them so great affection, so readie to benefit all, and hurt none, and for the high calling he was of so able to pleasure and to doo good: although I saie this countrie by the death of this noble earle is most earnestlie & effectuallie cited to appeare before the Lord, and to fall to a reckoning: yet doo I beleeue that the quenes maiestie, hir highnesse councell, and all the nobilitie of the realme may hereby receiue admonition, and cause of further circumspection and aduigilancie. For such valiant and couragious noble men are the bulworks and walles of defense of the whole realme. They saie the realme is walled about, because it is inuironed with the sea: but I hold rather with their iudgements, that make the fidelitie and true harts of the subiects, and especiallie of such of the nobilitie that haue made themselues (by Gods especiall grace) expert to gouerne and rule vnder hir maiestie, aswell in warre as peace, the strong towers of defense both of hir maiestie and hir highnesse realme.

What noblemen are the walls of the realme.

This noble earle was one of these number: for I beleeue there is no prince in the world, that had a more faithfull noble subiect, than hir maiestie had of him in his time. And for the notable valiantnesse, experience, and vertues that were in him, I am persuaded that hir maiestie (if he had liued) might haue vsed his seruice to be a terrour to all enimies, forren or domesticall. And now that I may speake somewhat of his great nobilitie, his excellent, vertuous, and worthie qualities: first I thinke I may saie thus much in a generalitie, that it was easie for a man of any iudgement, that should behold his countenance and behauiour, to find in him nobilitie, maiestie and honor, planted by the especiall gift of God, euen from his mothers wombe. When I consider the nature of nobilitie with the causes efficient and finall, it séemeth vnto me that nobilitie may be compared vnto a riuer or a flood, which in the originall issueth out of foure principall wels, and all the foure rise out from the compasse of one hill. The welles of nobilitie are prudence, fortitude, iustice, and temperance: the hill whence they spring is the feare of God, or true religion.

The praise of the earle by sundrie considerations.

Comparison of true nobilitie vnto a riuer or flood, &c.

Although this worthie earle by progenie was of noble blood, whose ancestors were of great honour, which of it selfe, if a man degenerat not too far from his forefathers, deserueth honorable acceptation in this world: yet was he not therewith satisfied, as it may appéere by his studie and trauell in his life time: for he séemed to be of that iudgement that Alphonsus king of Aragon (of whome we read in stories) was of. When a certeine man toke in hand to set out the laud and praise of his nobilitie, he stood much in recitall that he was a king, a kings sonne, a kings nephue, a kings brother, and such like titles. The king interrupting his tale answered, that he neuer estéemed much of that kind of glorie: and that it was the praise and commendation of his ancestors, who by vertue and worthie qualities had deserued such high callings and honour, and not of him: and that his praise stood not in that which might fall vnto him by testament, but in the imitation and performing of the noble acts, prowesse, and valiantnesse of his forefathers. This noble earle likewise, not answered to his expectation in that he was a noble man by blood and inheritance, gaue himselfe wholie all the daies of his life to purchase and win the nobilitie that springeth immediatlie from the verie originall founteins of the same, as partlie I will put you in remembrance of. We will begin with prudence, which may be thus defined.

Paruus filius, de rebus gestis Alphonsi.

The dispositi on of the earle to inlarge and augment his nobilitie.

Prudence is a power or faculte of the mind giuen of God, whereby man is made wise, prouident and circumspect, and whereby man attaineth knowledge, cunning, and expertnesse in all matters that the

Prudence a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

The erle perfect in the scriptures and matters of religion.

He was a fauourer of preachers.

His expertnesse in chronicles, histories, &c.

Fortitude a noble vertue wherewith the earle was indued.

An. Dom. 1576. An. Reg. 21.

the children of men haue to deale with in this world. This noble erle was of great wisedome, deepe iudgement, graue consideration, and so blessed with vnderstanding, experience, and manifold vertues and gifts of God, that he was right worthie to serue his maiestie in princelie and weightie affaires, both in warre and peace. He was of such prudent and excellent discretion, that he had a speciall grace to interteine all states of men, superiour, equall, and inferiour, with such comelinesse and decencie, that for ciuilitie, humanitie, maners, and honorable behauior, he was a paterne and an example for nobilitie to imitate and to follow. In his youth he bestowed not the time in vanitie, idlenesse, or voluptuousnesse; but in atchiuing and winning of such sciences, properties and vertues, which might beautifie and increase his nobilitie, and preuailed therin so effectuallie, that he became excellent in all kinds of knowledge and qualities, meet, commendable, or necessarie for a man of honour. Concerning diuine matters, I haue in my time conferred with his lordship, and therefore can saie somewhat therein: and amongst others, one thing is notable, which in conference I receiued at his mouth. He affirmed this in effect, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abase the heroicall nature of nobilitie so much, as to haue the eies of vnderstanding so closed and shut vp, that a man in honour should not be able to discerne betwixt true religion, and the hypocriticall false religion; betwixt the right worshipping of God, & idolatrie; betwixt the traditions of men and Gods word: but remaine subiect to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad: and concluded that to be free from this seruile state, was a necessarie point of true nobilitie.

What noblemen are the walls of the realme.

How he bestowed his youthfull yeares.

The bishops report of him vpon his own knowledge.

The praise of the earle for sundrie considerations.

Comparison of true nobilitie vnto a riuer or cloud, &c.

He therefore in his time had diligentlie trauelled in the scriptures, and so furnished himselfe with principles of christian religion, that he was able readilie to discerne sermons and disputations, and to find out who had veritie on their side: and also probablie to speake with authoritie of scripture in matters of controuersie. His vnderstanding by the especiall worke of the holie ghost was so illumined, that he claue & drew to true christian religion, as the adamant stone cleaueth and draweth to steele. His lordship therefore furthered and fauoured all preachers of Gods word, so that whosoeuer will iudge of the successe of Christs religion by humane reason, must confesse that the gospell hath lost a mightie protector, and an earnest defender. But God in setting out of his word, vseth to worke beside the expectation of man, and beyond the reach of reason. I haue yet further to speake of his lordship, that I beleeue there be verie few noble men in England, more readie and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedegrees of noble men, and noble houses, not onlie within the realme, but also in forren realmes, than this noble earle was in his time. He excelled in describing and blasing of armes, and in all skill perteining thereto: and to be short, his vnderstanding and capacitie was so liuelie and effectuall, that it reached to all kind of matters that a perfect nobleman shall haue to deale withall in this world.

Eterle perfect in the scriptures and matters of religion.

He was a fauourer of preachers.

Panor. lib. 20. de rebus gestis Alphonsi.

His experience in chronicles, histories, &c.

Fortitude is another founteine from whense nobilitie floweth, of Cicero *In Tusculanis quæstionibus* thus defined: *Est affectio animi qua grauia patiendo legibus obtemperatur*: It is an affection of the mind whereby to satisfie the lawes a man is content to suffer hardnesse; he meaneth mans lawes, and not Gods law. It seemeth therefore that it may be thus more euidentlie and fullie defined: Fortitude is an affection of the mind, whereby a man is made hardie and couragious to suffer difficulties and dangers, auoiding on the one side rashnesse, & repelling on the other side feare, to performe that which Gods law and honestie prescribeth and commandeth. Although by this definition we find, that the effect of fortitude resteth much in banishing of feare of bodilie hurts: yet doth it agree verie well with the feare of God. Iethro therefore counselling Moses to chose men to gouerne vnder him, saith; *Prospice viros fortes, timentes Deum*; Seeke out men indued with fortitude, fearing God, &c. Whereby we perceiue, that fortitude and the feare of God varie not, but are linked togither. Deepe was the flood of nobilitie that this valiant earle had fetched out of this founteine. For in this togither with the well of prudence, he found that excellent knowledge of chiualrie, the cunning to lead an armie, to guide and to rule soldiors, that experience of stratagems & warlike policies, that notable magnanimitie and inuincible courage, whereby he indured and ouercame so manie dangers and perils, for the which he is renowmed in England and Ireland, and shall neuer be forgotten. He was by nature the sonne of Mars; and by practising feats of war and exercise aforehand he had made himselfe in manner a perfect warrior, afore that euer he came to the wars; and was for prowesse, magnanimitie, and high corage to be compared to the old Romane capteins, that be so much in stories commended. This fortitude is no lesse necessarie for nobilitie in time of peace than in time of warre. For it belongeth vnto them to minister iustice betwixt partie and partie, without respect of persons, which cannot be performed without the assistance of this vertue. I haue good cause to thinke of this noble earle, that there was no subiect in England, that could feare or corrupt him from executing of iustice. He was to the proud and arrogant a lion, and to the meeke and humble a lambe, neither is there anie contrarietie in this: for true nobilitie discerneth a due and conuenient time and place to vse both the one and the other.

Exod. 18, 21

The earles chiualrie, martiall knowledge and prowesse aduanced.

Fortitude needfull both in time of peace and warre.

Iustice is the third well of nobilitie, it is a constant and a perpetuall will to giue euerie man his owne. This is a diuine vertue, precious, and commendable in all men, and especiallie in the nobilitie, who by reason of authoritie may do iniurie without remedie for the same. We see by experience that great is the number of them that would oppresse, if they had authoritie: we see also the iniuries that are done dailie by them that haue colour of authoritie, be it neuer so simple. But examine the life of this earle who will, and I beleeue there is no man liuing that can iustlie complaine of anie iniurie or wrong done by him. I once in my time heard him not a little offended with one of his men that was complained vpon; saieng that his seruant could do him no greater dishonor, than by pretense of his authoritie to do anie poore man wrong. Job in the time of his authoritie & wealth, was commended to be a iust & a righteous man. And in the explication of part of that iustice Job hath these words, *Fui oculus cæco, vice pedum claudo, &c*: I was the eies to the blind, and I was the fæt to the lame, I was a father to the poore, and when I knew not the cause I sought it out diligentlie, I brake the chawes of the vnrighteous man, and plucked the preie out of his teeth. Here we find that who soeuer will do iustice, must not onelie do no wrong, but must also with all his might, succour and comfort the helpelesse and oppressed. In this part of iustice there was neuer noble man more forward than this good earle. He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in aduersitie, or oppressed by power.

Iustice a noble vertue, wherewith this erle was indued.

The bishop reporteth of the earles iustice vpon his owne knowledge.

Iob. 29, 15.

The paterne of a good earle indeed.

Of Titus Vespasianus emperor of Rome we read, that he answered one of his frends, admonishing him to hold his hands, and not to make his liberalitie and gentlenesse common to all men, saieng; that it becommeth not a prince to let anie man part

Suetonius.

The disposition of the earle to inlarge and augment his nobilitie.

Fortitude a noble vertue wherewith this earle was indued.

Prudence a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

from him with a heauie hart. This worthie erle was of like mind: for he was so full of humanitie and compassion, that he would be loth to let anie distressed part from him without some comfort and ease. In so much that in him (if euer in anie man) this adage, *Homo homini Deus*, A man a god to man, was as truelie performed, as in tyrants the contrarie adage, that is, *Homo homini lupus*, A man a wolfe to man. We read in chronicles of emperors, kings, & noble men, which for their bountifulnesse, gentlenesse, affabilitie, and goodnesse, deserued some honorable addition to their names; as amongst the emperors *Antoninus pius*, Anthonie the vertuous; amongst the British kings, *Elidorus pius*, Elidor the godlie; and amongst noble men, in the time of king Richard the second, sir Thomas Montacute the good earle of Salisburie; and in the time of king Henrie the first, sir Thomas Beuchampe the good earle of Warwike. This noble earle for the verie like qualities hath trulie deserued to be called, the good earle, the vertuous earle, and the valiant earle of Esser.

The humanitie, courtesie, affablenesse, and other vertues of this earle.

Temperance is the founteine of nobilitie; it is a vertue whereby a man obserueth a moderation, & a reasonable meane in the vse of all things perteining to bodie & mind: it is the mother of all other vertues, without which, the rest are blemished and disgraced. In the Dutch chronicles that tell of the liues of emperors, the first qualitie that is noted, is temperat, or not temperat, as an argument of the rest of his life and doings: for he is thought vnworthie to rule others that can not rule himselfe. This noble earle had a speciall grace, and an excellent gift of God in obseruation of this vertue, whether you respect diet, or the suppression of all vicious affections. I haue diuerse times noted in him, when vnderstanding was brought vnto him of some Thrasonicall contumelious word, spoken by some glorious inferior aduersarie against him, he would neuer be stirred to anie perturbation of mind thereby, but with graue wisedome and magnanimitie contemne it and smile, deriding the vanitie and waiwardnesse of that cankered stomach that vomited such sowre rotten infection: for he did effectuallie consider that it became no better a noble hart to take in & receiue wranglings, brallings, chasings, and anger, than it is conuenient to dawbe a golden piller with mire and claie. Salomon was of that mind, and therefore saith; Be not thou hastie to be angrie, for anger resteth in the bosome of fooles. I haue had occasion by that I noted in his lordship to call to remembrance this saieng of Christ; A good man out of the good treasure of his hart bringeth forth good things: & the euill man out of the euill treasure of his hart bringeth forth euill things. For though occasion were ministred, yet should you neuer heare him vtter anie opprobrious words, no not against his aduersarie, so pure & immaculate did he studie to preserue the nobilitie of his mind. There be some that count themselues worthie honor & estimation, when they teare God in peeces with chasing and horrible oths: which this noble earle detested and abhorred, as a matter not onelie vndecent, but also repugnant to the nature of true nobilitie, attributing due reuerence to the name of the Lord, & thereby prouing the founteins of his nobilitie to spring out of the hill of the feare of God.

Temperance, a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

Ecclesi. 7. 9.

Luke 6. 45.

The earle could not awaie with swearing, chasing, nor anie disordered dealing, &c.

But what was his religion, what faith God had blessed him withall, what godlie disposition he was of, and how abundantlie God had inriched him with his holie spirit; the confession of his faith, his speeches, nate rather his sermons in his sickenesse afore his death shall testifie for euer. For I receiued by the relation of such as are worthie credit, and were present about him, although not all, yet manie of his learned godlie saiengs at that time. Concerning his saluation, he reposed his affiance and sure trust in the bloud of Jesus Christ. He forgaue all the world, and by inuincible faith apprehended, laied hold, and imbraced remission of his sinnes, in the merits of the sacrifice of Christs bodie offered vpon the crosse for the sinnes of the world. Trentals, masses, diriges, pardons, and such other papisticall trifles he vtterlie contemned, as wicked and blasphemous against the death and passion of Christ. He fared like the children of Israell in the wildernesse, which when they were stinged with serpents euen to death: yet when they lookt vp to the brasen serpent, they were made whole, safe, and sound. So it is noble earle grieued with the remembrance of his former vnthankefull life (as he iudged) immediatlie directed the eies of his mind to the passion of Christ, and forthwith felt such health of soule, that he was filled with ioie in the holie Ghost, and all his delight was in meditation of the ioie of the world to come, and the fruition of the presence of God for euer: insomuch that fiue or six daies before he died, he shewed himselfe more like an angell from heauen, than a man compassed with flesh and bloud.

Numb. 21. 9.

The heauenlie contemplation of this earle drawing to his end.

My lord the archbishop of Dublin (as I was informed) could moue him in no question or article perteining to saluation, that he was not readie in, and learnedlie, and godlie resolued: yea, and made such answers in all things, that my lord of Dublin had them in great admiration, and affirmed that his speeches at that time should serue him for sermons as long as he liued. How trulie he relinquished the vanities of this world, and how effectuallie he thirsted after the ioies of the life to come, his godlie admonitions ministred vnto such as visited him, and his heauenlie lessons & exhortations to his seruants, shall testifie for euer: for they were such that his seruants report they shall neuer forget, and such as they shall be the better for whilest they liue. Thus haue I briefflie and partlie declared vnto you, both the life and death of this worthie magistrate, to the end we should consider how seriouslie God doth call vs to a reckoning by the losse of such a good magistrat. Now a word or two to shew who they be that die in the Lord, and then an end. They principallie are said to die in the Lord, which suffer death vnder the beast, for confession of Christs religion, for they properlie die in the Lords cause. Such are the martyrs, as well of the primitiue church vnder the cruell emperours, as the martyrs of all ages since vnder antichrist of Rome. They also die in the Lord, which though they die not by the crueltie of the beast, yet they die in the faith of Jesus Christ, and are therefore blessed.

A wonderfull gift of the holie Ghost and most worthie to be chronicled.

How his seruants were affected at his last speeches.

Who they be that die in the Lord.

Of this number was this godlie earle, as I haue before declared. Wherfore I will conclude and direct my speech for two or three words to this good earle. O noble earle of Esser, in thy time the pearle of nobilitie: the mirrour of vertue and worthie qualities: the child of chiualrie: the beautifull floure of England: the pretious iewell and comfort of Wales: the trustie staie of Ireland. Thy life was most honourable: thy worthinesse incomparable: thy death pretious in the sight of God: for thou diedst in the Lord a right inheritour of the euerlasting kingdome of heauen. Wherefore by authoritie of the heauenlie oracle that saint John was commanded to write, thou art to be pronounced blessed for euer. Our sins haue shortened thy life, so that we could inioie the same no longer. Thou hast notwithstanding bequeathed thy bodie to be buried amongst vs here in Wales. Of verie dutie therefore O noble earle, thy tome shall be with vs in reuerence, estimation, and honor; the fame and name of thy nobilitie, valiantnesse, vertue, and worthinesse shall neuer be forgotten; but shall liue and be kept with vs in memorie from generation to generation while the world standeth. Thus far the words

I speech conclusion of the bishop directed to the earle departed.

The earle termed blessed.

The disposition and deuotion of this earle in the time of his sickenesse.

of

of the bishop vttered in a sermon preached in the eares of no meane audience, either for reputation or number. Now then briefly considering wherein true and perfect nobleneſſe conſiſteth, that the heroicall vertues with their naturall vſe were moſt firmelie fixed in his heart, and practiſed by his hand: there is great reaſon to moue euen his enimies (if it were poſſible for ſo good a gentleman to haue anie) to confeſſe in him moſt abſolute nobilities; and that this epitaph alluding to his right honorable enſignes, is deſerued-lie to be recorded; being an abſtract of that notable epitaph intituled Epitapium genealogicum in obitum illuſtriſſimi Gualteri comitis Eſſexiæ, & Euiæ, & comitis mariſchalli regni Hiberniæ, vicecomitis Hereford & Bourghcher, domini Ferrers de Chartleie Bourgcher & Louain, & prænobilis ordinis garterij militis, qui obijt Dublinij 21. Septemb. 1576. ætatis ſuæ 36 ſepulti apud Maridunum 26. Nouemb. &c.

Si quiſquam claret veterum ſplendore parentum,
Aut famam meritus morum probitate perennem,
Profiteatur in his nomen Eſſexius heros:
Qui præclara virûm geſtat monumenta tot vnus,
Quot raro licuit multis geſtamina ferre,
Qui intrepidè ob patriam tot mille pericula paſſus,
Quot raro poterint vlla aulicæ corpora ferre.
*Aureolus partus *matris, patriæ decus ingens,*
Quo non exultat moderatrice Herefordia ſola,
Aut Trinobantum, titulo probitatis honorem
Plebs referens: ſtrenuum validúmue Britannia ſola
Senſit, in aduerſos Boreales, dum bene geſſit:
Tota ſed heroem cognouit marte feroci
Eugeniæ tellus Hibernica bella probantem.
Regia cum propriis expendens, bella per annos,
Dura gerit binos, & multa pericula tentans,
Vltoniæ fines vultu dextráque quieti
Perficit, hinc comitis donatur nomine belli:
Nec tamen is potuit gladio finire labores.
Mors nemini parcens Dublinia funera fletu
Trans mare tranſuexit, Maridunica ſydera voluens,
Clotho colum tenuit poſt ſeptem luſtra per annum,
Quinque dies, Lacheſis poſt hæc ſua fila trahebat,
Térque dies ſeptem ſepteno menſe, videns heu
Atropos, eximij fulgentia lumina clauſit:
Quatuor aſt pueris illuſtria ſtamina ſpondent.
In tribus regnis titulos geſtabat honoris,
Nam comitem Euenſem cognouit Gallia fortem,
Aureus heroem demonſtrat circulus Eſſex,
Ob bella vires comes eſt is martis Hibernus.
Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
(Armipotens Gualtere) dedit probitáſque laborem,
Perpetuámque labor vitam, ſic vita ſalutem.

* Vrsula Doreweſtiæ Georgij comitis Hunsdon marito Richardo Deureux patre vnum animum habitante.

This epitaph with the ſaid earles whole genealogie or pedegree compiſed in heroicall verſe, and ioined with the funerall ſermon, was preſented to the right honourable lord Robert now earle of Eſſex and Ew, vicount of Hereford and Bourchier, lord Ferrers of Chartleie Bourchier & Louaine, at ſuch time as he was the queenes maieſties ward; with an epiſtle of the preſenter: which bicauſe it is a veine of godlie deuiſe, & tending to a verie honorable purpoſe, deſerueth here to be placed, anſwering the preſident heretofore ſet out in print, as followeth.

The epiſtle of E. W. prefixed before *the genealogicall epitaph, and funerall ſermon* publiſhed at the interring of the right *honourable the lord Walter earle* of Eſſex, &c.

MY lord, your abſence latelie from the funerals of my lord your father, was lamented by ſuch in Wales as would gladlie haue beheld the liuelie image of him in you; and if the tenderneſſe of your yeares ſhunned for ſo tedious and ſo vnſeaſonable trauell, had not by neceſſitie diſappointed their hope, then ſhould the lamentable ſpeech of the graue and reuerend father, the biſhop of ſaint Danies (expreſſed with abundance of dolour & tears) haue left in you a deepe impreſſion of griefe for the intollerable loſſe of ſo honourable a parent. But it maie be iudged that God hath turned your abſence to your more benefit; ſith the importunacie of ſuch as loue & honour you, and who couet to haue your fathers vertues deſcend with his inheritance, hath obteined the publiſhing of that learned ſermon: wherin you maie at good leaſure view in the laſt report of his life & death the paterne & forme of true nobilitie.

The death of the earle much lamented.

The heroicall deſcription of true nobilitie.

The heroicall deſcription that the biſhop maketh of nobilitie, comparing it vnto a mounteine, from which foure famous riuers muſt iſſue (the mounteine true religion, the riuers, prudence, iuſtice, fortitude, and temperance) is a rule to you: firſt to follow your father in truth of religion, then to be as he was, wiſe, iuſt, valiant, and temperat. The naturall and vnforced courteſie & affabilitie that was in your father, and that excellent mixture of diſpoſition and aptneſſe, both for warre and peace, doth promiſe to the world a ſingular perfection in you hereafter. For as your grandfather (who died in his yong yeares) did make ſhew of much more honour than was in the noble vicount his father: and this our earle by famous actions did altogither eclipſe the vertuous hope conceiued of your grandfather: ſo conſidering that God in nature continueth as it were the race by outward ſhew of good parts in you, and that you haue more aduantage of education, both by the place where you liue, and by the honour and wiſedome of your patrons than your grandfather or father had; we can not but hope of a further degree of excellencie in you to ouerthine the goodneſſe both of your father and grandfather.

A perſuaſion reaſon to moue the yong earle now liuing to an excellent imitation of his anceſtors.

Some people there be that can hardlie diſcerne betweene honour & profit, that do ouermuch thinke of the diſaduantage offered you by the earle your father, in diminiſhing ſome part of his patrimonie in his forren ſeruices; and will with you perhaps with a contrarie courſe to deſerue more of your heire, and worſe of the world. But as I wiſh in you a liberall frugalitie vnder this rule and profeſſation, that nothing can be profitable that is not honeſt: ſo to deſerue well (as your father did) of your ſouereigne and countrie in matters apperteining to hir maieſties obedience, rather throw the belue after the hatchet, and leaue your ruines to be repared by your prince, than anie thing to degenerat from honourable liberalitie. And as in attempting great things, it is good to be circumſpect, and with iudgment wiſelie to foreſee the end before you begin: ſo hauing entered into anie honourable attempt that maie be iuſtlie grounded vpon reaſon, follow the ſame with ſuch inuincible conſtancie in all extremities as your father did, for ſo ſhall you iuſtlie deſerue like teſtimonie as hir maieſtie gaue to him in hir gratious letters: namelie, that he was a rare iewell of hir realme, and an ornament of hir nobilitie.

Notable counſell to the earle to deſerue well of his ſouereigne and countrie.

The queenes teſtimonie of the earle.

True religion and wiſedome (vpon whome iuſtice dependeth) do proceed from God by grace, and therefore by inuocation, praier, and ſtudie to be obteined: but the other vertues, as fortitude, temperance, courteſie, affabilitie, liberalitie and conſtancie, be peculiar to your houſe, deſcending by nature, and grafted as it were in your principles. So that to degenerat into the lothſome contraries of theſe, & in ſtead of the habit of vertue, to diſguiſe your ſelfe with vice, ſhall be harder to you, and more impoſſible for the contrarietie of your nature, than to atteine in good things to the perfection of excellencie. And to the end that

Vertues naturallie incident to the erle by courſe of deſcent.

you may know what you are by birth and bloud, and that you should not by ignorance or lacke of knowledge of your selfe, do anie thing unworthie the noble houses from whense you are descended: a wellwillet of yours hath joined to this sermon (amongst other epitaphs conteining your fathers due praises) his stately descent in well digested Latine verses: not to puffe you up with anie swelling vanities, but to give you a reason how you beare your armour and badges of honour; and to remember you what errour you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your noble ancestours, or to do anie thing (as I said) unworthie your birth and calling.

To what end the epitaph genealogicall was added to the funerall sermon.

Lastlie my lord, have always before your eies the feare of God, and the counsell of the earle your father at his death: namelie, that you should ever be mindfull of the moment of time, assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest having attained but to six and thirtie yeares, to the end that upon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to looke for, you might so employe your tender yeares in vertuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serve hir maiestie and your countrie, as well in warre as peace: whereunto he commanded you to bend all your indevours, & with those conditions heaped his blessings upon you. I praie therefore that God will increase those conditionall blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that hir maiestie may thinke of you hereafter as of a true servant and humble subiect, one of the pillers of hir estate, hir maiesties kinsman by manie aliances, and the sonne of a most noble father.

The old earls counsell at his death to the yong earle now alive touching the shortnesse of life.

Your L. at commandement E.W.

Thus much concerning the two earles, the father departed, and the sonne surviving, of whose proceeding in the steps of his father, there is no doubt but within few yeares the world shall have full cause (as there is present hope) to beare witnesse: whome in all his attempts we will leave to such fortunat successe, as God the giver thereof shall vouchsafe to provide and afford.]

The tenth of November a proclamation was published for the free traffike of merchants to be restored as had been accustomed in times past betwixt the kingdoms and countries of the queenes maiestie of England and the king of Portingall, which traffike had been discontinued by reson of certeine stales and arrests made of diverse subiects on both parts, both their goods & ships. But now it was accorded in name of both their maiesties, that all maner of both their subiects of what kingdome or countrie so ever they be, from the fifteenth of the said moneth, might use the like mutuall traffike for merchandizes, and in the same places: that is to saie, hir maiesties subiects in the kingdomes of Portingale & Algarbia, and in the Iles of Medera and Azore: and likewise the subiects of the king of Portingale in England and Ireland, as they were lawfullie accustomed before the said arrests. This restitution of the said traffike to remaine from the said fifteenth daie of November in this yeare one thousand, five hundred, seaventie and six, during the space of three yeares next insuing. At the end of which terme, if by the said princes in the meane time it be not otherwise provided for continuance of the said traffike to indure perpetuallie, no new arrests shall be made of anie things brought into the kingdoms and Iles aforesaid, of either of the said princes during the time of the said three yeares. It was further agreed by the said princes for the more sure preservation of the amitie and friendship betwixt them, their said realmes and subiects, that neither of them shall receive anie pirat or rover into anie of the ports or creeks of either of their realmes, dominions, and countries, which may or shall have committed anie piracie or robberie upon either of their subiects, nor shall shew anie favour, give anie aid or succor, or suffer anie to be given directlie or indirectlie to the said rovers or pirats. Neither shall they during the time of the said amitie, in either of their kingdoms, or anie place of their dominions, favour, interteine, receive or reteine, nor suffer to be favoured, interteined, received, or retetined by anie of their subiects, anie rebels, traitors, or fugitives, subiects to either of them.

A proclamation for the free traffike of merchants as before, &c.

Thus farre have I continued this collection of the English histories, noting breefelie in these later yeares, such things as I find in the abridgement of Richard Grafton, and in the summarie of Iohn Stow, increased somewhat (as may appeare) in places with such helpes as have come to my hand; humblie beseeching the reader to accept the same in good part, and to pardon me where I have not satisfied his expectation: sith herein I must confesse, I have nothing contented my selfe, but yet at the request of others have doone what I could & not what I would, for want of conference with such as might have furnished me with more large instructions, such as had beene necessarie for the purpose.

THE CHRONICLES OF

England, from the yeare of our Lord 1576, where Raphaell Holinshed left;

supplied and continued to this preſent

yeare 1586: by Iohn Stow,

and others.

A Diſciple of Socrates, by name Ariſtippus, a man ſuerlie of a verie ſharpe iudgement and pleaſant wit, when he was demanded what profit he tooke by the ſtudie of wiſedome, made this anſwer: Forſooth this profit, that with all ſorts of men I can frankelie and boldlie ſpeake. Which anſwer might well be of that mans making; bicauſe he bare a mind indifferentlie free, as well from hope as feare: for he ſerued no man, nor yet flattered anie perſon, nor otherwiſe behaued himſelfe than his hart gaue him. Of the ſame mind it were to be wiſhed that all ſtorie-writers were: for then ſhould Chronicles approch next in truth to the ſacred and inuiolable ſcripture, and their vſe not onelie growe more common, but alſo of greater account. And right good reaſon whie. For therein is conteined the rich and pretious treaſure of time, the wiſeſt counſellor vnder the cope of heauen. And that ſaw Thales the philoſopher well inough, who being aſked what of all was the eldeſt? anſwered, God: what of all the faireſt? the world: what of all the greateſt? place: what of all the ſwifteſt? the mind: what of all the ſtrongeſt? neceſſitie: and what of all the wiſeſt? time. Time in Greeke is called χρόνος, whereof the word Chronicles ariſeth, termed τὰ χρόνικα, that is, obſeruations of time: ſo that if nothing in wiſedome dooth excell time, then who can but wax wiſe by reading and peruſing the obſeruations of time, which are meerelie & ſimplie Chronicles? Chroniclers therefore deſerue a reuerence of dutie, whome time hath called and culled out as it were by the hand, to vſe their miniſterie and ſeruice for the diſpoſing and diſtributing of the riches of his wiſedome to all ages, that ſucceſſors may be taught by their predeceſſors, wit by their follie, fealtie by their diſloialtie, obedience by their rebellion, vnitie and peace by their diſſention, plainneſſe by their doubleneſſe, ſobrietie by their vntemperance, courteſie by their churliſhneſſe, pitie by their vncharitableneſſe; finallie all goodneſſe by their badneſſe; for the which (as we may ſee by a ſea of examples in this booke) ſith they were greeuouſlie puniſhed, it is our gaine by their ſmart to be admoniſhed.

For surelie herein standeth a speciall vse of chronicles, that whilest some offending against the lawes of God, of nature, and of nations, doo draw vnto themselues deserued vengeance: others by loue allured, or by feare inforced, seeing their rufull fals, and auoiding the meanes, may happilie escape the paine. This frute hitherto hath this historie of chronicles afforded, no lesse heereafter by the continuation following is like to be performed; besides manifold matters of recreation, policie, aduentures, chiualrie, &c. abundantlie ministred; and all vnder the golden reigne of blessed queene Elisabeth, the sweet floure of amiable virginitie;

Cui vitam, studiúmque Deus, regnique coronam
Perpetuet, beet, & tranquillo fœdere iungat
Pòstque hanc exactam vitam, studium atque coronam,
Cœlesti vita, studio, diademate donet.

A. F.

An. Reg. 19.

THE CONTINVATION of the chronicles of England from the yeare of our Lord 1576, to this present yeare 1586, &c.



1. Stow. In vnnaturall brother murthereth his naturall brother, but the vnnaturall brother was hanged as he well deserued.

THe tenth day of November, in the citie of Worcester, a cruell & vnnaturall brother (as an other Cain) murdered his owne naturall & louing brother, first smiting his braines out of his head with an ax, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him vnder the hearth of a chimneie, thinking thereby (though wrongfullie) quietlie to haue inioied his brothers goods long before in his possession: but not long after this secret murder comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such vnnaturall murdering brethren. The seuententh of March, through a strange tempest which hapned in the North, nere to a towne called Richmond, not onelie cotages, trees, barnes and haiestakes, but also the most part of the church called Patrike Brumton was ouerthrowen, with most strange sights in the aire, both fearefull and terrible.

Anno Reg. 19.

Tempest in Richmondshire.

1577 Tower on London bridge taken downe.

In the moneth of Aprill, the decaied stone house called the tower vpon London bridge was begun to be taken downe, and the heads of traitors that were wont there on poles to be fixed, were remoued thense, and set on the gate at the bridge foot toward Southwarke. The seuentéenth daie of Maie, Richard Robinson goldsmith was drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged for clipping of gold. The one and thirtith daie of Maie, Martin Frobisher with one ship and two barks furnished for that purpose, sailed from Harwich in Essex towards Cataia by the northwest seas, and entered the streicts beyond quéene Elizabeths foreland, about thirtie leagues, where he went on shore, and finding store of the blacke stone, which the goldfiners had said to hold gold, and therefore called the same gold ore, he straught his ship & barke, caught a man, a woman, and a child of that countrie, and then on the foure and twentith of August returning from thense, arriued at Milford hauen in Wales on the twentith of September next following.

Robinson hanged for clipping of gold.

Second voiage to Cataia.

Strage sicknesse.

The fourth, fift, and sixt daie of Julie, the assises being holden at Oxford, there was arreigned and condemned one Rowland Jenkes, for his seditious toong, at which time there arose amidst the people such a dampe that almost all were smouldered, verie few escaping that were not taken at that instant: the iuros died presentlie, shortlie after died sir Robert Bell lord chiefe baron, sir Robert de Olie, sir William Babington, maister Wineman, maister de Olie high shiriffe, maister Dauers, maister Harecombe, maister Birls, maister Phetipace, maister Greenewood, maister Foster, maister Nash, sergeant Baram, maister Stephans, &c. There died in the towne of Oxford three hundred persons, and sickened there, but died in other places two hundred and od, from the first of Julie to the twelfe of August, after which daie died not one of that sickenesse, for one of them infected not an other, nor anie one woman or child died thereof.

Assise at Oxford.

¶ Of this sickenesse there passed a report in print, published vnder the name of W. B. who (as he saith himselfe) was present with sir William Babington, and therefore was able, and did (as he thought good) set downe the certeintie of that heaule accident, for the satisfaction of such friends of his as desired to know the vndoubted truth. And the same W. B. setting downe the opinion, that diuerse conceiued of this venemous maladie, saith that some supposed it to be of two sorts; howbeit (saith he) it is not so. For those that bled till they died, stroue so much with their sickenesse, that the bloud issued out at their vents: but yet had perfect memorie, euen to the yéelding of their breath, as was verie well perceiued by sir William Babington, who neuer ceased to call vpon God in his great agonie, &c. This reported W. B. as a certeine truth, to stop the fleing rumors of those that (as he saith) haue spoken vntrulie in this behalfe, and published their owne fantasies.]

Ab. Fl. ex relatu W. B. impress. 1577.

Tempest in Suffolke.

On sundaie the fourth of August, betweene the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenone, whilest the minister was reading of the second lesson in the parish church of Blibrough a towne in Suffolke, a strange and terrible tempest of lightening and thunder strake thorough the wall of the same church into the ground almost a yard déepe, drawe downe all the people on that side aboue twentie persons, then renting the wall vp to the reuestre, cleft the doore, and returning to the steeple, rent the timber, brake the chimes, & fled toward Bongie a towne six miles off. The people that were striken downe were found groueling more than halfe an houre after, whereof one man more than fortie yeares and a boie of fiftéene yeares old were found starke dead: the

the other were scorched. The same or the like flash of lightening and cracks of thunder rent the parish church of Bongie, nine miles from Norwich, wrong in sunder the wiers and wheles of the clocks, slue two men which sat in the belfreie, when the other were at the procession or suffrages, and scorched an other which hardlie escaped. The tower on London bridge being taken downe, and a new foundation drawne, sir John Langlete lord maior of the citie of London laid the first stone on the eight and twentith daie of August, in the presence of the shirifes of London & the two bridgemasters, which new tower was finished in the moneth of September, Anno 1579.

The tower on London bridge new builded.

Anno Reg. 20. Cuthert Maine executed. An example of sorcerers, and such as seeme to worke wonders to deceive men of their monie.

The thirtith daie of November, Cuthert Maine was drawne, hanged, and quartered at Lancelton in Cornewall for preferring Romane power. The seuenteenth of Januarie, one Simon Penbroke dwelling in saint Georges parish in Southwarke, being a figuretlinger, and vehementlie suspected to be a conjurer, by commandement of the ordinarie iudge for those parties, appeared in the parish church of saint Saulors in Southwarke, at a court holden there. Which Simon being buried in interteining a proctor, and having monie in his hand, leaned his head vpon a pew wherein the proctor stood: which after he had done a certeine space, the proctor began to lift vp his head to see what he ailed, and found him departing out of life, and streightwaie the said Simon fell downe, ratling a little in the throte, and neuer spake word after. This was done euen as the iudge came into the church, who said it was the iust iudgement of God towards those that vsed sorcerie, and a great example to admonish other to feare the iustice of God. After, his clothes being opened, there were found about him fiue diuelish bookes of conjuration, and most abhominable practises, with a picture of tin of a man, hauing three dice in his hand with this posie: Chance dice fortunatlie; & diuerse papers of such like matters, as he had dealt in for men, such men I meane as are mentioned in Leuiticus the twentith chapter and first verse: If anie soule turne himselfe after such as worke with spirits, and after sothsaiers, to go a whoring after them (saith the Lord) I will put my face against that soule, and will cut him off from ameng my people.

Nelson and Sherewod executed.

The third daie of Februarie, John Nelson for deuiseng the quenes supremacie, and such other traitorous words against hir maiestie, was drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And on the seuenth of the same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherewin was likewise drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for the like offense. The fiue and twentith of Februarie, John de Loy a Frenchman, and fiue English gentlemen, was conueied from the tower of London towards Norwich, there to be arreigned and executed for coining of monie counterfeit. And on the ninth of March, seuen pirats were hanged at Wapping in the ouze beside London.

Counterfetters of coine executed.

Pirats hanged.

1578

The ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox deceased on the tenth of March, at hir house in the parish of Hackneie besides London, and was buried at Westminster on the third of Aprill. The one and thirtith and last of Maie, Martine Frobisher with fiftéene saile of good ships, manned, victelled, and otherwise well appointed, departed from Harwich in Essex on his third voiage towards Catais. And on the one and thirtith and last daie of Julie, after manie attempts, and sundrie times being put backe by Ilands of ice in the streicts, he recouered his long wished port, and came to anchor in the Ilands, newlie by hir maiestie named *Meta incognita*, where (as in the yeare before) they straight their ships with the like stone or gold ore out of the mines; and then on the last of August returning thense, arriued safelie in England about the first of October.

Frobishers third voiage.

The two and twentith of Januarie being thursdaie, about seuen of the clocke at night, John Casimere countie palatine of Rhen, duke of Bauare, landing at the tower of London, was there by diuerse noble men and others honourablie receiued, and conueied by cresset light and torch light to sir Thomas Gresh-ams house in Bishops gate street, where he was receiued with sounding of trumpets, drums, fiefs, and other instruments of musicke, and there both lodged and feasted till sundaie next, that he was by the nobilitie fetched and conueied to the court at Westminster, where after he had talked with hir maiestie, he returned vnto Summersets house at the Strand, and was there lodged. In the weeke following he hunted at Hampton court. On sundaie the first of Februarie he beheld a valiant iusting and running at the tilt at Westminster. On the next morrow in the same place he saw them fight at barriers with swords on horsse backe. On tuesdaie he dined with the lord maior of London; on wednesdaie with the dutchesse of Suffolke, at hir house called the Barbican in Red crosse street; on thursdaie at the Stilliard, &c. On sundaie the eight of Februarie, the queene made him knight of the garter, by deliuering to him the collar, & putting the garter on his leg at White hall. And on the fourteenth of Februarie, he departed from London to Rochester homewards, with great rewards giuen to him by the quenes maiestie, the nobilitie, men of honour, the lord maior of London, and other citizens of that citie.

Anno Reg. 21. The receiuing of Casimere.

1579 Deepe snow

The same moneth of Februarie, to wit, on the fourth daie, and in the night next following, fell such abundance of snow, that on the first daie in the morning, the same snow was found in London to lie two foot deepe in the shallowest, and otherwise being driuen by the wind, verie boisterous in the northeast on banks one ell or a yard & a half deepe. In the which drifts of snow, farre deeper in the countrie, manie cattell, and some men and women were ouerwhelmed and lost. It snowed till the eight daie of that moneth, and friseld till the tenth, and then followed a thaw with continuall raine a long time after, which caused such high waters, and great floods, that the marishes and low grounds being drowned for the time, and the water of the Thames rose so high into Westminster hall, that after the fall thereof, some fishes were found to remaine in the said hall.

Great land waters.

A murtherer hanged on Mile end greene.

The seuenteenth of Februarie, an Irishman for murdering of a man in a garden of Stepenheth parish, was hanged in chaines on the common called Mile end greene. This common was sometimes, yea in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile long (from White chappell to Stepenheth church) and therefore called Mile end greene, but now at this present, by grédie (and as seemeth to me vnlawfull) inclosures, and building of houses, notwithstanding hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it remaineth scarse halfe a mile in length. The twentith daie of Februarie deceased sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seale of England, who was honourablie buried vnder a sumptuous monument or tombe (by him in his life time erected) in S. Pauls church of London, on the ninth daie of March. This sir Nicholas Bacon in his life time gaue for six scholers, to be found in Bennets college in Cambridge, to each of them three pounds six shillings and eight pence the yeare for euer.

Lord keeper deceased.

¶ The said sir Nicholas Bacons tombe aforesaid, bearing

A collect epitaph diuinorum.

ing certeine representations of his wiues and children in imagerie worke, is adorned with a notable epitaph, wherein is pithilie described the meanes whereby he grew to be noble, as also immortall. The same being conteined in these verses following, and iustifiable by the verie epitaph, whereof this is a true transcription, & great pitie but it shuld be perpetuall.

On the south fac these verses.

Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen; exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem sors; sed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, vnica & prudentia.

On the north fac these.

Non morte raptum crede, qui vnica
Vita perennes emerit duas: agit
Vitam secundum cœlites inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est:
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ.]

Great snow in the moneth of Aprill.

This yeare in the moneth of Aprill, to wit on the foure and twentith daie, fell such a snow betweene the hours of foure of the clocke in the morning, & nine of the clocke before none of the same daie, that in London the same snow was found to lie one foot deepe.

Sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor.

The 25 daie of Aprill, sir Thomas Bromleie knight was made lord chancellor of England.

The chancellors of England, collected out of sundrie ancient histories.

The collection of Francis Thin.

THe creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue beene the willinger to set downe, because I would minister cause to others (who haue long wanted of their cunning in this matter) to impart to the world some of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of their countrie. But since I doubt that they will not accept this in good part till that come. And as I may, & perhaps doo (in this) somewhat more largelie (than in the iudgement of others shall seeme answerable to the most receiued opinion, touching the chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them; so yet I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection vpon this first rough hewing (as nothing is at the first so erquisit, as time doth not after amend it) yet disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than before was knowen. And I determine God willing, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid in the large description of their liues, whatsoeuer imperfections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time; and so to the matter.

It hath beene some question amongst the best antiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie chancellors in England, before the comming of Edward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they suppose to haue brought the same officer with him from thense into this realme. But sith I am with manie reasons and ancient authorities led to beleue the contrarie; I will imbrace the contrarie opinion thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall prooue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof and for the authoritie of them; for the etymologie and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse in my booke purposelie written of the liues of the chancellors, whereunto I wholie refer thee: who I hope shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof, and in the meane time giue thee this taste of the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechancellors, and such keepers of the great seale, as serued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was keeper of the great seale, was not intituled chancellor, no more than euerie chancellor was intituled the keeper of the greatseale. But because the one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that after a certeine sort, the keeper of the great seale was vicechancellor, and possessed the place, though not the name of a chancellor; as in our age, sir Nicholas Bacon did: we therefore haue set downe the names of the one and the other, as they followed in succession of time, after this manner.

Turketill.

Turketill chancellor to Ethelbald, who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ 718, which Turketill gaue sir manours to the abbeie of Croiland, as I haue seene noted.

Saint Swithin.

Saint Swithin bishop of Winchester was chancellor, and chiefe of councell to the great monarch king Egbert, though some attribute him to Edgar, which Egbert began his reigne about the yeare of Christ 802.

Wilfinus.

Wilfinus, chancellor to king Athelstan, who began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption nine hundred and foure and twentie.

Adulphus.

Adulphus, chancellor to king Edgar, who began his reigne in the yeare that the world became fleshy, nine hundred fiftie and nine: of this man speaketh Hugo Petro Burgensis; and Leland calleth this Adulph *Cancellarium & archigrammatum*: chancellor or chiefe secretarie.

Hist. Elienſ. lib. 2. written in the time of K. Stephan.

Alfius or Aelfius the second abbat of Elie, chancellor to king Ethelred, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred seuentie and eight, this man, being by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, consecrated abbat at the appointment of the said king Ethelred or Egelred, and being then abbat of Elie, when Ethelred gaue with his commandement that the abbat of Elie should then, and for euer, be chancellor; I doubt not to place him here amongst the chancellors: the proofe of which matter I haue here *verbatim* set downe, out of the second booke of the historie of Elie. *Statuit* (which was Ethelred) *atque concessit quatenus ecclesiam de Eli, ex tunc & semper in regis curia cancellarij ageret dignitatem, quod etiam aliis sancti videlicet Augustini & Glesconiæ ecclesijs constituit, vt abbates istorum cœnobiorum vicissim adsignatis succedendo temporibus annum trifariè diuiderent, cum sanctuarijs & cæteris ornamentis ministrando: &c.*

Leofricus.

Leofricus Bathonicus chancellor to Edward the confessor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and fiue, and some yeares before: this man was bishop of Cridington in Cornewall, which see was after translated to Excester.

Wilfinus.

Wilfinus, or Wulfinus chancellor to Edward the confessor, in the latter end of the said yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and fiue, being the third yeare of his reigne; this man cannot be he which some would haue to be Wilfinus the abbat of Westminster. For that Wulfinus died one and fortie yeares before this Wulfinus the chancellor; sith that Wulfinus was made abbat of Westminster, about the yeare nine hundred fiftie and eight, and died in the yeare one thousand and foure; being bishop of Shireburne. Yet I will not at this time iudiciallie resolue, although I suppose it true, whether this Wilfinus the chancellor, and Wulfinus the bishop of Lichfield, witnesse to a deed, wherein Edward the confessor granted certeine liberties to Leofwine, abbat of the abbeie of Couentrie, built by Leofrike erle of Mercia, be all one man or no. Againe, there is an other man which was abbat of saint Albons called Wulfinus, which for affinitie to the name of this man I thought onelie to touch in this place.

Resen-

Resenbaldus. Resenbaldus, or Rembaldus, for I take them both by manie and ancient authorities to be all one man; was chancellor to Edward the confessor, and seale bearer, witnesse amongest others; to manie deeds which I haue seene of the confessors; some dated in the yeare one thousand three score and six, and some otherwise. He was buried at Cirencester, or Cicester.

Mauricius. Mauricius chancellor to William the Conqueror in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and seuen, being the first and part of the second yere of William the Conqueror.

Osmundus. Osmundus, after bishop of Sarum, chancellor to William the Conqueror, in the yere one thousand three score and seauen, and after in the yere one thousand three score and fifteene, about the ninth yeare of the kings reigne.

Arfastus. Arfastus bishop of Helmane, who translated his see from Helmane to Tetford, was chancellor to William the Conqueror, in the yere of Christ one thousand three score and eight, being in the second and third yere of the Conqueror, and also in the yere one thousand seuentie and seuen, being about the tenth yeare of William Conqueror.

Hirmanus. Hirmanus that was first made bishop of Suring or Wilton, and translated his see from Wilton to Shirburne, from thense to Sarum; he is that Hirmanus which I suppose was chancellor to William the Conqueror, and called Hirmannus, and that wrote the life and miracles of saint Edmund king of the Eastangles.

William Melson. William Melson borne of a noble house, chapleine and chancellor to William the Conqueror (as hath Robertus Montensis) succeeded Arfastus in the bishoprike of Tetford, to whom by the gift of William Rufus succeeded in that see Herbertus Losinga abbat of Ramsete, which translated the bishops see to Norwich; of which Losinga were (as hath Matthew Westminster) these verses here set downe compiled:

Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga,
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta,
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,
Si præsens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret,
Proh dolor! ecclesiæ nummis venduntur & ære,
Filius est præsul, pater abbas, Simon vterque.
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quid vult facit, addit & aufert,
Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit præsul & abbas.

William Gifford. William Gifford bishop of Winchester was chancellor in the time of the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, of Henrie, who made him bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand and one hundred, and was consecrated in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and seuen: though it seemeth that Robert Bluet came in place of this William Gifford, remoued about the fourth of the same Rufus from his office of chancellorship, as I suppose will be well proued, but after placed againe in that office. Of the death of this William is much contrarietie, for Matthew Westminster placed it three seuerall yeares, the eight and twentith and nine and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, and againe in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and two, being the seuenth yeare of king Stephan.

Robert Bluet. Robert Bluet, Bloet, or Bloscit made chancellor in the yere of Christ one thousand and ninetie, being the fourth yeare of William Rufus, he was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand ninetie and two: but as it appeareth to me by some authoritie that I haue seene, he did execute that office being bishop of Lincolne: he died at Woodstocke in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, being about the three and twentith yere of the reigne of Henrie the first, whose epitaph Henrie Huntington reciteth in this manner:

Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superbe
Perpetuare dabit, nec obiturus obit:
Hic humilis, diues (res mira) potens, prius vltor,
Compatiens, mitis, quam pateretur erat,
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in aduersis murus & arma suis:
In decima Iani mendacia somnia mundi
Liquit, & euigilans vera per hennè vidit.

Ranulphus. Ranulphus in the time of William Rufus, which might be that man which was after chancellor in the time of Henrie the first.

Waldricus. Waldricus chancellor to Henrie the first, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and three, being the third yeare of his reigne.

Herbertus. Herbertus chancellor in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand one hundred and foure (as appeareth by an anonymall pamphlet in written hand) of whome I am not yet resolued whether this were Herbertus Losinga bishop of Norwich or no.

Roger. Roger bishop of Salisburie, whome Henrie the first called a meet chapleine to serue souldiors, was chancellor to king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yere of king Henrie the first, and in the yere one thousand one hundred and seuen, about the seuenth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being chosen bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and two, and consecrated in the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuen.

Galfridus. Galfridus Rufus bishop of Durham, witnesse to a deed wherein Henrie the first confirmed to the priorie of Christs church a peece of ground without Aldgate called Knighton guild, in the presence of Gefrie chancellor, Gefrie Clinton, and William Clinton: he was also chancellor in the two and twentith yere of Henrie the first, and so vntill the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, and then was made bishop of Durham, which Gefrie died about the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred fortie and one.

Ranulphus. Ranulphus, called by Matthew Westminster Ranulphus, chancellor to Henrie the first, and Richard the chapleine, keeper of the great seale, being at one time. This Ranulph was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred and sixteene, being the sixteenth of king Henrie the first, in which office I suppose that he continued, vntill the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, being the three and twentith of the said Henrie, in which yeare this chancellor (for so is he then called) fell from his horse and brake his necke on a hill not far from Dunstable, where the king kept his Christmasse.

Reginald. Reginald chancellor to king Henrie the first, as Leland hath set him downe, writing in this sort in his notes of Pontacute abbeie: *Reginaldus cancellarius*, so named (belike) of his office, he was a man of great fame about king Henrie the first: he fell to religion, and was prior of Pontacute, and inlarged it with great buildings and possessions, &c.

Roger. Roger bishop of Salisburie againe chancellor in the latter end of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the beginning of king Stephan, in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and six, which Henrie the first died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and fiue, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie. This Roger died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan.

Godfrey. Godfrey chancellor to Henrie the first (as I gather out of Matthew Parker in the life of William Corbell or Corbeis) the six and thirtith archbishop of Canturbu-

an. Reg. 21.

Canturburie, to which dignitie this William was aduanced in the three and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1123, of which Godfreie the said Matthew further writeth in this sort, speaking of the said William the archbishop returned from Rome with the pall: *Deinde Alexandrum Lincolniensem episcopum Cantuariæ, Godefredum regni cancellarium Bathoniensem episcopum Londini consecrauit.* Concerning which Godfreie we will speake more hereafter in the liues of the chancellors, onelie at this time setting downe that this Godefredus was the quænes chapleine, and could not be that Galfridus before named, which was bishop of Durham; for this Godefredus died sir yeares before that Galfridus, for this bishop of Bath died in the yeare of our Lord 1135, being the last of king Henrie Beauclerke, and the first of king Stephan; & that bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord 1141, being about the first yeare of the said king Stephan; and this Godfreie was the second bishop of Bath and Wels after the uniting of those two cities to one bishoprike by John de Towres, the first bishop of those two places in the yeare of our Lord 1092, being about the fift yeare of William Rufus.

Alexander bishop of Lincolne. Alexander bishop of Lincolne (as may be after a sort gathered out of Wilhelmus Paruus lib. 1. cap. 6.) being cousine or nephue to Roger bishop of Salisburie was chancellor: the words of which W. Paruus be these: *Eidem* (that was to king Stephan) *quoque sublimato in regem, se* (that was Roger bishop of Salisburie) *talem exhibuit, vt obsequiorum gratia præclaram apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tantis ille beneficijs ingratus, & in ipsum episcopum (cuius opera nunquam episcopalia fuere) vltor diuinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam exigui hominem momenti primo carcerati custodia, postmodum eum cibi inopia, & nepoti eius (qui cancellarius fuerat regis) intentato supplicio ita coarctauit, vt duo illa præclara castella* (which were the castels of Vise otherwise called de Deuises, and the castell of Shirburne) *in quibus thesauri eius erant reposita resignaret.* Thus much Wilhelmus Newburgensis, the truth whereof I leaue to other to consider, sith the words of those authors may be diuerslie expounded, either that this Alexander was chancellor, or his sonne, or else the sonne of Roger bishop of Salisburie. But be it any or none of them, as the truth shall hereafter be made plaine, yet bicause I haue mentioned Alexander in this place, I thinke it not amisse to set downe such verses as Henrie Huntington hath recited of this Alexander, which are:

This was about the beginning of the fourth yeare of K. Stephan, being An. Do. 1138, but Mat. Paris giueth it to An. Dom. 1139: who saith, *Collo sibi qui cancellarius fuit lacum anne, &c.* And Henrie Huntington agreeing wholie with W. Paruus.

Splendor Alexandri, non tam reniteſcit honore,
Quàm per eum reniteſcit honor, flos námque virorum,
Dando tenere putans theſauros cogit honoris,
Et gratis dare feſtinans ne danda rogentur,
Quod non dum dederit non dum ſe credit habere
Oh decus! oh morum directio! quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta poteſtas,
Lene iugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertáſque decens, venere pudórque facetus.
Lincoliæ gens magna prius, nec maxima ſemper,
Talis & iſte diu ſit nobis tutor honoris.

Robert. Robert chancellor of England in the time of king Stephan, but I find not in what yeare, bicause the charter is without date, neither can I learne what he was, bicause I know not his surname.

Philip. Philip chancellor to king Stephan, about the fourth yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our Lord 1139, witnesse to manie deedes which king Stephan made to the monks of Elie, and to Nigellus the bishop of that see.

Reinold. Reinold abbat of Walden, whome I haue seene in one anonymall briefe written chronicle to be termed chancellor: but in what time he liued, or what other name he had I do not yet know, but by the course of the historie much about this time.

John. John chancellor of England in the time of king Henrie the second, but what he was or in what yeare of king Henrie he liued I do not know, and therefore leaue it to him that both can and ought to giue life to these persons whom he imprisoneth in the east castell of London; not doubting but in time he will do his countrie good, and correct other men; though now he be so streict laced, as that he will not procure anie furtherance of other mens trauels.

Thomas Becket. Thomas Becket made chancellor (as some write) in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, others saie in the fourth yeare: but the best authors agree that he gaue ouer the seale in the yeare of Christ 1162, being the eight yeare of the victorious prince the said Henrie the second against the will of the prince, he died in the yeare of our redemption 1170, as these verses do proue, being such as the curiositie of that superstitious age would permit:

Pro Chriſto, ſponſa Chriſti, ſub tempore Chriſti,
** In templo Chriſti, verus amator obit,*
Anno mileno, centeno, ſeptuageno,
Anglorum primas corruit enſe Thomas.
Quis moritur? præſul: cur? pro grege: qualiter? enſe:
Quando? natali: quis locus? ara Dei.

* Christes church in Canturburie.

Rafe Warneuile. Rafe Warneuile archdeacon of Rone and treasuror of the church of Yorke, was made chancellor about the yeare that the word became flesh 1173, being about the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the second: of this man speaketh Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster.

Walterus de Constantijs. Walterus de Constantijs archdeacon of Oxford after bishop of Lincolne, in the yeare of our redemption 1182, from whense he was aduanced in the yeare 1184, being the one and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the second vnto the archbishoprike of Rone, of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the protectors of England pag. 1069.

Geffreie. Geffreie the ballard sonne to king Henrie the second, after that he had surrendered the bishoprike of Lincolne, whereof he was neuer consecrat bishop, but kept the place and receiued the reuenues, was made chancellor much about the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ 1180: yet be there some that saie he resigned the bishoprike in the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second, in the yeare of Christ 1181. The difference whereof groweth (as I suppose) for that some accompt the beginning of the yeare of our Lord from the first of Januarie, as all other nations of Europe do; some from the birth of Christ, as we in England did long time since the conquest; and some from the fiue and twentith of March, on which it is supposed that the world began first to be created: which last accompt we in England (and the Scots as hath Lesleus) do keepe, together with them of Genoa or Gene in Italie, contrarie to the order of all other nations. The begining of which maner of accompt amongst vs I cannot as yet certeinlie learne: but I suppose it began much about the time of king Edward the third, for all the former historiographers begin the yeare from the birth of Christ.

William Longchampe. William Longchampe the proud bishop of Elie, legat of England for the bishop of Rome, chiefe iustice of the south and west parts of England, and deputie of that part of the realme, when Richard the first went to the warres of the holie land, was made chancellor in the said first of king Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1189: of the sumptuous feast of whose inthronization thus writeth Ferthulphus (or Ferculphus) by the waie of comparison:

Præuiſis alijs, Elienſia feſta videre,
Eſt quaſi præuiſa nocte videre diem.

He died in the yeare of Christ 1197, going to Rome, in the abbeie of Pimie, being of the charterhouse order.

der. About which time in the first yeare of Richard the first, there was a vicechancellor called *Malus Catulus*.

Eustachius. Eustachius deane of Salisburie, was chancellor of England, being elected bishop of Elie the third ides of August, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1196, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first, of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, contrarie to that which others affirme, writing that Eustachius succeeded William Lonchampe in the office of chancellor, and in the bishoprike of Elie. The words of Matthew Parker in the life of Hubert be these: *Hubertus deposito magistratu ciuili, ecclesiæ curæ totus vacabat, consecrauitque postea Robertum de Salopesbi episcopum Banchorensem, & Eustachium qui in cancellary munere ei successit Elienſem episcopum, Westmonasterij debita accepta ab vtroque subiectionis professione.*

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert. Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert, for such a transmutation of the name is vsed by authors, being first bishop of Salisburie and then archbishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor shortlie after the coronation of king John, which was in the yeare that the virgine brought forth Christ 1199, at what time a certeine noble man said vnto him in scorne, I haue often seene of a chancellor made a bishop, but I neuer before saw an archbishop made a chancellor.

Simon. Simon or rather Hugh, of which is more hereafter, archdeacon of Welles in the first yeare of king John (after as I suppose that Hubert had left the office being so disgraced & abased as he thought) was witnesse to a deed, in which king John granted to the citizens of Yorke a guildhall, hanse, and other liberties, as I haue seene noted in the copie of the same charter, for which cause I haue here set it downe as an other man, although in truth I am fullie resolued that this Simon and the Hugh following were all one person, leauing it yet for euerie mans iudgement.

Hugh de welles. Hugh de Welles archdeacon of Welles, witnesse to the deed in which king John, in the first yeare of his reigne, confirmed to the monasterie of Westminster, Gittlep or Islep in Oxfordshire, in which house Edward the confessor was borne, he was made bishop of Lincolne about the tenth yeare of king Johns reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1209, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1235.

Walter Bzaie. Walter Bzaie chosen bishop of Chester, in the yeare of our Lord 1210, was bishop of Worcester and after bishop of Yorke, a man of extreame age, was made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king John as one anonymall chronicle saith, to hold that office during his life. Others saie that he was made chancellor in the yeare of Christ 1209, being the tenth yeare of king John after Hugh de Welles. But I suppose he surrendred that patent to hold it during his life, when he came to be bishop of Yorke. Of this man is more spoken in my treatise of the protectors of England, pag. 1069.

Richard de Marischo. Richard de Marischo, whom Matthew Paris termeth *Tholenarius*, as it were tolegatherer or treasuror if you list, being archdeacon of Northumberland, was chancellor in the fourth yeare of king John, as appeareth by a deed that I haue seene: and further he was made chancellor in the 15 yeare of king John, in which office he continued to the 17 yeare of the said king, and as some do write during king Johns life, and died about the calends of Maie in the yeare of our redemption 1226, in the tenth yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as some haue. But the booke of Durham saith, that he was made bishop of that see by Gwado the legat, and consecrated by Walter Bzaie bishop of Yorke, in the yeare of our redemption 1214, being about the sixteenth yeare of king John, and died suddenlie at Peterborow the first daie of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1226, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after that he had béne bishop of Durham nine yeares, of whom a monke of Durham made this epitaph in formall deuise as you see following:

Culmina qui cupiſti — laudes pompásque ſiri
Eſt ſedata ſi — ſime penſare veli
Qui populos regi — memores ſuper omnia ſa
Quod mors immi — tis — non parcit honore poti — tis
Vobis præpoſi — ſimilis fuerem bene ſci
Quod ſum vos eri — ad me currendo veni

And here sith I am entered into the surname of Marischus, I will set downe what I found ingraued on the wall of the doze of the chapter house of the monasterie of Bath (almost defaced with the wether) written in Greeke Saxon characters. ✠ *Hic iacet Alexander de Alueto, & Ernluerga vxor eius, & Fulco de Alueto filius eorum: & Lucia de Mariſcis filia eius, & Iordanus de Mariſcis filius eiuſdem Luciæ, & Wilhelmus de Mariſcis filius eiuſdem Iordani.* Which name of the Mariches, Marshes, or Mores, if it like them to expound it, as I doubt not but manie will quiddle therevpon, was as great a name in Ireland as it was in England.

Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester. Rafe Neuill was confirmed (as it seemeth) chancellor by the whole consent of the nobilitie, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1226, being about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after which he was made bishop of Chichester in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1227, or as hath Matthew Westm. he was made bishop of Chichester in the yeare of Christ 1223, being before chancellor. After which the king in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, offended with Neuill, tooke from him the great seale, & deliuered it to Gefreie of the temple, as hath Matthew Paris, and to John de Lerinton: although that the said Neuill remained still chancellor, and receiued the profits thereof, to whom the king would after haue regiuen the seale in the yeare of Christ 1239, being the three and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie, but Neuill would not receiue it. This man died in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, at his palace at London not far from the new temple.

Gefreie the Templer. Gefreie the Templer & John de Lerinton were made keepers of the great seale. But shortlie after this Gefreie had the seale taken from him, bicause he grew in mislike of the nobilitie in continuall prouoking them to anger.

Hugh Pateshall chanon of Paules. Hugh Pateshall chanon of Paules is by Matthew Paris fol. 656, called chancellor in the three and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, which I much doubt to be true. Of this man shall be more said in the treasurors of England.

Simon the Norman. Simon the Norman keeper of the great seale in the three & twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1229: he had the seale shortlie after taken from him, and was banished the court, bicause he would not seale the patent, whereby Thomas earle of Flanders might take foure pence for custome of euerie sacke of woll that came out of England into Flanders. This Simon died in the yeare of Christ 1249, being the three and thirtith of king Henrie the third.

Richard Grasse abbat of Euesham. Richard Grasse or Grossus abbat of Euesham (the said Simon expelled) had the keeping of the great seale in the three and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, he kept the seale three yeares, and being chosen bishop of Chester, he resigned the same in the yeare of Christ 1242, being the six & twentith yeare of king Henrie the third: he died (being wise & learned in the canon and ciuill law) in the same

yeare

yeare in Gascoine, in a citie called in Latine *Riola* or *Regula*, where he was buried.

John de Lerinton. John de Lerinton was againe made keeper of the seale in the six and twentith yeere of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1242, to execute that office, Rafe Neuill being in life and still chancellor, but in the kings disgrace, shortlie after which this Neuill died. This John Lerinton died 1257, being the 41 yeare of Henrie the third.

Ranulfe Briton. Ranulfe Briton (as I read) is said to be chancellor and treasuror of the chamber, about the seuen and twentith yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1242. I suppose that he onelie had the keeping of the great seale as the rest had before him, during the life of Rafe Neuill, and so I leaue him to the iudgement of others, sith Matthew Paris continuallie nameth him treasuror and once chancellor, who suddenlie died after dinner beholding plaiers at dise, in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: of whom thus writeth the said Matthew Paris in his greater historie fol. 954. *Ranulphus Brito quondam domino familiarissimus regi & reginæ (multis posthabitis nobilibus) & eiusdem cancellarius specialis, quum post mensalem refectionem aleatores certatim insexisset colludentes, lætalis apoplexiæ inexpectato vulnere corruit sugillatus.*

Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester.

Syluester de Euersden. Sylvester de Euersden receiued the great seale the nine and twentith yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare that the son of God became flesh one thousand two hundred fortie and six: he was vicechancellor & consecrated bishop of Carleill (being a man most cunning in the custome of the chancerie) in the yeare of Christ 1247, being the one and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third.

John Mansell. John Mansell treasuror of Yorke, parson of Maidstone in Kent, and parson of Wigan, chancellor of Paules, maister or ruler of Beuerleie, chiefe iustice of England, one of the priuie councell to Henrie the third, his chapleine, ambassador into Spaine, and a worthie souldier, crossed to go to Jerusalem, who at one feast had two kings, two quéenes, and I know not how manie noble men, and whose spirituall liuings were about foure thousand marks of yerelie reuenues (as I haue gathered) he was at the will and instance of the king made keeper of the great seale as vicechancellor (for Matthew Paris saith, *Custodiam sigilli regij accepit tancellarij vices acturus & officium*) about the one & thirtith of king Henrie the third, in the yeare that God tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1247, he built a house of regular canons at Romneie two miles from the sea. To this man king Henrie the third, in the thirtith yeare of his reigne, did grant that his towne of Wigan should be a burrow.

Geffrey the Templer.

Hugh Patehall chanon of Paules.

John de Lerinton. John de Lerinton, being after chiefe iustice of the forest from the riuer of Trent southward, was againe keeper of the great seale, vntill some part of the two and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1248.

Simon the Norman.

John Mansell. John Mansell againe keeper of the great seale, who at Woodstocke in the two and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, did receiue the great seale of the said John Lerinton, which he kept (as I suppose and that with some good profe) vntill the three & thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1248. Of which John Mansell thus writeth an old anonymall chronicle concerning the barons warres: *Sed & Johannes Mansell multarum in Anglia ecclesiarum rector seu potius incubator, reddituum quoque quorum non erat numerus possessor magnificus, ita quòd ditior eo clericus non videbatur in orbe episcopali, puta dignitate minimè insignitus, metu baronum aufugit & latenter vltra mare de turri London, in qua rex Angliæ & regina sua tunc temporis tenuerunt se. Quem quum Henricus filius regis Alemaniæ fugientem insequeretur, & ipse capitur quum applicuisset Bononiæ à magistro Gerando de Fenes procuratore vt putabatur reginæ, &c.*

Richard Grasle abbat of Euesham.

Radulphus de Diceto. Radulphus de Diceto was chancellor (as I read & suppose) much about this time: but for certeintie I refer the same to the large booke of their liues, where he shall not faile to haue his right time and place.

William of Kilkennie. William of Kilkennie, being a modest, wise, and faithfull man, learned in the canon and ciuill lawes, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, being the foure & thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He was elected to the bishoprike of Elie, as saith the historie of Elie, the eighteenth kalends of September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & fiue, being about the nine and thirtith yere of Henrie the third. But others saie that he being then vicechancellor, was elected bishop of Elie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, after that he had faithfullie and to his great commendation vsed and borne the great seale, he was cõsecrated to that bishoprike in the yere of Christ 1255, and died in the yere 1256 being about the one and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, whose heart was buried at Elie.

Henrie de Wingham. Henrie de Wingham was made chancellor in the nine and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, and continued in the one and fortith and two and fortith yeare of Henrie the third, in which yeare (as some haue) and in the 43 of Henrie the third (as others haue.) He was chosen bishop of Wincheſter, vpon condition that he should giue place to Athelmer halfe brother to king Henrie the third, & son to Hugh Brune earle of March, and of Eleanor king Henrie the thirds mother, being banished by the barons, if that he should againe returne into England, and then leaue the bishoprike of Wincheſter vnto him, which he did vpon the comming againe of the said Athelmer into England, and for that cause was after chosen bishop of London, being chosen thereto in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, and still chancellor, and is buried in Paules on the south side of the quier (next to Eustachius bishop of London) in a monument of marble, with this inscription on the wall to tell who it was: *Hic iacet Henricus de Wingham quondam episcopus huius ecclesiæ, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesiæ sancti Pauli.*

Walter Merton. Walter Merton chancellor in the foure and fortith yere of king Henrie the third, being the yeare 1260.

Nicholas of Elie. Nicholas of Elie made chancellor by the barons, in the said yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and sixtie, and Walter Merton displaced. But king Henrie the third, disdaining to haue officers appointed him by his subiects, did in the moneth of October following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and sixtie, or rather one thousand two hundred sixtie and one, depriue the said Nicholas, and replaced the said Walter Merton.

Walter Merton bishop of Rochester the second time made chancellor as before appeareth. Walter Merton the second time.

John de Chesill. John de Chesill archdeacon of London and treasuror of England, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and foure, being the eight and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. This man was consecrated bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, the third kalends of Maie, as hath Matthew Westminster: he died in the yeare that the word of the father became flesh one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, the fourth ides of Februarie, in the seuenth yeare of the scourge of the Scots and Welshmen.

Vita Thomæ Cantelupi.

Thomas de Cantelupe, borne of the noble house of the lords Cantelupes (the son of William Cantelupe and Philesent, which as saith Leland drew hir originall from the countesses of Pozke) being archdeacon of Stafford, was doctor and after bishop of Hereford in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, and before that made chancellor, after the feast of saint Peters chaire, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie & fiue, being the nine and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He died beyond the seas comming from the court of Rome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, or more truelie (as others haue) in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie & three, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the first, whose bones were brought to Hereford.

Walter Giffard bishop of Bath and Welles.

Walter Giffard bishop of Bath and Welles, whome manie do call William, did inioy the state of the chancellor, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred sixtie & six, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: he was translated from Bath to Pozke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the nine and fortith yeare of the same Henrie the third, and died the seuenth kalends of Maie in the twelfe yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & seuen, being the sixt yeare of king Edward the first, or (as hath Nicholas Triuet) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first.

Geffrey Gifford.

Geffrey Gifford was chancellor also in the one and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and seuen. This man was bishop of Worcester about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine, where he sat foure and thirtie yeares, foure moneths, and foure daies, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and foure, being about the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first.

John de Chesill.

John de Chesill was the second time honoured with the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, being the three and fiftith yeare in which king Henrie the third of that name did hold the scepter of England.

Richard de Middleton.

Richard de Middleton, so surnamed of the place where he was borne, was aduanced to the office of the chancellorship, in the said three and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the moneth of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, and was also (as appeareth by a charter which I haue seene) witnesse to the same deed, in the foure and fiftith yeare of the said king Henrie, who (as farre as I can gather) died in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and one, being the six and fiftith yeare of the long gouernment of king Henrie the third. There was a writer of England that wrote many volums of this name liuing at this time, whom I doubt not (for anie thing that I can yet learne) to be the same man which was chancellor.

John de Kirbie.

John de Kirbie, after the death of Richard Middleton, was made keeper of the great seale in the said six and fiftith yere of king Henrie the third. Whether this were the same John Kirkbie, which after was bishop of Elie, and treasuror of England, I haue not as yet to determine, although I rather hold the affirmatiue than the contrarie.

Walter Merton.

Walter Merton the third time made chancellor of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred seuentie and three, being the first yeare of the reigne of that famous prince king Edward the first of that name: he was bishop of Rochester, and built Merton college in Oxford, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seauentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Robert Burnell.

Robert Burnell the eleuenth bishop of Bath and Wels (after the uniting of those two sees in one by John de Toures in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and two) was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our Lord (as saith Euersden) one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, and chosen archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, but refected by the pope: he was chancellor in the second yeare of the said Edward the first, in which place it seemeth that he long continued: of whom thus writeth an anonymall chronicle; *Dominus Edmundus comes Cornubiæ fundauit nouum studium ordinis Cisterciensis apud Oxonias, & monachos de Thame primò ibidem introduxit, & dedit eis prima donatione manerium de Erdington, & fecit dedicare locum abbatiæ tertij idus Decembris: per dominum Robertum Burnell episcopum Bathon & Welles, cancellarium regis, & posuit fundamentum nouæ ecclesiæ eodem die Northosneiæ.* This bishop was required with the son of Edward the first, and Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, in the time of Edward the first, to be deliuered for pledges for Lhewelin prince of Wales for his safe returne, if he came to the parlement, whereunto he was summoned by the said king Edward. In the time of this chancellor the court of chancerie was kept at Wistow. This man died in the yeere of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, being the one and twentith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third.

John de Langhton.

John de Langhton made chancellor of England in the yeere of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninette and three, being the one and twentith yeare of the scourger of the Scots, king Edward the first, in which office he remained vntill the thirtith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and two. He was made bishop of Chichester about the six and twentith or rather the seauen and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninette and eight, or rather one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine: and in the said yeare one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine he was before chosen bishop of Elie, but refected by the pope, who made him archdeacon of Canturburie: from which Langhton this Edward did take the great seale in the thirtith yeare before said, and deliuered it to John Drokensford.

Matthew Parker.

John Drokensford.

John Drokensford keeper of the wardrobe was made keeper of the great seale in the thirtith yere, as before, in which office he continued from about the fiftéenth daie of August vntill Michaelmas.

William de Greinfield.

William de Greinfield, deane of Chichester, and canon of Pozke, was aduanced to the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred and two, being about the thirtith yeare of the said king Edward the first, which office was giuen vnto him at saint Radigunds (as saith Anonymus M.S. He was after chosen bishop of Pozke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and three: who in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eight buried the bodie of the said king Edward the first at Westminster, though that king died in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and seauen. This bishop died about the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred and fiftéene (being about the first yeare of king Edward the second) at Calwood, after that

william de Hamelton.
Ralfe Walbocke.
John Langhton
William Welton.
Walter B notes.

that he had béene biſhop nine yeares, eleuen moneths, and two daies, and was buried in ſaint Nicholas porch of Yorke, receiuing his conſecration at Rome in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and fiue (after that he had béene there two yéeres) of pope Clement. This Greinfield was a man verie eloquent and pithie in counſell.

William de Hamelton.

William de Hamelton, deane of Yorke, was created chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the ſonne of God one thouſand three hundred and fiue, being the three and thirtith yeare of that noble prince king Edward the firſt. This William ſurrendred his borrowed life in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand three hundred and ſeuen, being about the fiue and thirtith yeare of the ſaid king, at the abbeie of Fontneſſe in Yorkſhire, being a man that well deſerued of the commonwealth.

Ralfe Baldocke.

Ralfe de Baldocke choſen biſhop of London, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and three, was confirmed at Tiſnehall by Robert of Winchelſeie biſhop of Canturburie, and conſecrated at Lions by Peter of Spaine biſhop of Alba, the third calends of Februarie, in the yere of our redemption one thouſand three hundred and fiue. He was made lord chancellor of England, after the death of the ſaid William Hamelton in the ſaid fiue & thirtith yere of king Edward the firſt, and receiued the great ſeale in the Rogation weeke following, being ſome foure or fiue weekes after that he was aduanced to that office at the exchekер. Shortlie after which died king Edward the firſt; for which cauſe the ſaid Baldocke ſent the great ſeale to king Edward the ſecond then at Carleill, by reaſon of his fathers death. This Ralfe Baldocke died on ſaint James éeuen in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three hundred and thirtéene, being the ſeuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the ſecond.

John Langhton.

John Langhton biſhop of Chicheſter againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a ſeruant one thouſand three hundred and ſeauen, being the firſt yeare of king Edward of Carnaruan, in which office it ſéemeth that he continued, vntill the yeare of our Lord one thouſand three hundred and ten, being the third yeare of the reigne of the after depoſed king Edward the ſecond.

William Melton.

William Melton, hauing two others ioined with him, had the great ſeale deliuered vnto them for a certeine time, to execute all ſuch things as were to be done therewith during the kings pleaſure. This man was a canon of Yorke, prouoſt of Beuerleie, treaſuror of England, and archbiſhop of Yorke, as ſaith Anonymus M.S. He was conſecrated biſhop of Yorke at Rome, where he tarried two yeares for the ſame: he was a man neuer wearied with trauell. He firſt of all the biſhops of Yorke (after a long controuerſie betweene the deane and canons of Yorke) viſited the chapter by due order: he was wiſe, rich, ſeuere in correction, gentle, familiar, and humble: he finiſhed the weſt part of the church of ſaint Peters in Yorke with three hundred pounds, he was archbiſhop of Yorke two and twentie yeares, fiue or ſix moneths, and two daies: he died at Cawood on ſaint Georges éeuen, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and thirtie, and was buried in the minſter of Yorke nére to the font.

Walter Reinolds.

Walter Reinolds biſhop of Worceſter, treaſuror of England and archbiſhop of Canturburie, was made keeper of the great ſeale, and chancellor of England on the firſt of Julie one thouſand three hundred and ten, in the ſaid yeare of our Lord God one thouſand three hundred and ten, being the ſaid third yeare of that king Edward, whome his ſonne Edward the third depoſed from his kingdome. Of this man & all other chancellors, which were archbiſhops of Canturburie, ſhall be ſomewhat more ſaid at another time, in the order and placing of the biſhops of that ſée; which caution I haue here ſet downe, becauſe I would once for all make repetition thereof in one place, and not ſeuerallie in manie places, vnder the ſeuerall names of euerie chancellor that was inueſted with that metropolitan honor of Canturburie.

John de Sandall.

John de Sandall clerke, biſhop of Wincheſter, & treaſuror, was at Yorke made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgin Marie was deliuered of the firſt begotten ſon one thouſand three hundred and foureteene, being the eight yeare of king Edward the ſecond, in which place he continued two yeares and more; ſome part thereof being after that he was biſhop of Winchеſter (as I gather) and then deliuered backe the ſeale at Weſtminſter, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three hundred and ſeuenteene, being the eleauenth yeare of the ſaid king Edward the ſecond. Of this man is more ſpoken in the treaſurors of England.

John Hotham.

John Hotham biſhop of Elie was created lord chancellor of England in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and ſeauenteene, being the eleauenth yeare of king Edward the ſecond, in which office he continued vntill the yeare of our Lord God 1319, being the thirteenth yeare of the laſt before named king Edward. During whoſe gouernment of the ſée of Elie, in the yeare one thouſand three hundred fortie and one, the ſteeple of the chaire fell downe, which made ſuch terrible noiſe and ſhaking of the ground that it was ſuppoſed to haue béene an earthquake. He died of the palſeie in the yere of our redemption one thouſand three hundred thirtie and ſix, being the tenth yeare of that king Edward the third that firſt wrote himſelfe king of both realmes, England and France.

John Salmon biſhop of Norwich.

John Salmon biſhop of Norwich was aduanced to be chancellor, in the yeare that God toke on him the forme of a ſeruant, one thouſand three hundred and nineteene, being the thirteenth yeare of that king Edward the ſecond, againſt whome the nobles rebelled for the miſdemeanor of Piers de Gauеſtone (the Gaſcoine) earle of Cornewall. In this yeare one thouſand three hundred and nineteene (as ſaith one anonymall chronicler M.S.) was William Airemine keeper of the ſeale vicechancellor taken priſoner by the Scots. The words of the which author for the more certeintie thereof we haue here ſet downe, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and nineteene. *Epiſcopus Eborum, epiſcopus Eliæ theſaurarius, abbas beatæ Mariæ Eborum, abbas de Selbie, decanus Eborum dominus Willielmus Arymenee vicecancellarius Angliæ, ac dominus Iohannes* Dabeham cum 8000 fermè hominum, tam equitum quàm peditum & ciuibus properanter * ciuitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen * Swale nuncupatum ſparſis cuneis tranſeuntes, & indiſpoſitis ſeu potiùs confuſis ordinibus cum aduerſarijs congreſſi ſunt. Scoti ſiquidem in martegnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus cautè regentes, in noſtros agminibus ſtrictis audacter irruerunt, noſtrorum denique in breui laceratis cuneis atque diſſipatis, corruerunt ex noſtris tam in ore gladij quàm aquarum ſcopulis ſuffocati, pluſquam 4000, & capti ſunt domini Iohannes de Pabeham miles & dominus Willielmus de Arymenee vt præfertur de cancellaria, &c.* Which William Airemenée was alſo in the fifteenth of the ſaid king Edward the ſecond, one of the keepers of the great ſeale, as I haue ſéene regiſtred.

* Dr Pabeham. * Yorke. * Twelue miles from Yorke.

Robert Baldocke.

Robert Baldocke archdeacon of Middleſex, a man euillie beloued, and whom the old Engliſh chronicle calleth a falſe péeld prieſt, was made chancellor of England in the ſeauenteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the ſecond, at the caſtell of Pike-

Histor. episc. Norwich.

ring in Yorkeshire, he was after made bishop of Norwich, and did his fealtie for restitution of his temporalties in the nineteenth yeare of the said king Edward the second at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, he was apprehended in the 20 yeare of Edward the second, being the yere of our Lord 1326, or (as others haue) one thousand three hundred & fiue and twentie, & first committed to the custodie of Adam Carleton or de Orleton bishop of Hereford, & after was put in the prison of the Newgate in London, in which twentith yeare of the said Edward the second the great seale was againe deliuered to William Airemé, who I suppose was then also made bishop of Norwich, and this Baldocke deposed from that see, of which Baldocke thus writeth a Polychronicon of Durham: *Robertus de Baldocke cancellarius An.* 1325 *captus cum Hugonibus de despensers, quia clericus fuit & sacerdos in noua porta Londiniarum, poni fecit Edwardus princeps & Isabella mater eius, vbi pro nimia miseria mortuus fuit infra breue.*

William Airemce keeper of the seale.

John Hotham bishop of Elie.

John Hotham bishop of Elie the second time was at Westminster made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1326, being the first yeare of the reigne of that king which first intituled himselfe king of England and France: but he continued not long in the same office, for he was removed in the second yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand three hundred twentie and eight. He was elected bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and sixténe, in which place he ruled twentie yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and six and thirtie of the palsey at Summertham, being buried in the church of Elie vnder a goodlie monument of stone, with the image of a bishop carued out of alabaster vpon his towne.

Henrie Cliffe master of the rolles.

Henrie Cliffe master of the rolles had the charge and keeping of the great seale of England, in the said yeare of Christ 1328, being the second yeare of king Edward the third, and was the kings chancellor also.

Henrie Burghwalh bishop of Lincolne.

Henrie de Burgh, Burghwalh, or Burgesse, nephue vnto sir Bartholomew Bladismere baron of Leeds in Kent, hauing béene treasuror of England, inioied the honor of the chancellor in the second yére of king Edward the third, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1328, and was made chancellor at Northampton, which office he did not long inioie. Here bicause I haue a little mentioned sir Bartholomew Bladesmere, I will saie somwhat more of him, which is, that being orator for the king in diuers weightie affairs, he spent in those businesses 15000 pounds of the kings monie, and yet produced little or nothing to effect in the kings causes, except the procuring of this Henrie Burghwalh to the bishoprike of Lincolne, who was buried in the east end towards the north of the church of Lincolne, at whose feet was also buried Robert his brother a knight of great fame in the warres, in which church is also buried Bartholomew sonne to the said Robert. They founded a grammar schole, and fiue prests, & fiue poore scholars in Lincolne.

John Stratford.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, and after of Canturburie, and sometime treasuror of England, was made chancellor of the realme, in the yére of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtie, being the fourth yeare of the said king Edward the third, who being sent in the first yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred two and thirtie, ambassador beyond the seas about the affaires of the king & kingdome, did not (like cardinall Wolsele the chancellor in the daies of K. Henrie the eight) presumptuouslie carrie the great seale with him beyond the seas, but left the same in his absence with others, who both could and would answer the well or euill vsing therof whilest he was in France. This man continued in the office vntill the eight yeare of Edward the third.

Richard de Burie, otherwise called Richard de Angerule (being borne in a little village beside saint Edmundsburie, commonlie called the Berrie abbeie, was so surnamed Burie of that place) had to his father sir Richard Angerule knight. This man being first kept at schole by his vncle sir John Willobie priest, was afterward treasuror of England, chancellor and bishop of Durham: to which place of chancellorship he was aduanced in the yeare that the second person in trinitie was brought into the world 1334, being the eight yeare of that king of England which first quartered the armes of England and France. Which office he receiued by the kings gift at Westminster, in which yeare he was inthronized (being first consecrated bishop in the yere of Christ 1333) in the bishoprike of Durham by William Cowton prior of Durham: he kept the see 11 years two moneths and 12 daies, & died in the yeare 1345, & was buried in the south angle of the church of Durham.

Richard de Burie otherwise called Richard de Angerule.

John Stratford the second time lord chancellor, being now archbishop of Canturburie, was installed therein at Yorke in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie.

Robert de Stratford or Strafford (as some haue written, but as I thinke corruptlie) being archdeacon of Canturburie (which office was first ordeined by Anselme archbishop of the said citie of Canturburie) was made chancellor of England on the foure and twentith date of March (being the éeue of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie) at Westminster, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant 1336, being the eleuenth yeare of the gouernement of king Edward the third. He was after made bishop of Chichester, desiring to be remoued from that office of chancellorship, which was granted vnto him: wherupon he surrendered vp the seale to the said king Edward the third in the twelfe yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1338.

Robert de Stratford.

Richard de Bintworth chosen bishop of London, and confirmed by John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie at Otford in the tenth kalends of June 1338, was at Waltham aduanced to the honour of lord chancellor in the moneth of Julie, in the said yeare of Christ 1338, being the twelfe yeare of that king which first ordeined the knights of the order of the garter.

Richard de Bintworth bishop of London.

John Stratford the third time lord chancellor of England, in which office he did not now long continue.

John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie.

Robert bishop of Chichester, being the foresaid Robert Stratford, was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1340, being the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, who was put out of that office, and should with the treasuror of England haue bene sent into France for a pledge for the paiment of certeine summes of monie.

Robert bishop of Chichester.

Robert de Bourchier, borne of the honourable house of the lord Bourchiers, was in the towre of London made lord chancellor of England in December, in the said fourtéenth yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1340, though some saie he was made chancellor in the fiftéenth yeare of the said king.

Robert de Bourchier.

Robert Pernig, Pernicke, or Pernwicke, also treasuror of England, was made chancellor of England,

Robert Pernig iustice at the law.

Robert de Shaddington.

John Offord or Alford.

John Thorsbie.

William de Edington.

Simon Langham.

land in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the Messiah 1341, being the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the third. He died in the yeare 1343, being the seuentéenth yeare of the foresaid king Edward the third. This man was a sergeant in the third yeare of Edward the third, when he began to plead as a sergeant, in which he continued vntill about the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third, and was after that iustice, treasuror, and chancellor, and did in the common place, being chancellor, sit and argue amongst the iustices, as appeareth in the law bookes of those yeares of Edward the third, of whom is last mention made in the seuentéenth yeare of Edward the third, where he is named chancellor.

Robert de Saddington. Robert de Saddington knight, was inuested with the dignitie of lord chancellor after the death of Perning in the yeare of Christ 1343, and the seuentéenth yeare of the often mentioned king Edward the third. There was also one sir Richard Saddington knight treasuror of England, of whome I haue spoken in my discourse of the lord treasurors.

John Offord or Ufford. John Offord or Ufford, deane of Lincolne, was made chancellor of England, in the yeare of our redemption 1345, being the nineteenth yeare of king Edward the third. He was elected to be bishop of Canturburie, and so was installed, but neuer receiued the pall. He died in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1349, being the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of that victorious king Edward, which neuer received greater honour than that he was father vnto Edward surnamed the Blacke prince the flower of chiualrie, and worthie conqueror of the French dominions.

John Thorsbie. John Thorsbie bishop of Worcester, archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, was installed in the seat of the lord chancellor, in the yeare that God became man, one thousand three hundred fortie and nine, being the three and twentith yeare of that king Edward the third, so often before recited, who at his great suite was discharged of the office of chancellor, by deliuerie of the great seale in November, in the thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, after that he had kept that place by the space almost of seauen yeres. He in the tenth yeare of his bishoprike in the third calends of August, began the frame of the quére of S. Peters church in Yorke, & laid the first stone therof, to which he gaue a hundred pounds. He died at Thorpe, and was buried at Yorke in the yere of Christ 1363, or as other haue 1373, after that he had béene archbishop one and twentie yeares, and one and twentie dates.

William de Edington. William de Edington, bishop of Winchester, lord treasuror of England, was made chancellor of this realme in November in the said yeare of Christ 1356, and the thirtith yeare of the reigne of that king Edward, which at Sauoie in England kept king John of France his prisoner. See more of him in the treasurors of England.

Simon Langham. Simon Langham, abbat of Westminster, bishop of Elie, archbishop of Canturburie, and lord treasuror of England, was made lord chancellor in Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sirtie and three, being the seauen and thirtith yeare of the gouernment of king Edward the third, and was chancellor in the fortith yere of the reigne of that king: being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sirtie and three. Of this Simon were these verses made, when he was remoued from Elie to the bishoprike of Canturburie:

Exultent cœli quia Simon transit ab Eli,
Cuius in aduentum flent in Kent millia centum.

Of whome also, bicause he richlie indowed the abbeie of Westminster with great gifts, of singular cost & value, a certeine monke compiled these verses:

Reses de Langham tua Simon sunt data quondam,
Octingentena librarum millia dena.

Of this man is more spoken in the former discourse or treatise of the lord treasurors of England.

William de Wikeham. William de Wikeham, so called of the place of his birth, was by surname from his parents called Perot, and Long, whome Leland maketh treasuror of England, which by anie possible meanes cannot be so for anie thing that I can yet learne. This man being bishop of Winchester, and aduanced to that place in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sirtie and seuen, in the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, in which place he sat seauen and thirtie yeares, was sometime keper of the priuie seale, and made also chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the first begotten sonne one thousand three hundred sirtie and seauen, being the one and fortith yeare of the gouernement of the foresaid Edward the third, in which office he remained about foure yeares; and (in March in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, being the fiue and fortith of king Edward the third) did deliuer vp the great seale to the king at Westminster. He was buried in the bodie of Winchester church, which he new built with the other places about it: of whome were these verses composed for the building of his colleges, the one at Drenford and the other at Winchester:

Hunc docet esse pium fundatio collegiorum
Oxoniæ primum stat Wintoniæque secundum.

Robert Thorpe. Robert Thorpe knight, being before iustice of the law in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, was after at Westminster aduanced to the chancellorship, in March, the fiue & fortith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption (as is before said) one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, who going home to his owne house, left the great seale with foure of the gardians or maisters of the chancerie, whereof the one was called Walter Powze, to keepe and vse as néed required.

Sir John Knluet or Knluell. Sir John Knluet or Knluell (as some bookes haue by the transcriber corrupted) was made chancellor of England in Julie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and two, being the six and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued (as I for this time do gather) vntill the fiftith yeare of the said king Edward, in which yeare (as here at hand appeareth) came in place of the bishop of S. Dauids.

Adam de Houghton. Adam de Houghton, bishop of Menenia or of Saint Dauids in Wales, was aduanced to the office of lord chancellor in the yeare of our redemption 1376, being the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, who in the one and fiftith yeare of the said king, was with the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of Hereford, sent ambassador beyond the seas. ¶ And here I thinke it not amisse to set downe the originall of the rolles in chancerie lane in this sort.

Henrie the third did build a house for the Iewes conuerted to the faith of Christ, which house is at this daie (& hath béene long before this time) appointed for the kéeping of the kings rolles and records, being now called and knowne by the name of the rolles in chancerie lane besides Lincolns inne. In which house the maister of the rolles (for the time being) hath a goodlie and statelie lodging. In which also there is a faire chappell, called the chappell of the rolles, being a place commonlie appointed wherein men accustom to paie monie vpon contracts. Wherein also is buried John Yong, sometime maister of the rols and doctor of both laws, on the left side in his doctors wéed: and maister Allington vnder a state-

lie tome of white marble, iet, and other rich stone, on the right side of the said chappell, the epitaphs of both which persons are hereafter recited: besides which in this chappell are the ancient records of all inrolments, confirmations of the prince, & of other sales in the chancerie kept in chests and pzesses, built on each side about the middle part of the chappell, beneath the chaire oz place of service. At the west end whereof (on certeine apointed daies therefoze) the maister of the rols doth in the afternoones sit in a place formed and railed in, after the manner of the courts of Westminster, to heare and determine matters depending in the chancerie: which maister of the rolles now liuing is sir Gilbert Gerrard knight, sometime generall attorneie to the noble pzincesse queene Elisabeth. And here before I leaue this chappell, I thinke it not amisse to set downe the epitaphs of the two persons before named there buried, with these words.

The epitaph of maister doctor Yong maister of the rols.

Io. Yong LL. doctoris sacror. scrinior. ac huius domus custodi decano olim EBOR. vita defuncto XXV Aprilis sui fideles executores hoc posuerunt M.D.XVI.

Dominus firmamentum meum.

Beside which in an old table hanging by are written in tert hand these verses hereafter following:

Hic iacet ille Iohannes Yong cognomine dignus,
Tali quod nunquam marcesceret vtpote charus:
Omnibus apprimè summo testante dolore,
Quem neque celabant neque dissimulare valebant,
Dum sternit iuuenem mors immatura labentem,
Quis non defleret iuuenis miserabile fatum,
Ex quo multorum pendebat vita salúsque:
Horum inquam inprimis, quos ille benignus alebat
Impensis donec vitales carperet auras.
Nec satis illi erat hoc priuatis consuluisse
Rebus, quinetiam prudenter publica gessit
Munia siue forensia siue etiam extera summa
Cum laude; illa quidem dum sacris præfuit olim
Scrinijs, hæc verò legati functus honore.

The epitaph of maister Alington is in this sort.

Hospes qui fueram quondam si quæris amice,
Nomen Alingtonus stirps generosa fuit:
Hæc monumenta mihi coniux fidissima struxit,
Quæque mihi struxit destinat illa sibi.
Charáque coniugy tres natæ pignora nostri,
Sunt, vultus quarum marmora sculpta tenent,
Cum matre has omnes precor vt post funera summe
Cælica perducas in tua regna Deus.

Richardus Alington armiger qui hic sepultus est obijt 23 die Nouembris 1561.

Now (as you haue heard before that this house of the rols was first a house of conuerts) it shall not be amisse also for the more prose thereof, to set downe the grants of the princes and kings which conuerted the same to those vses.

The grant of Henrie the third, for erecting of the house of conuerts.

*REx archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, & pro salute animæ nostræ, & animarum antecessorum & hæredum meorum concessisse, & hac charta nostra confirmasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, domum quam fundari fecimus in vico, qui vocatur Newstreet, inter vetus templum & nouum London, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras quæ fuere Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschæta nostra, excepto gardino, quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod priùs per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri *Radulpho Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschætas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam, vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd prædicta domus habeat & teneat liberè & quietè, bene & in pace, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras quæ fuerunt Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschæta nostra excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod priùs per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri R. Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschætas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infrà libertatem ciuitatis nostræ London, sicut prædictum est. Hijs testibus venerabilibus patribus, W. Kaerl. & W. Exon. episcopis, H. de Burgo comite Kantiæ Radulpho filio Nicholai, Godfrido de Crancumbe, Iohanne filio Philip. Amaurico de sancto Aumundo, Will. de Picheford, Galfrido de Cauz, & alijs. Dat. per manum Ve. P. R. Cicestren. episcop. cancellar. nostri apud Westmin. 19. die Aprilis.*

* Walle Ms. will.

The grant of Edward the third, whereby the said house was in the one and fiftith and last yeare of the said Edward conuerted to the custodie of the rolles and records of the chancerie.

REx omnib. ad quos, &c: salutem. Sciatis quòd nos, considerantes qualiter domus conuersorum in suburbio ciuitatis nostræ London, de patronatu nostro existens, & capella, edificia, & clausur. eiusdem, tempore quo dilectus noster Will. Burstall custodiam eiusdem domus ex collatione nostra primò habuit, per negligentiam & incuriã aliorum qui ante dictum Will. custodiam domus illius habuerunt & ibidem, morari seu inhabitari non curauerunt, multipliciter & quasi totaliter in ruina extiterunt, & quòd prædictus Will. tempore suo de bonis suis propryjs grãdes costas & expensas super recuperatione & emendatione domus, capellæ, edificiorũ, & clausur. prædict. ac etiam super factur. nouar. domorum ibidem. Nos vt domos conuersorum capella, edificia, clausur. & noua domus supradict. cõpetenter sustententur, & custodientur in futurum, ad supplicationem prædicti Willielmi qui custos rotulorum cancellariæ nostræ existit, in præsenti concessimus de gratia nostra speciali pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd post mortem eiusdem

* instituendi.

Sir Richard Scrope.

Simon Sudburie.

Sir Richard Scrope lord Scrope of Bolton.

dem Will. dicta domus conuersorum cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque remaneat & moretur in perpetuum clerico custod. rotulorum cancellar. nostra & hæredũ nostrorũ pro tempore existent. & similiter annex. eidẽ officio in perpetuum: & quòd cancellarius Angliæ vel custos siue custodes magni sigilli nostri & hæredum nostrorum Angliæ pro tempore existentium, post mortem ipsius Willielmi habeat & habeant potestatem ad quamlibet vacationem dicti officij custodis rotulorum per mortem, cessionẽ, vel mutationem, personæ quocunque tempore futur. * institutum successiuè custodes rotulorum prædictorum in dicta domo conuersorum, & custodes illos ponend. in possessionem eiusdem cum suis iuribus & pertin. quibuscunque, in cuius, &c. T. R. apud Shene 11 Aprilis An. 51 Edw. 3.

* Valle Neuill.

*assignandi.

But after the death of this king Edward, the said William Burstall maister of the rolles (belike not supposing this to be a sufficient grant) procured this house by act of parlement, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, to be more stronglie established, to the vse of the maister of the rolles for the time. After which John de Waltham, maister of the rolles, after bishop of Salisburie and treasuror of England, procured K. Richard the second in the 6 yeare of his reigne, by his letters patents to confirme the said house to the said Waltham and his successors maisters of the rolles. And whereas by the patent of Edward the third, the maister of the rolles was appointed and installed in that house by the chancellor, it is to be noted, that the same manner of induction and installment continued as long as the maister of the rolles were of the clergie, as I haue seene set downe by others, and as the presidents of those installments and the writs themselues extant of record do well proue.

Sir Richard Scrope.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, hauing beene lord treasuror in the time of the deceased king Edward the third, was now in October about the latter end of the yeare 1378, or the beginning of the yeare 1379, being the second yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, made lord chancellor, and had the great seale deliuered vnto him, who in the third yeare of the said king at a parlement did surrender vp his office. Of this man is more set downe in the discourse of the treasurors.

Simon Sudburie.

Simon Sudburie, so surnamed of the place of his birth, but by descent called Tibold the sonne of Nicholas Tibold, descended of a gentlemanlie race dwelling at Sudburie in Suffolke. This Simon was archbishop of Canturburie, and made chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1380, in the third yeare of Richard the second, and was by the rebels beheaded at the towre of London, in the fourth yeare of the disquieted gouernment of that vnfortunat, but valiant king Richard the second; after whom in the first yeare of the said king Richard, was R. B. of London, whereof I haue seene and taken a note: which bishop was (as I coniecture & haue some authoritie to prowue) Robert Bratbrooke which followeth, & was made chancellor againe after sir Richard Scrope.

Sir Richard Scrope lord Scrope of Bolton.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, made chancellor againe about the latter end of November, by the lords of the parlement (as I take it) in the first yeare of the reigne of king Richard last mentioned, and was the yeare following, being about the yeare of our Lord 1383 againe deposed from his office, and the king receiuing the great seale, kept it a certeine time, and therewith sealed such grants and writings as it pleased him, and in the end deliuered the same to Robert Bratbrooke. Of this man see more in the treasurors before.

Robert Bratbrooke bishop of London.

Robert Bratbrooke bishop of London made lord chancellor in September following the moneth of Julie, when sir Richard Scrope was deposed, was aduanced to that dignitie on saint Matthews eeue, in the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Richard the second, in which he continued not longer than the March following, as hath Anonymus M. S. he was consecrated bishop of London the first of Januarie 1381, he died the seuententh of August in the yeare 1404, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth.

Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke.

Michaell de la Pole, or at Pole (as hath Thomas Walsingham) was made chancellor in the moneth of March, in the first yeare of the said king Richard the second, and was made earle of Suffolke in the ninth yeare of the said king, being after deposed from his office of chancellorship at his owne and earnest request in the tenth yeare of the said king. This man hauing fled the realme, for that he was pursued by the nobilitie, died at Paris in the thirteenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1389, of whom that worthie poet sir John Gower, liuing at that time, in his booke intituled *Vox clamantis*, composed these verses:

Est comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille,
Hic proceres odit, & eorum nomina rodit
Morsibus à tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo:
*Sic Deus in cœlis mala * de puteo Michaelis*
Acriter expurgat ne plus comes ille resurgat.

* *Michael de puteaco*, or of the Pole.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie.

Thomas Arundell, of the noble house of the earles of Arundell, was first bishop of Elie, and then of Yorke, and last of all of Canturburie, he was made lord chancellor of England in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1386, in which office he remained about two yeares, as farre as my search will giue leaue to vnderstand.

William Wickham.

William Wickham was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the twelfe yeare of the said king Richard the second, but was in the end remoued from thense in September, in the fifteenth yeare of the troublesome gouernement of the said king Richard.

Thomas Arundell.

Thomas Arundell aforesaid was the second time created lord chancellor of England (in the said fifteenth yeare of king Richard the second) in place of William Wickham, in which office he remained about fiue yeares, and was deposed and banished the realme in the twentith yeare of the said king Richard.

John Scarle master of the rols.

John Scarle, Scirlée, or Serle, maister of the rolles, of the chancerie, and keeper of the great seale: he was chancellor, or in place of the chancellor, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare in which the sonne of God descending from the bosome of his father, toke flesh in the wombe of his mother, one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine.

Edmund Stafford.

Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale, bishop of Exceter, and sometime bishop of Rochester, and last of all bishop of Yorke, keeper of the priuie seale, and borne of the noble house of the Staffords, was made lord chancellor of England about the moneth of March, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and foure hundred, being about the second yere of the vsurping king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued vntill the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and three, being the fourth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth. He being keeper of the priuie seale was made bishop of Exceter the twentith of June, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie & fiue, being the daie before king Richard the second began

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the one and twentith yeare of his reigne. He was consecrated at Lambeth, and kept the see of Excester three and twentie yeares. He increased two fellowships in Stapletons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and called it Excester college: he died the fourth of September, in the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and nineteene. About the making of this Stafford chancellor (as farre as my memorie serueth) Ypodigma is much deceiued, if I haue not for want of the booke mistaken his iudgement.

Henrie Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt by Katharine Swinesord, made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight (as hath Ypodigma) was aduanced to the dignitie of chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & three, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth his elder brother, by the daughter of the earle of Hereford, in which office he was in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and first of the same king (as our chronicles doo remember.) He was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and foure, being the fift yeare of Henrie the fourth.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Thomas Langleie priest, and bishop of Durham, was at Westminster made chancellor, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and fiue, being the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued (as farre as I know) vntill he was made bishop of Durham, which was on the seuenth of Maie, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie last before named, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six. He was bishop one and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the first. See more following.

Thomas Fitzalen.

Thomas Fitzalen, brother to Richard earle of Arundell, being returned out of exile with Henrie of Bollingbroke duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth, was the third time being bishop of Canturburie, made lord chancellor of England, the ninth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, and continued therein about two years, being remoued from that place about September, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and ten.

Thomas Beaufort.

Thomas Beaufort knight, the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt son to king Edward the third, & brother to king Henrie the fourth, was made lord chancellor in the eleuenth yere of the said king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand foure hundred and ten, in which office he remained not full three yeares, but left the same office together with his life, as I suppose, in the thirteenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and twelue.

John Wakering clearke.

John Wakering clearke, maister of the rolles, was made keeper of the great seale, when Thomas Beaufort left the office of chancellor, which seale hee kept about the space of a moneth. For in Ianuarie after that he receiued the seale, there was a chancellor created.

Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie.

Thomas Fitzalen or Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, was the fourth time inuested with the chancellorship, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and twelue, being the thirteenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in which office hee continued during the life of the said king Henrie the fourth, who died in the fourteenth yeare of his kingdome, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and thirteene.

Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester.

Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester, and after cardinall in the time of Henrie the first, being vncle to king Henrie the fift then reigning, was the second time made chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, being the first yeare of the fift king Henrie, in which place he remained vntill the fift yeare of the said king Henrie, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and seuenteene.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham was the second time made lord chancellor of England, in the said yere of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and seuenteene, being the fift yeare of that worthie conqueror king Henrie the fift, which office he receiued at Southwicke, and continued in that honour (as farre as I can learne) by the space of six yeares or more, whereof fiue yeares were fullie ended in the life and death of the said Henrie the fift, and the first yeare ended in the last of the first or beginning of the second yeare of king Henrie the first.

Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester.

Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester before named, was the third time made lord chancellor of England, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and three, or one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. For the second yeare of that king fell part in the one and part in the other of the said yeares of our Lord, in which office he continued about foure yeares, vntill he was made cardinall, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred twentie and six.

John Kempe bishop of London.

John Kempe, bishop of London, was made lord chancellor of England in the fourth yere of that king Henrie, who in his youngest yeares was crowned first king of England, and then king of France in Paris; in which office he remained (as I suppose) about six yeares.

John Stafford bishop of Bath.

John Stafford deane of S. Martine & of Welles, prebend of Shilton in Lincolne church, bishop of Bath and Welles, lord chancellor and treasurer of England, and bishop of Canturburie, was made lord chancellor of England in the moneth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie & one, falling in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first: he remained in that office vntill Iohn Kempe was againe made lord chancellor, which was about the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first. And here I think it not vnmeet to remember that some haue noted William Wanflet that was bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of Oxford, to be chancellor of England, when he built Magdalen college in Oxford, in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first: which possiblie can not be, sith this John Stafford held that office from the tenth of Henrie the first, vntill the eight & twentith of the same king, which was eightene yeares: during which time they place this Wanflet to bee chancellor of England. Which error (I suppose) they haue commited, in that they finding him chancellor at the time of the building of his college, in the said fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, haue taken him to be chancellor of England, when he was then but chancellor of Oxford: although in deed afterward he was chancellor of England, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the said king, as after shall appeare.

John Kempe bishop of Yorke.

John Kempe bishop of Yorke and cardinall, was the second time made lord chancellor in the eight and twentith of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, in which office he died, being bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our redemption (as saith

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saith Matthew Parker, one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, being the two & thirtith yeare of the reigne of the simple king Henrie the first. This man was first bishop of Rochester, next of Chicester, thirdlie of London, then of Yorke, where he sat eight and twentie yeares, and lastlie he was archbishop of Canturburie.

Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, the sonne of Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, and father to the valiant Richard Neuill earle of Warwike, was after the death of John Kempe by parlement made lord chancellor in the two & thirtith yeare of K. Henrie the first: though others make it to be in the three & thirtith yeare of the same king, in which place he continued not long. For in the yeare following an other was substituted, and he remoued.

Thomas Bourchier earle of Eller.

Thomas Bourchier (brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Eller) bishop of Elie, and bishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor in the three & thirtith yeare of the gouernement of king Henrie the first, in which he remained much about two yeares. In whose time, as saith Matthew Parker, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one, was the art of printing inuented at the citie of Argentorat in Germanie. About the which matter, and especiallie for the exact & certeine time thereof, manie writers although their count about one time dooth disagree: yet at the inuention of that worthie thing were these verses composed in the commendation of the same most excellent art.

In vita Thomæ Bourcherii episcopi Cantuar.

O felix nostris memoranda impressio tectis,
Inuentore nitet vtraque lingua tuo.
Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in orbe,
Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest.
Omnes te homines igitur nunc laudibus ornent,
Te duce quando ars hæc mira reperta fuit.

William Patan or Paten, alias William Wanflet.

William Patan or Paten, borne of a gentlemanlie familie, being commonlie called William Wanflet of the place of his birth, and being prouost of Eaton, and bishop of Winchester, was lord chancellor in the fiue and thirtith, six and thirtith, and the seuen and thirtith yeare of the vnfortunat king Henrie the first, as haue the records of the exchequer. By which appeareth the error of those, as I haue before noted, that mistaking the fiue and twentith of king Henrie the first, in which time he was but chancellor of Oxford, for the fiue and thirtith of the said king, in which he was chancellor of England.

George Neuill archbishop of Yorke.

George Neuill (the sonne of Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, and brother to Richard Neuill earle of Warwike) being made bishop of Exceter, came to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue; in which see he continued ten yeares, and was remoued to Yorke in the yeare that God became man one thousand foure hundred three score and fiue, he was made lord chancellor in the eight & thirtith yeare of the reigne of the after deposed K. Henrie the first, in which office he remained about eight yeares, & then was remoued in the seuenth yeare of the worthie K. Edward the fourth, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred three score & seuen. He was a great friend to saint Albons, & procured Edward the fourth in the fourth yeare of his reigne to giue & confirme to John Whethamsted, abbat of saint Albons, the priorie of Penbroke. This bishop Neuill did after in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth grow in such disgrace with the king, that he was spoiled at one time of twentie thousand pounds, as in his life shall be more at large declared. To this man did Hugh Veine giue the manour of Hener Cobham, and Hener Brokas in Kent, in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth. He died at Blithlaw comming from Yorke, being almost fortie yeares old, and was buried at Yorke. And here I thinke it not amisse, to note the mistaking of time of such historiographers as haue set downe, that Edward the fourth did, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, take the chancellorship from the bishop of Exceter (brother to the earle of Warwike, which must néeds be this George Neuill) & gaue the same to the bishop of Bath. For by that which I haue seene, this Neuill liued vntill the seuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, and that for this time I suppose to be the truest.

Robert Kirkham maister of the rolles.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles was made lord keeper of the great seale (vpon the remouing of George Neuill) in the moneth of Julie in the said yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and seuen, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes, keeper of the priuie seale in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, bishop of Bath & Wels, being made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, did still so continue (as I gather) vntill the thirteenth yeare of the said king.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Eller.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Eller, and first aduanced to that title of honor by Edward the fourth, came in place of the last chancellor, about the fourteenth yeare (as some vntrulie haue noted) of Edward the fourth. But in my poore opinion, the same was in the thirteenth yeare of the said Edward the fouth: in which place he remained not much more than one Trinitie terme. For in the said thirteenth yeare, about the moneth of August, was Booth lord chancellor of England.

Laurence Booth bishop of Durham.

Laurence Booth sometime maister of Penbroke hall bishop of Durham, and after of Yorke, was made lord chancellor about August or rather before, betweene that and Trinitie terme (after Henrie Bourchier) in the said thirteenth yeare of the valiant king Edward the fourth, after his redemption of the kingdome of England. This bishop (being brother to William Booth sometime bishop of Yorke) did build the bishop of Yorks house at Baterseie, which manour he before bought of Nicholas Stanleie, whome Leland the minser and refiner of all English names dooth most curiouslie in Latine call *Nicholaum Stenelegium*. He continued in the see of Yorke three yeares & nine moneths, and died at Southwell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and foure score, being the twentith yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Thomas Scot alias Rotheram.

Thomas Scot surnamed Rotheram, because of the towne of Rotheram in Yorkeshire where he was borne and bred vp, was bishop of Rochester, and then of Lincolne, where he sat nine yeares, and after that was bishop of Yorke: whereinto he installed first at Yorke, and then at Ripon, being prouost of Beuerleie, he was made chancellor of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and foure, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth. This bishop, in the fiftenth yeare of the said king, went ouer the sea (as I haue seene noted) with the said Edward the fourth, when he went to haue an interuiew with the French king: of which meeting monsieur de Argentine by name Philip Comineus (besides our English chronicles) dooth make mention, as a person that bare a part in that pageant.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester was made chancellor during the absence of king Edward, as I haue found recorded.

Thomas Rotheram.

Thomas Rotheram, being before lord keeper of the priuie seale, was after his returne out of France the second time made lord chancellor; about the time

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in which the said king had gotten Berwike from the Scots, being about the twentith yeare of the said Edward the fourth. For the free gaining of the towne was not much before his death; in which office this Rotheram continued all the life of king Edward the fourth, & in the time of the little or no reigne at all of the guiltlesse murthered yong prince king Edward the fift; vntill it was ascribed to him for ouermuch lightnesse, that he had deliuered in the beginning of the rebellious gouernement of the protectorship of the bloudie and vnnaturall Richard duke of Glocester the seale to the quéene, to whome it did not apperteine, and from whome he receiued it not. He founded a college at Rotheram, dedicated it to the name of Jesus, & indowed it with great possessions & ornaments, and annexed therto the churches of Langthton and Almanburie.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne, a graue and learned man, had the seale deliuered to him by the said protector of England, during the time of the short reigne of the yong king Edward, when the same seale was taken from Rotheram: and so this Russell was made chancellor in the moneth of June, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred foure score and three, being the first yeare of the vsurped gouernement of the bloudie tyrant the misshapen king Richard the third. This Russell is buried in the church of Lincolne, in a chappell cast out of the vpper wall of the south part of the church.

Thomas Barow maister of the rolles.

Thomas Barow maister of the rolles was made keeper of the great seale (as I haue séene recorded) which I suppose, was in the third and last yeare of the said king Richard the third: for in that yeare he was maister of the rolles.

Thomas Rotheram.

Thomas Rotheram made againe lord chancellor, in the first entrance of king Henrie the seuenth into the gouernement: but verie shortlie after he was displaced, and the bishop of Worcester placed in that rowme; he was archbishop of Yorke nintéene yeares & ten moneths; he was verie beneficiall to all his kinred, and aduanced some with mariages, some with possessions, and some with spirituall liuings. He died the nine and twentith daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, being the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, at Cawood in Yorkshire the morrow after the Ascension, being of the age of three score and sixtéene yeares or more: he was buried in Yorke minster on the north side in our ladie chappell, in a tome of marble which he caused to be made whilest he was liuing.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester, made in the yeare one thousand foure hundred three score and sixtéene, was lord chancellor of England in the first yeare of the said K. Henrie the seuenth, the Salomon of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score & fiue: shortlie after the entrance of the said Henrie into the gouernement of England. For though Rotheram were chancellor when he got the victorie, for that he had béene so before, & for that the king was neither prouided nor minded suddenlie to haue a man not méete for that place to execute the same: yet this Rotheram kept not that rome manie moneths, but that Alcot came in place; because the king found Alcot a méeter person to execute the same office, answerable to the disposition of the kings humor. All which notwithstanding, whether for malice of others, or for his owne deserts, or both, or for more especiall trust that king Henrie put in Warton bishop of Elie, who had béene the meanes to bring him to the crowne, this Alcot fell shortlie in the kings disgrace, was displaced of his office, and Warton came in his rowme. So that in this first yeare of the said king Henrie the seuenth, there seemed to be three chancellors in succession one after another, if I haue not misconceiued the matter: all which before Warton in this first yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, may perhaps more properlie be termed keepers of the great seale, than chancellors.

John Warton bishop of Elie.

John Warton doctor of the ciuill law, an aduocat in the ciuill, of the councell to Henrie the first and to Edward the fourth, to whome also he was maister of the rolles, was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and eightéene, and lord chancellor of England, (vpon his returne from beyond the seas) in the first yeare of the worthie prince K. Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred foure score and fiue: after which he was aduanced to the bishoprike of Canturburie; he died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and nintéene, in the fiftéenth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, as hath Matthew Parker.

William Warham archbishop of Canturburie.

William Warham aduocat in the arches, maister of the rolles, bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie; was (before his aduancement to the see of Canturburie) made chancellor of England in the time of Henrie the seuenth, in which office he continued vntill about the latter end of the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the eight. At what time surrendring the seale by reason of his age and weakenesse, the same great seale was deliuered to Thomas Wolsele.

Thomas Wolsele.

Thomas Wolsele somtime chapleine to Henrie Deane archbishop of Canturburie, after the kings almoner and abbat of saint Aulkins, who possessing manie other abbeies and bishoprikes, as in other places shall more largelie appeare, was aduanced to the gouernment of the great seale, about the beginning of the eight yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our Lord and Sauior Jesus Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtéene, to hold the same during his life (as I gather) in which office yet he continued not aboue thirtéene yeares, vntill the one and twentith of the said king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine. During which time of his chancellorship, in the nintéenth yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and seauen, he went into France, representing the king of Englands person, to set order for the deliuerie of pope Clement the seuenth and Francis the French king, at what time he carried the great seale ouer the seas to Calis, which seale he left with doctor Taylor maister of the rolles, to keepe the same at Calis vntill the cardinals returne out of the French dominions. He died in Leicester abbeie (not without suspicion of poison as was thought, which he had prepared for himselfe, and giuen to his apothecarie to deliuer when he called for it) the two and twentith of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie.

Thomas Moze.

Thomas Moze knight, sometime vndershriffe of London, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaster, was aduanced to the honor of chancellorship of England, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentith yéere of that king Henrie which expelled pope Clement the seauenth his authoritie out of his dominions, in which office this rare witted knight (to vse Erasmus his epitheton) and learned chancellor continued not full three yeares; but in the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the eight, with much labor and earnest sute he left his office. Touching which it shall not greéue me to set downe the words of Matthew Parker

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ker of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie in the life of Thomas Cranmer writing after this maner: *Interea rex dum papæ meditabatur excidium, singulorum de papali auctoritate sensus iudicijs haud obscuris collegit. Inter quos Thomas Morus, quia regis conatus pontificys valdè suspectos fuit, cancellarij munere, veniaregis ægrè impetrata, sese abdicauit.*

Thomas Audleie attornie of the dutchie of Lancaster, sergeant at the law (as most affirme) and speaker of the parlement, was made knight and lord kéeper of the great seale the fourth of June, in the foure and twentith yere of the reigne of the famous prince king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and two, not long after which he was indued with the title and honor of lord chancellor of England. This man in the tenth yere of his chancellorship, being the yere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, and the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, changing the name of Buckingham colledge in Cambridge, did name it the college of saint Marie Magdalen, and indued it with some possessions. He died on Maie éeuen in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight.

Thomas Audleie.

Ibid. Cantab. in Caium. 78.

Thomas Wriothesllie knight of the garter, being created baron at Hampton court on the first of Januarie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and thrée, was after aduanced to the honor of the great seale and chancellorship of England, about the beginning of Maie, in the sir and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of grace one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, in which office he continued vntill the death of the said king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the first, vntill for his obstinacie in the Romane religion he was the first of March remoued, and the seale was deliuered to William Paulet lord Sent-John of Basing. This Wriothesllie (being created earle of Southampton by king Edward the first) died at his house of Lincolne place in Holborne the 30 of Julie, in the fourth yeare of the said king Edward, in the yéere 1550, & was buried at saint Andrews in Holborne commonlie called Holborne.

Thomas Wriothesllie.

William Paulet knight being first steward of the lands of the bishoprike of Winchester, then treasuror of the houshold, lord Sent-John of Basing, lord great maister of the kings house, afterwards earle of Wiltshire, marquesse of Winchester, and treasuror of England, being of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quéene Marie, and quéene Elisabeth, had the kéeping of the great seale committed vnto him the seuenth date of March, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie descended from the bosome of the father into the wombe of the mother one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seuen, being the first yere of the reigne of the yong king Edward the first, which seale he had in custodie about seuen moneths, vntill the thrée and twentith or foure and twentith of October following, at what time sir Richard Rich was made lord chancellor.

William Paulet.

Sir Richard Rich knight, lord Rich, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor of England about the 23 of October in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seuen, being the first yeare of the reigne of the noble king Edward the first, in which place he remained about fiue yeers.

Sir Richard Rich.

Thomas Goderich or Goderike being bishop of Elie had the great seale deliuered to him, and was made lord chancellor of England the twentith of December (as Iohn Stow hath noted in his chronicle) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued all the life of the said king Edward, which died in Julie one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and thrée, being the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and about one moneth after vntill the thirtéenth or fourtéenth daie of August, in which quéene Marie made Stephan Gardener hir chancellor.

Thomas Goderich.

Sir Nicholas Hare, maister of the rolles, had at the comming of quéene Marie to the crowne the kéeping of the great seale, after the death of king Edward, as lord kéeper by the space of one fortnight, and shortlie after was Stephan Gardener made chancellor.

Sir Nicholas Hare.

Stephan Gardener bishop of Winchester was in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and thrée, being the first yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat quéene Marie, made chancellor of England. This man going in ambassage vnto Calis left the great seale in the custodie of William Paulet marquesse of Winchester, which bishop after his returne into England continued in that office all the time of his life, which he ended the 19 of Nouember, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, being the third yeare of quéene Marie. After which the great seale lieng in the custodie of the prince, she on the new yeares daie following made a new chancellor.

Stephan Gardener.

Nicholas Heath bishop of Rochester, almoner to the king, ambassador into Germanie, bishop of Worcester, president of Wales, and archbishop of Yorke, was vpon new yeares daie, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, being the third yeare of the reigne of quéene Marie, aduanced to the honorable dignitie of the chancellorship. But quéene Marie deceasing the seauentéenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare of grace one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, and the first yere of hir gouernement, this Heath vpon the placing of the worthie quéene Elisabeth vpon the throne of the English gouernment, was remoued from his office, and maister Bacon aduanced.

Nicholas Heath.

Sir Nicholas Bacon esquier, attourneie of the court of wards, was made knight, and lord kéeper of the great seale the two and twentith of December, in the yeare of our redemption 1558, being the first yeare of the now reigning Elisabeth the Saba of England. Which name of lord kéeper he still kept during his life, and the time of his office. In whose time there was an act of parlement established, to make the power of the keeper of the great seale equall with the authoritie of the chancellor. This man continued in this office, and worthilie executed the same, being a man of rare wit and déepe experience, during the time of his life, which continued vntill the twentith of Februarie, in the yeare of our saluation 1578 after the account of England, being the one and twentith yeare of the rare and singular gouernement of the worlds wonder the famous quéene Elisabeth, which place this man kept eightéene yeares, being (as I suppose) double as long time as anie other chancellor or kéeper of the great seale possessed that place, except Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester, and John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wels, both which held it equallie eightéene yeares with him: a strange thing, that in the course of almost 600 yeares, no such officer might possesse that place by twentie years togither.

Nicholas Bacon.

Thomas Bromlete, the generall solicitor of quéene Elisabeth, a councellor of the law, and one of the inner temple, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor on the fiue and twentith day of Aprill, in the yeare of our redemption 1579, being in the one & twentith yeare of the reigne of the said quéene Elisabeth,

Thomas Bromlete.

Elisabeth, which office at this daie he beareth.

Thus (although I maie be a little wethod in passing ouer the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some search and charge, which I haue done onelie of my selfe without the furtherance or help of some others, who more inconsideratlie than trulie do disorderlie report, that I haue atteined vnto this in obteining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the begining, so I saie againe) if anie imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers spèdie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter God willing be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither estéeme nor feare the secret reports of some others; so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world to bring truth to perfection (if other men haue vnwillinglie set downe error) and not as they do, for a litle commoditie & gaine to themselues, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and do helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England.]

Ab. Fl. ex publicis æditionibus B.G. & T.C.

¶ Here though somewhat out of place (for it should haue béene entered in 1578) it were better to record the receiuing of the quénes maiestie into Suffolke & Norffolke, than making no commemoration therof at all, to let it perish in threehalfepenie pamphlets, and so die in oblivion. It maie also serue for a rest of recreation, after so long an introduction of serious matters, as also (and that most worthilie) maie remaine in record, to signifie what well affected subiects the quéns maiestie hath within hir dominions, to whome goods, lands, friends, kindred, or life, none of these seuerallie, nor all iointlie, are so pretious and deere, but for hir sake they can find in their hearts to estéeme them as dong. And now to the matter. The truth is (saith one that wrote the whole intertainment) that albeit they had but small warning certeinlie to build vpon, of the comming of the quénes maiestie into both those shires, the gentlemen had made such readie prouision, that all the veluets and silks were taken vp that might be laid hand on, and bought for anie monie, and some conuerted to such garments and sutes of robes, that the shew therof might haue beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these manie yeares. For (as it was said) there were two hundred yong gentlemen clad all in white veluet, and three hundred of the grauer sort apparelled in blacke veluet cotes, and faire chaines, all readie at one instant and place, with fiftéene hundred seruing men more on horssebacke, well and brauelie mounted in good order, readie to receiue the quénes highnesse into Suffolke, which surelie was a comelie troupe, and a noble sight to behold: and all these waited on the shiriffe sir William Spring, during the quénes maiesties abode in those parties, and to the verie confines of Suffolke.

The receiuing of the quéene into Suffolke and Norffolke.

The number of gentlemen that receiued the quéene into Suffolke.

But before hir highnesse passed to Norffolke, there was in Suffolke such sumptuous feasting and bankets, as seldome in anie part of the world haue béene seene before. The maister of the rolles sir William Cordall was one of the first that began this great feasting, and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire, that manie were glad bountifullie and frankelie to follow the same example, with such charges and costs, as the whole traine were in some sort pleased therewith. And neere Burie sir William Drurie for his part at his house made the quénes highnesse a costlie and delicat dinner, and sir Robert Germine of Roesbrooke feasted the French ambassadors two seuerall times, with which charges and courtesie they stood maruellouslie contented. The shiriffe sir William Spring, sir Thomas Kidson, sir Arthur Higses, and sundrie either at the quénes comming, or returne, solemnelie feasted hir highnesse, yea and defraied the whole charges for a daie or twaine, presented gifts, made such triumphs and deuises, as indéed was most noble to behold, and verie thankfullie accepted.

Persons of worship in Suffolke that feasted hir highnesse during hir abode amongst them.

The Norffolke gentlemen hearing how dutifullie their neighbors had receiued the prince, prepared in like sort to shew themselues dutifull: and so in most gallant maner they assembled and set forward with fiue and twentie hundred horssemen, wherof (as some affirme) were six hundred gentlemen, so brauelie attired and mounted, as in déed was worthie the noting, which goodly companie waited on their shiriffe a long season. But in good sooth (as it was crediblie spoken) the bankets and feasts began here afresh, all kinds of triumphs that might be deuised were put in practise and prose. The earle of Surreie did shew most sumptuous cheare, in whose parke were speaches well set out, and a spectall deuise much commended: and the rest, as a number of follie gentlemen, were no whit behind to the vttermost of their abilities, in all that might be done and deuised.

Norffolke cited by the example of Suffolke giue & queue toiall intertainment.

But when the quénes highnesse came to Norwich, the substance of the whole triumph and feasting was in a maner there new to begin. For order was taken there, that euerie daie for six daies together, a shew of some strange deuise should be séene. And the maior and aldermen appointed among themselues and their brethren, that no one person reteining to the quéene should be vnfeasted, or vnbidden to dinner & supper, during the space of those six daies: which order was well & wiselie obserued, and gained their citie more fame and credit than they wot of: for that courtesie of theirs shall remaine in perpetuall memorie whiles the walles of their citie standeth. Besides the monie they bestowed vpon diuerse of the traine, and those that toke paines for them, will be a witnesse of their well doing and good will, whiles the report of these things maie be called to remembrance. Now, who can (considering their great charges and discréet gouernement in these causes) but giue them due laud and reputation, as farre as either pen or report maie do them good & stretch out their credit. For most assuredlie, they haue taught and learned all the townes and cities in England a lesson, how to behaue themselues in such like seruices and actions.

What order was taken in Norwich for the receiuing and recreating of the quéene.

On saturdaie being the sixtéenth of August 1578, and in the twentith yeare of the reigne of our most gratious souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God quéene of England, France & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: the same our most dread and souereigne ladie (continuing hir progresse in Norffolke) immediatlie after dinner set forward from Brakenash, where she had dined with the ladie Stile, being fiue miles distant from Norwich, towards the same hir most dutifull citie. Sir Robert Wod then eshuter, now knight, maior of the same citie, at one of the clocke in the same happie daie, set forward to mét with hir maiestie in this order. First there rode before him well and séemelie mounted, three score of the most comelie yong men of the citie, as batchellers apparelled all in blacke satten dublets, blacke hose, blacke taffata hats, and yellow bands, and their vniuersall liuerie was a mandilion of purple taffata, laid about with siluer lase: & so apparelled they marched forwards two and two in a ranke. Then one which

The maior of Norwich with his attendants set forth to receiue the quéene.

The builder of Norwich called reprehended.

The founder of Blanch Flowre flatterth in person to meet the quéene.

Prætoris pro se suisq; fratribus obtestatio.

The builder of Norwich called Gurgunt.

which representeth king Gurgunt, sometime king of England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called Blanch Flowre, and laid the foundation of the citie. He was mounted vpon a braue courser, and was thus furnished: his bodie armed, his bases of græne and white silke: on his head a blacke veluet hat, with a plume of white feathers. There attended vpon him three henchmen in white and græne: one of them did beare his helmet, the second his target, the third his staffe: after him a noble companie of gentlemen and wealthie cittizens in veluet coats and other costlie furniture, brauelie mounted. When followed the officers of the citie euerie one in his place. Then the sword-bearer, with the sword & hat of maintenance. Then the maior and foure and twentie aldermen, and the recorder all in scarlet gownes, whereof so manie as had béene maiors of the citie, and were iustices, did weare their scarlet clokes: then followed so manie as had béene shiriffs, and were no aldermen, in violet gownes and sattin tippets. Then followed diuerse others, to kéepe the people from disturbing the araie aforesaid.

Norffolke cited by the example of Suffolke & quéenes roiall interteinment.

The founder of Blanch Flowre staieth in person to meet the quéene.

Thus euerie thing in due and comelie order, they all (except Gurgunt, which staied hir maiesties coming within a flight shot or two of the citie, where the castell of Blanch Flowre was in most beautifull prospect) marched forwards to a bridge, called Hartford bridge, the vttermost limit that waie, distant from the citie two miles or there abouts, to méet with hir maiestie; who within one houre or little more after their attendance, came in such gratious and princelie wise, as rauished the harts of all hir louing subiects, and might haue terrified the stoutest heart of anie enimie to behold. Whether the maiestie of the prince, which is incomparable; or ioie of hir subiects, which exceeded measure, were the greater, I thinke would haue appalled the iudgement of Apollo to define. The acclamations and cries of the people to the almightie God for the preseruation of hir maiestie rated so lowd, as hardly for a great time could anie thing be heard. But at last, as euerie thing hath an end, the noise appeased: and the maior saluted hir highnesse with the oration following, and yéelded to hir maiestie therewith the sword of the citie, and a faire standing cup of siluer and guilt, with a couer, and in the cup one hundred pounds in gold. The oration was in these words.

What order was taken in Norwich for the receiuing and recreating of the quéene.

Prætoris Nordouicensis ad serenissimam Reginam, &c.

SI nobis ab Opt. Max. concederetur optio quid rerũ humanarũ nunc potissimùm vellemus: nihil duceremus antiquius (augustissima princeps) quàm vt tuus ille, qui ita nos recreat, castissimi ocelli radius posset in abditissimos cordium nostrorũ angulos se conferre. Cerneres profectò quanta sint hilaritate perfusa, quàm in ipsis arterijs & venulis spiritus & sanguis gestiant: dum intuemur te huius regni lumen (vt Dauid olim fuit Israelitici) in hijs tandem finibus post longam spem, & ardentissima vota exoriri. Equidem vt pro me, qui tua ex authoritate & clementia (quod humillimis gratijs profiteor) celeberrimæ huic ciuitati præsum, & pro hijs meis fratribus, at q̃ omni hoc populo quem tuis auspicijs regimus, ex illorum sensu loquar, quod & ipse sentio: sic nos demum supplicibus votis exposcimus, vt maiestatem tuam benenolam nobis, & propitiam experiamur: vt nunquam cuiquam populo aduenisti gratior quàm nobis. In illius rei luculentissimũ indicium, insignia hæc honoris, & officij nostri, quæ nobis clementissimus princeps Henricus quartus quinto sui regni anno cũ prætore, senatoribus, & vicecomitibus cõcessit: (cum antea balliuis (vt vocant) vltra annalium nostrorum memoriam regeremur) perpetuis deinde regum priuilegijs, & corroborata nobis, & aucta magnificè, maiestati tuæ omnia exhibemus, quæ per tuam vnius clementiam (quam cum immortalibus gratijs prædicare nunquam tessabimus) vicesimo iam anno tenuimus: at q̃ vnâ cum illis, hunc thesaurum, quasi pignus nostrarum & voluntatum & facultatum. Quas omnes, quantæ, quantulæ sint, ad tuum arbitrium deuouimus: vt si quid omni hoc fœlicissimi tui temporis decursu admisimus, quod amantissimos, obsequentissimos, amplitudinis tuæ saluti, coronæ, emolumento deuotissimos non deceat: statuas de nobis, & nostris omnibus, pro tua clementissima voluntate. Sin ita clauum huius ciuitatis (Deo duce) reximus: vt eam in portu saluam maiestati tuæ conseruauerimus, & populum primum gloriæ Dei, & veræ religionis, deinde salutis, honoris, & voluntatis tuæ studiosissimum, quantum in nobis est, effecerimus: tum non libet nobis id à te petere, quod insita tibi singularis clementia facillimè à te ipsa impetrabit. Tantum obsecramus, vt amplitudinem tuam Deus omnibus & animi & corporis bonis cumulatissimè beare velit, Amen.

Prætoris Nordouicensis oratio ad reginam.

Henricus quartus ciuitati Nordouicensi princeps munificentissimus

Prætoris pro se suisq; fratribus quam significanter facta oratio.

Prætoris pro suisq; fratribus obtestatio.

The maiors oration to the queene Englished.

IF our wish should be granted vnto vs by the almightie, what humane thing wee would chieflie desire: we would account nothing more pretious (most roial prince) than that the bright beame of your most chast eie which doth so cheare vs, might pearse the secret and strait corners of our hearts. Then surelie should you see how great ioies are dispersed there, and how the spirits and liuelie bloud tickle in our arteries & small veines, in beholding you the light of this realme (as Dauid was of Israel) now at length, after long hope and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coasts. Trulie on mine owne part, which by your highnesse authoritie and clemencie (with humble thanks bee it spoken) doo gouerne this famous citie, and on the part of these my brethren, and all these people which by your authoritie we rule (speaking as they meane, and as I my selfe doo thinke) this onelie with all our hearts and humble praiers we desire, that we maie so find your maiestie gratious and fauourable vnto vs, as you for your part neuer came to anie subiects better welcome than to vs your poore subiects here. For most manifest token whereof, we present vnto your maiestie here, these signes of honor and office, which we receiued of the most mightie prince Henrie the fourth, in the fift yere of his reigne, then to vs granted in the name of maior, aldermen and shiriffs; whereas before time out of mind or mention, we were gouerned by bailiffs (as they tearme them) which euer since haue beene both established and increased with continuall priuileges of kings: and which by your onelie clemencie (which with immortall thanks we shall neuer cease to declare) we haue now these twentie yeares inioied: and togither with those signes, this treasure is a pledge of our good willes and abilitie: which all how great or little so euer they be, wee powre downe at your pleasure, that if we haue neglected anie thing in all this course of your most happie reigne, which becommeth most louing, obedient and well willing subiects to performe, for the preseruation of your crowne, and aduancement of your highnesse,

The maior speaketh in his owne and his brethren the aldermens behalfe.

Henrie the fourth a most bountifull prince to the citie of Norwich.

A most dutifull submission.

highnesse, you maie then determine of vs and all ours at your most gratious pleasure. But if we haue (God being our guide) so ordered the gouernance of this citie, that we haue kept the same in safetie to your maiesties vse, and made the people therein (as much as in vs lieth) first most studious of Gods glorie and true religion, and next of your maiesties health, honour, and pleasure; then aske we nothing of you: for that the singular clemencie ingraffed in your highnesse, will easilie of it selfe grant that which is requisit for vs to obteine. We onelie therefore desire, that God would abundantlie blesse your highnesse with all good gifts of mind and bodie.

Wherein the dutie of subiects chiefelie consisteth.

Which oration ended, hir maiestie accepting in good part euerie thing deliuered by the maior, did thankefullie answer him in these words, or verie like in effect: We hartilie thanke you maister maior, and all the rest, for these tokens of goodwill; neuertheles, princes haue no need of monie: God hath indued vs abundantlie, we come not therefore, but for that which in right is our owne, the hearts and true allegiance of our subiects, which are the greatest riches of a kingdome; whereof as we assure our selues in you, so doo you assure your selues in vs of a louing and gratious souereigne. Herewith was deliuered to the maior, a mace or scepter, which he carried before hir to hir lodging, which was in the bishop of Norwich his palace, two miles distant from that place. The cup and monie was deliuered to a gentleman, one of hir maiesties footmen to carrie. The maior said to hir, *Sunt hic centum libræ puri auri*. The couer of the cup lifted vp, hir maiestie said to the footmen; Looke to it, there is 100 pounds. With that hir highnesse, with the whole companie, marched towards Norwich, till they came to a place called the Towne close, distant from the citie a good flightshot, where the partie which representeth Gurgunt came forth, as in due maner is expressed, and was readie to haue declared to hir maiestie this speech following; but by reason of a showre of raine which came, hir maiestie hasted awaie, the speech not vttered. But thus it was as here followeth.

The queens maiesties acceptable answer vttered by hir owne mouth in person.

Gurguntius his speech cut off by a showre of raine.

Leaue off to muse most gratious prince of English soile,
What sudden wight in martiall wise approcheth neere:
King Gurgunt I am hight, king Belins eldest sonne,
Whose sire Dunwallo first, the British crowne did weare.
Whom truthlesse Gutlacke forst to passe the surging seas,
His falshod to reuenge, and Denmarke land to spoile.
And finding in returne, this place a gallant vent,
This castle faire I built, a hoit from forren soile:
To win a conquest, get renowme and glorious name,
To keepe and vse it well, deserues eternall fame.
When brute through cities, townes, the woods & dales did sound:
Elizabeth this countrie peereles queene drew neere:
I was found out, my selfe in person noble queene
Did hast, before thy face in presence to appeare.
Two thousand yeares welnie in silence lurking still:
Heare, why to thee alone this seruice I doo yeeld.
Besides that, at my cities sute their founder first
Should gratulat most this toilfull sight in open field,
Foure speciall points and rare concurring in vs both
This speciall seruice haue reserud to thee alone:
The glorie though of each in thee doth far surmount,
Yet great with small compard, will like appeare anon.
When doubtfull warres the British princes long had wroong,
My grandsire first uniting all did weare the crowne.
Of Yorke and Lancaster, who did conclude those broiles:
Thy grandsire Heinrie seuenth, a king of great renowne.
Mine vncle Brennus eke, my father ioining hands,
Did Rome did rase and sacke, and halfe consume with fire:
Thy puissant father so, new Rome that purple whore
Did sacke and spoile hir neere, of all hir glittering tire.
Lo Cambridge schooles by mine assignement founded first,
By thee my Cambridge schooles are famous through the world,
I thirtie wandring ships of banisht men relieued.
The throngs of banisht soules that in this citie dwell,
Do weepe for ioy: and praie for thee with teares vntold:
In all these things thou noble queene doost far excell.
But lo to thee I yeeld as dutie doth me bind
In open field my selfe, my citie, castle, keie,
Most happie fathers kings in such a daughter queene,
Most happie England were, if thou shouldst neuer die.
Go on most noble prince, for I must hast awaie
My citie gates doo long, their souereigne to receaue:
More true thou neuer couldst, nor loiall subiects find,
Whose harts full fast with perfect loue to thee doo cleaue.

Gurguntius the eldest son of Belinus.

The ancientnesse of Norwich citie by the founders age may be gathered.

King Henrie the seuenth, and king Henrie the eight.

Gurguntius yeeldeth his estate to the queene.

Then hir maiestie drew neere the gates of the citie called saint Stephans gates, which with the wals there were both gallantlie and stronglie repared. The gate it selfe was thus inriched and beautified. First the portcullice was new made both timber & iron. Then the outward side of the gate was thus beautified. The queenes armes were most richlie and beautifullie set forth in the chiefe front of the gate. On the one side thereof, but somewhat lower, was placed the scutchion of saint George his crosse: on the other side, the armes of the citie: and directlie vnder the queenes maiesties armes, was placed the falcon, hir highnesse badge, in due forme, and vnder the same were written these words, God and the queene we serue. The inner side of the gate was thus beautified. On the right side was gorgeouslie set forth the red rose, signifieng the house of Yorke; on the left side the white rose, representing the house of Lancaster; in the midst was the white and red rose vnited, expressing the vnion, vnder the which was placed by descent the armes of the queene, and vnder that were written these verses following.

S. Stephans gates in Norwich richlie beautified.

The vnion of the white rose and the red.

Diuision kindled strife,
Blist vnion quencht the flame:
Thense sprang our noble Phenix deare,
The peareles prince of fame.

And besides that, at this gate, the waits of the citie were placed with lowd musicke, who chearefullie & melodiouslie welcomed hir maiestie into the citie, this song being song by the best voices in the same.

The deaw of heauen drops this daie
on drie and barren ground,
Wherefore let fruit full hearts I saie
at drum and trumpets sound
Yeeld that is due, shew that is meet,
to make our ioy the more,
In our good hope, and hir great praise,
we neuer saw before.
The sun dooth shine where shade hath beene,
long darkenesse brought vs date,
The star of comfort now coms in,
and here a while will state.
Ring out the bels, plucke vp your spreets,
and dresse your houses gate,
Run in for floures to strew the streets,
and make what ioy you mate.
The deaw of heauen, &c.
Full manie a winter haue we seene,
and manie stormes withall,
Since here we saw a king or queene
in pompe and princelie pall.
Wherefore make feast and banket still,
and now to triumph fall,
With dutie let vs shew good will,
to glad both great and small.
The deaw of heauen, &c.
The realme throughout will ring of this,
and sundrie regions mo
Will say, full great our fortune is,
when our good hap they kno.
O Norwich, heere the wellspring runs,
whose vertue still dooth flo,
And lo this day dooth shine two suns
within thy wals also.
The deaw of heauen, &c.

This song ended, hir highnesse passed towards hir lodging, & by the waie in a church-yard, ouer against maister Pecks dore (a worthie alderman) was a scaffold set vp & brauelie trimmed. On this scaffold was placed an excellent boy, well and gallantlie decked, in a long white robe of taffata, a crimsin scarffe wrought with gold, folded on the Turkish fashion about his browes, and a gaie garland of white flowers on his head, which boie was not seene, till the queene had a good season marked the musicke, which was marueilous sweet and good, albeit the rudenesse of some ringers of bels did somewhat hinder the noise and harmonie: and as sone as the musike ended, the boy steped reuerendlie before the queene, and spake these words that follow in comelie order.

The first pageant was in S. Stephans parish in this maner.

The boie speaketh at maister Pecks dore.

Great things were meant to welcome thee (O queene)
If want of time had not cut off the same:
Great was our wish, but small is that was seene,
For vs to shew before so great a dame.
Great hope we haue it pleaid our princes eie.
Great were the harmes that else our paines should reape:
Our grace or foile dooth in your iudgement lie,
If you mislike, our griefs doo grow on heape:
If for small things we doo great fauour find,

Great

The queene liked this deuise.

How the pageant was beautified with representation of the mysteries of the citie.

1. Pointing to the spinners.
2. Pointing to the loomes.
3. Pointing to the workes.

The second pageant with the situation of the same, and what representations it bare.

Great is the ioy that Norwich feeles this date:
If well we waid the greatnesse of your mind,
Few words would serue, we had but small to saie.
But knowing that your goodnesse takes things well
That well are meant, we boldlie did proceed:
And so good queene, both welcome and farewell,
Thine owne we are in heart, in word, and deed.

The boy there vpon flang vp his garland, and the queenes highnes said, This deuise is fine. Then the noise of musike began againe, to heare the which the queene staid a good while, and after departed to the cathedrall church, which was not far from thense. Then passed the forwards through saint Stephans street, where the first pageant was placed in forme following. It was builded somewhat in maner like a stage of 40 foot long, & in breadth eight foot. From the standing place vpward was a bank framed in maner of a free stone wall, & in the height therof were written sentences, that is to saie: The causes of this common wealth are, God truelie preached, Iustice dulie executed, The people obedient, Idlenesse expelled, Labour cherished, Vniuersall concord preserued.

From the standing place downewards it was beautified with painters worke, artificiallie expressing to sight the portraiture of these seuerall lomes, and the weauers in them (as it were working) and ouer euerie lome the name thereof, that is to saie. Ouer the first lome was written, the weauing of worsted: ouer the second, the weauing of russels: ouer the third, the weauing of darnix: ouer the fourth, the weauing of tuft mockado: the fift, the weauing of lace: the sixt, the weauing of caffa: the seuenth, the weauing of fringe. And then was there the portraiture of a matrone, and two or three children, and ouer hir head was written these words: God nurture changeth qualities. Upon the stage there stood at the one end eight small women children spining worsted yarne, and at the other end as manie knitting of worsted yarne hose: and in the middest of the said stage stood a prettie boy richlie apparelled, which represented the common wealth of the citie. And all the rest of the stage was furnished with men, which made the said seuerall works, and before euerie man the worke in deed. Euerie thing thus readie, and hir maiestie come, the child representing the common wealth, spake to hir highnesse these words following.

Most gratious prince, vndoubted souereigne queene,
Our onelie ioy next God, and chiefe defense:
In this small shew, our whole estate is seene,
The wealth we haue, we find proceed from thense,
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath still to serue his need.
Againe, our seat denies our traffike heere,
The sea too neare deuides vs from the rest,
So weake we were within this dozen yeare,
As care did quench the courage of the best:
But good aduise hath taught these little hands,
To rend in twaine the force of pining bands.
From combed wooll we draw this slender threed,
From thense the loomes haue dealing with the same,
And then se againe in order doo proceed,
These seuerall works which skilfull art dooth frame:
And all to driue dame need into hir caue,
Our heads and hands together labourd haue.
We bought before the things that now we sell,
These slender impes, their works doo passe the waues,
Gods peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,
Of euerie mouth the hands the charges saues.
Thus through thy helpe and aid of power diuine,
Dooth Norwich liue, whose hearts and goods are thine.

This shew pleased hir maiestie so greatlie, as she particularlie viewed the knitting & spinning of the children, perused the lomes, and noted the seuerall works and commodities which were made by these meanes: and then after great thanks by hir giuen to the people, marched towards the market place, where was the second pageant thwarting the street at the enterance of the market, betweene master Skinner & master Quash, being in breadth two and fiftie foot of assise, and was diuided into three gates, in the midst a maine gate, & on either side a posterne: the maine gate in breadth fourteene foot, each posterne eight foot, their heights equall to their proportion: ouer each posterne was as it were a chamber, which chambers were replenished with muslike. Ouer all the gates passed a stage of eight foot brode, in maner of a pageant, curious, rich, & delitefull. The whole worke, from the pageant downewards, seemed to be iasper & marble. In the forefront towards hir maiestie was the armes of England on the one side the gate, & on the other side the *falcon with crowne and scepter. The other side was beautified with the armes of England on the one side of the gate, & the creast of England on the other. The pageant was furnisht with fiue personages apparelled like women. The first was the citie of Norwich; the second Deboza; the third Iudith; the fourth Hester; the fift Martia, sometime queene of England. At the first sight of the prince, & till hir maiesties comming to the pageant, the musicians vsed their lowd muslike, and then ceassed: wherewith hir highnesse stated, to whome the personage representing the citie of Norwich, did speake in these words.

Whom fame resounds with thundring trump, that rends the
And perseth to the hautie heauens, and thense descending flies
Through flickering aire: and so conioines the sea & shore together,
In admiration of thy grace, good queene thart welcome hither:
More welcome than Terpsicore was to the towne of Troie.
Sea-faring men by Gemini conceiue not halfe my ioie:
Strong Hercules to Theseus was neuer such delight,
Nor Nilus to Eurialus as I haue in this sight.
Penelope did neuer thirst Ulysses more to see,
Than I poore Norwich hungred haue to gaine the sight of thee.
And now that these my happie eies behold thy heauenlie face,
The Lord of lords I humblie praie, to bliss thy noble grace
With Nestors life, with Sibils helth, with Croesus stocke & store,
With all good gifts of Salomon, and twise as manie more.
What shuld I saie? Thou art my ioy next God, I haue none other,
My princelie & my peerlesse queene, my louing nurse and mother.
My goods & lands, my hands and hart, my limbs and life are thine,
What is mine owne in right or thought, to thee I doo resigne.
Grant then (oh gratious louereigne queene) this onlie my request,
That that which shall be doone in me, be construed to the best.
And take in part my slender shewes, wherein my whole pretense
Is for to please your maiestie, and end without offense.
So shall I clap my hands for ioy, and hold my selfe as rich
As if I had the gold of Inde, and double twise as mich.

Where princes sitting in their thrones set God before their sight
And liue according to his law, and guide their people right,
There doth his blessed gifts abound, there kingdoms firmlie stand
There force of foes cannot preuaile, nor furie fret the land.
My selfe (oh peerlesse prince) doo speake by proofe of matter past,
Which proofe by practise I performd, and foild his foes at last.
For Jabin king of Canaan, poore Israell did spite,
And meant by force of furious rage to ouerrun vs quite.
Nine hundred iron chariots, he brought into the field,
With cruell capteine Sisera by force to make vs yeeld.
His force was great, his fraud was more, he fought, we did defend,
And twentie winters long did last this warre without an end.
But he that neither sleepes nor slackes such furies to correct,
Appointed me Deboza for the iudge of his elect:
And did deliuer Sisera into a womans hand,
I slue them all, and so in rest his people held the land.
So mightie prince, that puissant Lord, hath plast thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant realme alone belongs to thee.
Continue as thou hast begun, weed out the wicked rout,
Vphold the simple, meeke and good, pull downe the proud & stout.
Thus shalt thou liue and reigne in rest, & mightie God shalt please,
Thy state be sure, thy subiects safe, thy commonwealth at ease.
Thy God shall grant thee length of life, to glorifie his name,
Thy deeds shall be recorded in the booke of lasting fame.

Oh floure of grace, oh prime of Gods elect,
Oh mightie queene and singer of the Lord,
Did God sometime by me poore wight correct
The champion stout, that him and his abhord?
Then be thou sure thou art his mightie hand,
To conquer those which him and thee withstand.
The rage of foes Bethulia did oppresse,
The people faint were readie for to yeeld:
God aided me poore widow nertheless,
To enter into Holofernes field,
And with this sword by his directing hand,
To slate his foe, and quiet so the land.
If this his grace were giuen to me poore wight,
If widowes hand could vanquish such a foe:
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,
What tyrant liues but thou maist ouerthro?
Perseuere then his seruant as thou art,
And hold for aie a noble victors part.

The fretting heads of furious foes haue skill,
As well by fraud as force to find their prete.
In smiling lookes dooth lurke a lot as ill,
As where both sterne and sturdie streams doo swaie,
Thy selfe oh queene, a proofe hast seene of this,
So well as I poore Hester haue I wis.
As Jabins force did Israell perplex,
And Holofernes fierce Bethulia beliege,
So Hamans slights sought me and mine to vex,
Yet shewd a face of subiect to his liege.
But force no fraud, nor tyrant strong can trap,
Those whom the Lord in his defense dooth wrap.

The queene liked this deuise.

The first pageant was in S. Stephans parish in this maner.

How the pageant was beautified with representation of the mysteries of the citie.

1. Pointing to the spinners. 2. Pointing to the lomes. 3. Pointing to the workes.

The second pageant with the situation of the same, and what representations it bare.

*which is hir owne badge.

These musicians were inclosed in the chambers of the said pageant.

The citie of Norwich speaketh to the queenes maiestie.

How Norwich is affected to the queenes highnesse.

Then spake Deboza the second person.

The application of the former examples.

Then spake Judith the third person.

The application of the former examples

Then Hester spake the fourth person.

The application of the former examples.

The proofes I speake by vs haue erst bin seene,
The proofes I speake, to thee are not vnknowne.
Thy God thou knowst most dread and soueregne queene,
A world of foes of thine hath ouerthrowne,
And hither now triumphantlie dooth call
Thy noble grace, the comfort of vs all.
Doost thou not see the ioie of all this flocke?
Touchsafe to view their passing gladsome cheare,
Be still (good queene) their refuge and their rocke,
As they are thine to serue in loue and feare:
So fraud, nor force, nor forreine so may stand
Against the strength of thy most puissant hand.

Then spake Martia the first person.

With long discourse (oh puissant prince) some tract of time we spend,
Touchsafe yet now a little more, and then we make an end.
The thundring blast of fame, whereof dame Norwich first did speake,
Not onelie shooke the aire and skies, but all the earth did breake,
It rent vp graues, and bodies raisd, ech spirit tooke his place,
And this alonelie word was heard: Here comes the pearle of grace,
Here coms the iewell of the world, hir peoples whole delight,
The paragon of prelent time, and prince of earthlie might.
The voice was strange, the wonder more: for when we viewd the earth
Ech prince that erst had reigned here, receiud againe his breath,
And with his breath, a libertie to hold againe his place,
Manie one amongst vs all exceed your noble grace.
Some comfort euerie one conceiud to catch againe his owne,
His vtmost skill was trimlie vsde, to haue his vertues knowne.
The plaies surpasse my skill to tell. But when ech one had said,
Apollo did himselfe appeare and made vs all dismaid.
Will you contend with hir (quoth he) within whose sacred brest
Dame Pallas and my selfe haue framd our soueregne seat of rest?
Whose skill directs the muses nine, whose grace dooth Venus staine:
Hir eloquence like Mercurie: like Juno in hir traine?
Whose God is that eternall Ioue which holds vs all in awe?
Beleeue me, you exceed the bounds of equitie and lawe.
Therewith they shronke themselues aside, not one I could espie,
They coucht them in their caues againe and that full quietlie.
yet I that Martia hight, which sometime ruld this land,
As queene for thirtie three yeares space, gat licence at his hand,
And so Gurguntius did, my husbands father deere,
Which built this towne and castell both, to make our homage here,
Which homage mightie queene accept: the realme and right is thine,
The crowne, the scepter, and the sword to thee we doo resigne,
And wish to God, that thou maist reigne, twise Nestors yeares in peace,
Triumphing ouer all thy foes, to all our ioies increase, Amen.

Herewith she passed vnder the gate, with such thanks as plainelie expressed hir noble nature: and the musicians within the gate vpon their soft instruments vsed broken musike, and one sang this dittie.

A dittie song to soft musicke at the queenes entrance vnder the gate.

From slumber soft as I fell fast asleepe,
From sleepe to dreame, from dreame to deepe delight,
Ech gem the gods had giuen the world to keepe
In princelie wise came present to my sight:
Such solace then did sinke into my mind,
As mortall man on mould could neuer find.
The gods did striue, and yet their strifes were sweet,
Ech one would haue a vertue of hir owne.
Dame Juno thought the highest place most meet
For hir, bicause of riches was hir throne.
Dame Venus thought by reason of hir loue
That she might claime the highest place aboue.
The virgins state Diana still did praise,
And Ceres praisd the fruit of fertile soile:
And Prudence did dame Pallas chieflie raise,
Minerua all for eloquence did striue,
They limild to see their quarelling estate,
And Ioue himselfe decided their debate.
My sweets (quoth he) leaue off your sugred strife,
In equall place I haue assignd you all:
A soueregne wight there is that beareth life,
In whose sweete hart I haue inclosd you all.
Of England while she is the soueregne queene,
Your vigors there doo flourish fresh and greene.
They skipt for ioy, and gaue their franke consent,
The noise resounded to the hautie skie:
With one lowd voice they cried all, content,
They clapt their hands, and therewith waked I.
The world and they concluded with a breath,
And wisht long reigne to queene Elisabeth.

The place of the queenes abode during the time of hir tariance in Norwich.

Herewith she passed through the market place, which was goodlie garnished, and thense through the other streets which were trimlie decked, directlie to the cathedrall church, where *Te Deum* was sung, and after seruice she went to the bishops palace, where hir maiestie kept the time she continued in Norwich. All this was on saturdaie the sixteenth of August 1578. On the next daie after, which was sundaie, when princes commonlie come not abroad (and time is occupied with sermons and laudable exercises) T. C. was to watch a conuenient season, wher and how might be vttered the things that were prepared for pastime. And so vpon mondaie before supper, he made a deuise, as though Mercurie had beene sent from the gods, to request the queene to come abroad, & behold what was deuised for hir welcome, the whole matter whereof doth follow.

The manner of Mercuries coch & message to the queene, requesting hir highnesse to come abroad, and in what pastime the gods had prouided for so noble a prince.

The coch that Mercurie came in vnto the queene, was closelie kept in secret a long season, and when the time came it must passe towards the court, it had a trumpetter with it, and the cochman was made to driue so fast, as the horses should seeme to flie, which was so well obserued, as the people wondered at the swiftnesse therof, and followed it in such flocks and multitudes, that scarse in a great greene (where the preaching place is) might be found rome for anie more people. And when the coch approched in the hearing of a trumpet, the trumpetter sounded, and so came in to the greene sounding, vntill the coch was full placed before a window at the which the queene stood, and might be plainelie seene and openlie viewed. When Mercurie had espied hir highnesse, he skipped out of the coch, and being on the ground, gaue a iumpe or two, and aduanced himselfe in such a sort, that the queene smiled at the boldnesse of the boie. Thus Mercurie beholding the queene with great courage and audacitie, at the length bowed downe his head, and immediatlie stood bolt vpright, and shaked his rod, and so began his speech with a most assured countenance, and brauelie pronounced it in deed, to his great liking and commendation.

The queenes rare estate described.

The description of Mercuries coch.

He reuealeth what he is by office.

Mercurie his message to the queene.

Rare sights if anie such were as Mercurie nameth.

The description of Mercurie, his attire, abilliments, &c.

Mercurie is attentiue to his charge.

The deuisor ventureth the hazard of a shew.

The charge giuen by Iupiter to Mercurie for recreation of the queene.

Muse not good queene at me that message brings
From Ioue or iust Jehoua Lord of might,
No earthlie god, yet gouerns mortall things,
And spites diuine, and shunning angels sight.
This lord of late to shew his mightie power,
Hath wonders wrought when world lookt least therefore:
For at his becke, this daie and present hower,
The heauens shake, the thunderbolts did rore.
The earth did mone, the dead therein did rise,
And out of graue the ghosts of men are gone,
The wandring spites that houered in the skies
Dropt downe from aire, for world to wonder on.
The saints themselues that sat in glorie great,
Were sent in hast to worke Jehouas will,
And I that oft my restlesse wings doo beat,
Was cald to vse my wings and office still.
A common post is Mercurie you know,
When he commands that made the world of nought,
And flies as fast as arrow out of bow,
When message may expresse Jehouas thought.
Whose power diuine full long per this hath seene,
That in this place should lodge a sacred queene.
And weighing well, the prince whereof I speake,
Might wearie wax of common paltimes heere,
(For that he knowes his indgement is not weake)
Deuisd aboue, below there should appeere
(To welcome hir) some sights that rare should seeme,
And carelesse stood, what world thereof did deeme,
So that good queene, you take them well in worth.
No sooner had Jehoua meant these things,
But clouds clapt hands, and soules of men came forth
Of heauen gates, yea goodlie crowned kings
Were flowen abroad from blessed Abrams brest:
Some in the aire, and tops of trees did rest,
Some fell on towres and statelie houses high,
Some sunke in seas, whose names were drowned now,
And some did light on land where euerie eie
May them behold, and note their manners throw.
And therewithall the blacke infernall spreets
Ran out of hell, the earth so trembling than,
And like yoong lads they hopt about the streets,
The satyres wild, in forme and shape of man,
Crept through the woods, and thickets full of breers,
The water nymphs, and feiries streight appeers
In vncouth formes and fashion strange to view:
The hags of hell that hatefull are of kind,
To please the time had learnd a nature new,
And all those things that man can call to mind,
Were glad to come and doo their dutie throw.
I seeing this, cald for my coch in hast,
Abide sir boie, then said Jehoua now,
Thou goest not yet vntill a prince be plast,
Where I appoint, thou hast nothing to sale.
Then still I stood, to know what should be done.
With that a swarme of people euerie waie
Like little ants about the fields gan run,
Some to prouide for pompe and triumph great,
Some for good fare, yea houshold cates and meat,
And some they ran to seeke where poets dwell,
To pen forth shews, and paint out trifles well.
Some haild and pild to bring the carrege in,
Some ran to gaze on triumph neere at hand,
And some stood mute, as they amazd had bin
To see a court and princelie noble band
Come marching on, and make heere their abode.
But when I saw the carrege heere vnlode,
And well had weid the wonders I haue told,
O mightie God (quoth I) now giue me leaue
To go from thee some message to vnfold,
That by my speech the hearers may conceiue.
Thy godhead great hath brought this princesse here.
It shall be so (quoth he) dispatch and part,
And tell hir that she is to me so deere,
That I appoint by mans deuise and art,
That euerie daie she shall see sundrie shows,

An. Reg. 21.

If that the pleaſe to walke and take the aire,
And that to loone as out of doore ſhe goes
(If time doo ſerue and weather waxeth faire)
Some old deuiſe ſhall meet hir highneſſe ſtreight,
To make hir ſmile, and eaſe hir burthened breſt,
And take away the cares and things of weight
That princes keele, that findeth greateſt reſt.
When I had thus receiued my charge at full,
My golden rod in timelie hand I tooke,
And bad in haſt my fleeng hoſſes pull.
But yet I paſt, I gan about me looke,
To ſee that coch, and ech thing gallant were:
So downe I came all winged as you ſee.
And ſith I haue eſpide that princeſſe there,
That greateſt kings doo ſue to by degree,
And manie moo that liues no whit, doo feare
I kiſſe hir ſteps, and ſhew my maiſters will,
And leaue with hir ſuch graces from aboue,
As alwaies ſhall command hir peoples loue,
(Vphold hir reigne, maintaine hir regall ſtate,
Find out falſe harts, and make of ſubiects true,
Plant perfect peace, and root vp all debate)
So with this grace good queene now heere adue.
For I may now on earth no longer ſtaie,
Thus ſeruants muſt to maiſters will obaie.

The quéenes rare eſtate vttered.

Mercurie hauing thus ſpoken to the quéene, whoſe gratious inclination is ſuch, as will not haue anie thing dutifullie offered to paſſe vnregarded, was well heard, hir highnes ſtanding at a window, and the ſpéech verie well taken and vnderſtood. Mercurie as he came paſſed awaie, at whoſe coch the people that had ſeldome ſéene ſuch a deuiſe maruelled, and gazed verie much; for it had hoſſes to draw it finelie painted and winged, to as great ſhew and order of that it preſented, as wit might imagine: the cochman ſutable to the ſame, and a trumpetter in right good garments, as decent for that purpoſe as could be deuiſed. But the coch was made and framed on ſuch a faſhion as few men haue ſéene: the whole whereof was couered with birds and naked ſpirits, hanging by the hæles in the aire and clouds, cunninglie painted out, as though by ſome thunder cracke they had béene ſhaken and tormented: yet ſtaied by power diuine in their places, to make the more wonder and miraculous ſhew. And on the middle of that coch ſtood a high compaſſed tower bedecked with golden and gaie iewels, in the top whereof was placed a faire plume of white feathers, all to beſpanged and trimmed to the moſt brauerie: Mercurie himſelfe in blew ſatin lined with cloth of gold, his garments cut and ſlaſhed on the fineſt maner, a peaked hat of the ſame colour, as though it ſhould cut and ſeuer the wind aſunder; and on the ſame a paire of wings, and wings on his hæles likewiſe. And on his golden rod were little wings alſo, about the which rod were two wrigling or ſcralling ſerpents, which ſeemed to haue life when the rod was moued or ſhaken. So in this ſort and forme was Mercurie and his coch ſet forth, and indéed at ſuch a ſeaſon as a great ſort looked not for anie ſhew, nor things were readie, as ſome thought, to performe that was neceſſarie and expected: yet hap was ſo good, and the gratious fauour of the prince, that all was well taken, and conſtrued to the beſt meaning of the deuiſor. So ended that daies deuiſe, which offered occaſion to further matter.

The deſcription of Mercuries coch.

He reuealeth what he is by office.

Rare ſights if anie ſuch were as Mercurie nameth.

On tueſdaie following (for before that daie by meanes of the weather the quéene went not abrode) a verie prettie and pleaſant ſhew was performed before hir highnes without ſaint Benets gates, as ſhe went towards Coſſie parke to hunt. At which ſeaſon, although the deuiſor was not well prouided of things neceſſarie for a ſhew (by meane of ſome croſſing cauſes in the citie) yet hearing the quéene rode abrode, determined as he might (and yet by helpe of frends and hap) verie well to venture the hazard of a ſhew, and to be full in the waie where hir highneſſe ſhuld paſſe towards hir dinner. In which determination manie doubts were to be caſt, and manie perſuaded him to tarrie a better time. But conſidering how time rolled on, and daies and houres did waſt (without doing anie thing promiſed and not performed) he haſtilie prepared his boies and men with all their furnitures, and ſo ſet forward with two coches handſomlie trimmed. The common people beholding the maner thereof, and greédie to gaze on that ſhould be done, followed as their fantaſies did lead them: ſo that when the deuiſor and his retinue came into the open field, there was as great a traine and preaſe about the ſhew, as came with the court at that inſtant, which graced much the matter, and gaue it ſome erected hope of good ſucceſſe.

Mercurie is attentiue to his charge.

The deuiſor aduenturech the hazard of a ſhew.

The whole manner of the deuiſe or ſhew.

Firſt, there was a fained deuiſe, that Venus and Cupid were thruſt out of heauen, and walking on the earth, met a philoſopher, who demanded from whenſe they came. They told the philoſopher what they were, and he replied, and began with truth & taunts to tickle them ſo nére, that Venus fell in a great anger, and Cupid ran awaie, and left his mother and the philoſopher diſputing togither. But Cupid becauſe he would be nouriſhed ſomewhere, ran to the court, and there ſought for ſuccor, & incountring the quéene began to complaine his ſtate and his mothers, and told how the philoſopher had handled them both. But finding neither anſwer nor aid, he returned againe, but not to his mother, for ſhe was fallen mad vpon a conceipt that ſhe was not made of. And Cupid wandering in the world, met with dame Chaſtitie & hir maids, called Modeſtie, Temperance, God exerciſe, and Shamefaſtnes: and ſhe with hir foure maids incountring Cupid in a goodlie coch, and without anie honeſt gard waiting on him, ſet vpon him, threw him out of his golden ſeat, trod on his pompe, ſpoiled him of his counterfeit godhead and cloke, & tooke awaie his bow and quiuer of arrowes, the one headed with lead, and the other with gold, and ſo ſent him like a fugitiue awaie, and mounted vp into the coch hir ſelfe and hir maids, and ſo came to the quéene, and reherſed what had hapned. Although this was done in hir view, & becauſe (ſaid Chaſtitie) that the quéene had choſen the beſt life, ſhe gaue the quéene Cupids bow, to learne to ſhoot at whom ſhe pleaſed, ſith none could wound hir highneſſe heart, it was méet (ſaid Chaſtitie) that ſhe ſhould doo with Cupids bow & arrows what ſhe pleaſed; and ſo did Chaſtitie depart as ſhe ſaid to the powers diuine. Cupid in the meane while wandering in the world had found out Wantonneſſe and Riot, who ſone fell into beggerie and ruine (a ſpectacle to be looked into) and felt ſuch dailie miſerie with Wantonneſſe and Riot, that Cupid was forced to fling awaie once againe, and hazard himſelfe to fall into the hands of naughtie people, or where fortune aſſigned: and comming abrode, happened vpon the philoſopher, who talked with him againe, told him his errors, and other points of pride and preſumption; declaring it was a great blaſphemie & abuſe, to report & beléeue that in heauen were anie other gods but one, who had the onelie rule of all, & that made all of naught. In which reaſoning & diſcourſe Cupid waxed warme, & yet in his greateſt heat knew not how nor where to cole himſelfe, at which time came Wantonneſſe & Riot, & perſuaded Cupid to plaie no longer the fole in ſtriuing with philoſophers, and go awaie with them. So Cupid departed, & went awaie with Wantonneſſe and Riot, & the philoſopher remained, & declared that all abuſes & follies ſhuld come to no better end than preſentlie was experſſed by the miſerie of Wantonneſſe, Riot, and Cupid. Then Modeſtie and hir fellows, leauing their miſtreſſe dame Chaſtitie with the powers diuine, came ſoft and faire in their miſtreſſe coch, ſinging a ſong of chaſte life, as heere vnder followeth.

Dame Chaſtitie & hir maids incounter with Cupid.

What aſſoci-ats Cupid found out to keepe him companie.

Chaſtitie and hir maids matched togither, &c.

Chaſt life liues long and looks
On world and wicked waies,
Chaſt life for loſſe of pleaſures ſhort,
Dooth win immortall praiſe.
Chaſt life hath merrie moods,
And ſoundlie taketh reſt,

Chaſt life is pure as babe new borne,
that hugs in mothers breſt.
Lewd life cuts off his dates,
and ſoone runs out his date,
Confounds good wits, breeds naughtie bloud,
and weakens mans eſtate.
Lewd like the Lord doth loth,
the law and land miſlikes,
The wiſe will ſhun, fond fooles doo ſeeke,
and God ſore plages and ſtrikes.
Chaſt life may dwell alone,
and find few fellowes now,
And ſit in regall throne,
and ſcarch lewd manners throw.
Chaſt life feares no miſhap,
the whole account is made,
When ſoule from worldlie cares is crept,
and ſits in ſacred ſhade.
Lewd life is laught to ſcorne,
and put to great diſgrace,
In hollow caues it hides the head,
and walks with muffled face,
Found out and pointed at,
a monſter of the mind,
A cankred worme that conſcience eates,
and ſtrikes cleere ſenſes blind.
Chaſt life a pretious pearle,
doth ſhine as bright as ſun,
The faire houre glaſſe of daies and yeeres,
that neuer out will run.
The beautie of the ſoule,
the bodies bliſſe and eaſe,
A thing that leaſt is looкt vnto,
yet moſt the mind ſhall pleaſe.

And when the ſong was ended, modeſtie ſent (as ſhe ſaid ſhe was) from hir maiſtreſſe, ſpake to the queene a good ſeaſon, and ſo the matter ended. For this ſhew the deuiſer had gratious words of the queene openlie and often pronounced by hir highneſſe. On the ſame daie the miniſter of the Dutch church, pronouncing to hir maieſtie at hir being at bode the oration following, preſented the cup therein mentioned, which was eſteemed to be worth fiftie pounds, verie curiouſlie and artificiallie wrought.

Oratio ad ſereniſſimam Angliæ reginam habita 19. Auguſti 1578 à miniſtro eccleſiæ Belgogermanicæ Nordouici in loco publico.

Quinam oratores antiqua ætate præclariſſima laudatiſſimi exiſterunt.

Magna oratoribus, qui per celebratorum ætate vixerunt fuit laus, ſereniſſima regina, quòd iudicum animos partim ſuauiloquentia, partim poſita rei perſonæque ante ipſorum oculos calamitate, in quemcunque vellent animi habitum transformarent. Prius membrum non vulgarem nobis ob oculos ponit hominum facilitatem, quòd adeò ſequaces dictóque audientes fuerint, vt ſe linguis duci paterentur. Poſterius magnam vbique apud gentes, quarum reſpublica optabili ordine fuit conſtituta, obtinuit gratiam: longè autem maiorem apud eos, qui Chriſto nomen dederunt: omnium verò maximam apud te (ô ſereniſſima regina) eccleſiæ Chriſti nutrix, cuius animum verbo Dei obſequentem inſtruxit, non fucatus hic ſermo, ſed Chriſti ſpiritus, pietatiſque zelus. Ipſiſſima piorum calamitas afflictoriúmque lachrymæ, lachrymæ inquam Chriſti fidelium te commouerunt, miſera diſperſáque Chriſti membra quibuſuis iniurijs obiecta, mille iam mortibus territa, in tutelam ſalutémque animi iuxta ac corporis recipere ac protegere. Ob hæc ſingularia tua in nos pietatis beneficia, & quòd ſub tutore optimo magiſtratu in hac tua Nordouicenſi vrbe (quam maieſtas tua nobis ob Chriſti religionem exulantibus domicilij loco clementer conceſſit) viuimus, adde quòd populi in nos animum fauorabilem experimur, inprimis Deo patri, & Domino vnico ſeruatori noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, deinde & tibi ſereniſſima regina immortales non quas debemus ſed quas poſſimus agimus gratias. Porrò humile quidem & vnicum tamen noſtrum eſt votum, animi noſtri gratitudinem maieſtati tuæ oſtendere. Ecce igitur nullum munus, ſed animum noſtrum: nullum regium ſplendorem, ſed pietatis poſteritatiſque monumentum ſereniſſimæ tuæ maieſtati conſecratum. Hoc autem eo gratius maieſtati tuæ fore confidimus, quòd ex inculpati pyſſimíq; Ioſephi hiſtoria, Dei erga maieſtatem tuam bonitas, ad viuum ſit delineata, quem nulla aſtutia, nullum robur, nulla denique regnandi libido, ſed fides conſtans, chriſtiani pectoris pietas, cæleſtiſque virtus, ſingulari Dei fauore ex ſanguinaria fratrum conſpiratione, mortiſque metu, ad ſummam dignitatem, regnique decus euexerunt. In huius fratres non aliena videtur prouerbialis illa apud Hebræos ſententia, Inuidia malarum rerum appetitus, & ſtudium vanæ gloriæ hominibus ſæpiſſimè occaſio ſunt ſui interitus. Tamen quòd Ioſephi animum attinet, ea fuit præditus & temperantia & fortitudine, vt nimis iniquus ſimul & praui cenſeri poſſet, qui eum vel minimo vindicandi affectu accuſare velit; adeò Dei prouidentiæ & ſe & omne vitæ ſuæ ſtudium, vitæ inquam in alieno regno periclitantis, commiſit, vt non aliunde quàm à ſolo Dei nutu pendêre viſus ſit. Sed quorſum iſta? Intenè hæc ipſa aliáque conſimilia (ô ſereniſſima regina) & regni tui ratione omnium oculis conſpicua ſunt? Hæc inquam eſſe eccleſiæ Chriſti fœliciſſimum gaudium, ſpirituale diadema, & ſummum decus, huius verò regni verè regium ſplendorem, atque perennem gloriam, quis niſi mente captus inficias ire poteſt? Pyſſimè tu quidem ſingulari Dei bonitate animum Ioſephi tum in regni tui conſeruatione, tum in regno Chriſti amplificando imitata es (ô nutrix eccleſiæ Dei fideliſſima) ſolius enim Dei eſt hunc per res (prout hominum oculis ſunt ſubiectæ) ſecundas diſperdere, illum autem per quæuis tetationum genera rerúmque diſcrimina extollere. Quos vt vaſa ſuæ miſericordiæ agnoſcit, ita etiam & bonitate & ſpiritus ſui tum conſolatione, tum fortitudine ad æternæ vitæ fœlicitatem proſequitur. Quod noſtrum votum ratum eſſe, maieſtatem tuam regnique ordinem ſpirituali prudentia ac ſapientia ſtabilire, eámque in longam ætatem ſeruare, tuæ item maieſtatis ſubditos vera ſui cognitione magis ac magis imbuere, dignetur bonus ille & clemens Deus, per merita filij ſui Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, Amen.

Beneficiorum à regia maieſtate collatorum agnitio cum obſequio &c.

Monumentum antiquum regiæ maieſtati exhibitum.

Regia maieſtas in omnibus Ioſepho æquanda.

Regiæ maieſtati poſt orationem oblatum eſt monumentum aliquod, in cuius ſuperficie artificioſè ſculpta erat hiſtoria Ioſephi: ex lib. Geneſios.

In circumferentia verò hoc carmen.

Innocuum pietas ad regia ſceptra Ioſephum,
Ex manibus fratrum, carnificíſque, rapit:
Carcere & inſidijs ſic te regina tuorum
Ereptum duxit culmina ad iſta Deus.

Inſcriptio erat in ipſius capacitate ſcripta in orbem, hoc modo.

Sereniſſimæ Angliæ reginæ Eliſabethæ, eccleſiæ Belgicæ Nordouici ob religionem exulãtes, hoc monumentum & pietatis & poſteritatis ergò conſecrabant, Anno ſalutis humanæ, 1578.

In interiore ipſius parte erat inſigne ſerpentis in gyrum conuoluti, cui media inſidebat columba, cum hoc Chriſti elogio: Prudens vt ſerpens, ſimplex vt columba.

The miniſter of the Dutch church his oration in Engliſh.

What orators were beſt commended in former times of beſt renowme.

THe oratours (moſt gratious queene) which liued in the age of them that woone greateſt renowme, were highlie commended for that they could transforme the iudges minds, partlie by eloquence, and partlie by ſetting downe before their eies the calamitie of the thing and perſon they ſpake of, into what diſpoſition them liſted. The firſt part declareth vnto vs no common felicitie of men, in that they were ſo willing in following, and attentiue in hearing, as they would ſuffer themſelues to be lead by eloquence. The laſt obteined great fauour amongſt all nations, whoſe common weale was gouerned in good order, and farre greater amongſt the chriſtians: but greateſt of all with thee (ô moſt excellent queene) the nurſſe of Chriſt his church, whoſe mind obedient to Gods word, the ſpirit of Chriſt, and zeale of godlineſſe, and not this prophane kind of ſpeech hath inſtructed. The verie calamitie of godlie men and teares of the afflicted, the teares I ſaie of faithfull chriſtians haue thoroughlie mooued thee to defend and protect the miſerable

In acknowledgement of benefits by her mate-thwith duetifulnes for the same.

serable and dispersed members of Christ obiect to euerie kind of iniurie, before beaten in peeces by a thousand deaths, with the safetie and preseruation as well of mind as bodie. For these thy singular benefits of godlinesse towards vs, and that we liue vnder so good a tutor, being magistrate in this thy citie of Norwich, which thy maiestie hath of clemencie granted vnto vs for a manſion place, which were banished for Christ his religion; and moreouer that we find the minds of the people fauourable towards vs, first wee giue immortall thanks, not such as wee ought, but such as we are able vnto God the father, and the Lord our onelie sauiour Iesus Christ; and then vnto thee most mercifull queene. Moreouer, it is our humble and yet our onelie petition, to shew vnto your maiestie the thankefulnesse of our mind. Behold therefore dedicated to your most excellent maiestie, not anie gift but our mind, no princelie iewell but a monument of godlinesse and posteritie. The which we hope will be so much the more acceptable to your maiestie; for bicause the goodnes of God towards your maiestie is liuelie drawne out of the historie of the innocent and most godlie Ioseph, whom neither policie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a christian heat, and heauenlie vertue by Gods singular mercie deliuered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren and feare of death, and brought vnto high dignitie & roiall kingdome. To whose brethren that prouerbiall sentence of the Hebrewes is verie fitlie alluded: Enuie being the desire of euill things, and couetousnesse of transitorie renowme, is oftentimes the occasion of mans destruction. But touching the mind of Ioseph, the same was indued with such temperance and fortitude, that he might be thought no lesse vniust than wicked, that would accuse him so much as with the least affection of reuengement: so wholie did he commit himselfe and all the gouernement of his life, his life I say put in hazard in a strange kingdome vnto the prouidence of God, that he seemed to hang of no other thing than the onelie will of God. But to what end speake I this? Are not these selfe same things, and others their like (ô most excellent queene) by the eies of all men clearlie beheld in thee and the order of thy kingdome? What man (I saie) hauing his wits, can denie these things to be the most happie ioy, spirituall crowne, & chiefest ornament of Christes church, & trulie of this kingdome the princelie beautie and perpetuall renowne? Thou surelie dost folow most holilie the mind of Ioseph, by the singular goodnesse of God, as well in preseruing thy kingdome, as in amplifieng the kingdome of Christ (ô thou most faithfull nurse of the church of God.) For it is in God onelie to destroie this man by prosperitie (as the world seeth) and aduance another by al kinds of aduersities, tentations, & dangers. Whom as he acknowlegeth the vessels of his mercie, so by his goodnesse togither with the consolation and strength of his spirit, he doth bring them to the happinesse of eternall life. Which our petition that good and mercifull God grant may be ratified, in establishing your maiestie and gouernance of your kingdome with spirituall wisedome and vnderstanding, in preseruing the same full manie years, and indueing your maiesties subiects more and more with true knowledge of him, for his sonnes sake our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

Iosephus insigniter laudatus, neque immeritò.

Regia maiestas in omnibus Iosepho equiparata.

A monument of antiquitie presented to hir maiestie.

Ioseph singularlie commended not without cause.

The queenes maiestie compared to Ioseph, &c.

What orators were best commended in former times of best renowme.

The oration ended, there was a certeine monument presented to hir maiestie, in the vpper part whereof was artificiallie grauen the historie of Ioseph out of Genesis. In the inner part of the same there was the figure of a serpent, interfolding it selfe: in the middest whereof did sit a doue with this sentence of Christ, *Matth.* 10, 16. Wise as the serpent, and meeke as the doue. **In the circumference or compasse thereof was these verses to be read.**

To roiall scepter, godlinesse,
Ioseph the innocent,
Dooth take from brothers bloudie hands,
and murtherers intent.
So ther, O queene, the Lord hath led
from prison and deceit
Of thine, vnto these highest tops
of your princelie estate.

The queenes maiestie is banketted at the earle of Surreis.

On wednesdaie hir highnesse dined at my lord of Surreis, where were the French ambassadors also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banket. At which season the deuiser did watch with his shew (called Manhod & Desert) at my lord of Surreis backe doore, going to the quenes barge: but the roome was so little, that neither the shot, the armed men, nor the players could haue place conuenient. Wherevpon he and his assistants toke boats, and conueied their people downe the water, towards a landing place that they hoped the quene would come vnto. And there hauing althings in redinesse, they houered on the water three long houres, by which meanes the night came on, and so they were faine to withdraw themselues and go homeward, trusting for a better time and occasion, which in deed was offered the next daie after by the quenes maiesties owne good motion, who told the deuiser she would see what pastimes were prepared, as hereafter you shall perceiue by the discourse of these matters, and by this shew of Manhod, and the shew of the Nymphes. Neuertheless, as hir maiestie returned homeward; within Bishops gate at the hospitall doore, maister Stephan Limbert, maister of the grammar schole in Norwich stood readie to render hir an oration. Hir maiestie drew neare vnto him, & thinking him fearefull, said gratiouslie vnto him: Be not afraid. **He answered hir againe in English:** I thanke your maiestie for your good incouragement: **& then with good courage entered into this oration following.**

O singular affabilitie of a prince to put awaie a subiects bashfulnesse.

Ad illustrissimam principem Elisabetham, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ reginam &c: ante fores πτωχοδοχείου Norouicensis, oratio Stephani Limberti ludimagistri publici.

Egregiæ necnon impares Angliæ dotes.

AEgyptum fama est inundante Nilo (serenissima regina) & aureo Pactoli flumine quotannis Lidiam irrigari, quæ res in ijs agris maxima fecunditatis causa putatur. In nos autem atq; adeo vniuersam Angliam, quæ latè patet, non è Tmolo aut alijs nescio quibus montibus, sed ex illo perenni & vberrimo fonte bonitatis tuæ, multi maximiq; pietatis, iustitiæ, mansuetudinis, aliorúmq; innumerabilium bonorum, præ quibus iam viluit aurum & obsoleuit, copiosissimi riui profluxerunt. Atq; vt ex infinitis vel vnum leuiter attingam, propterea quòd de pluribus dicere nec est huius loci & temporis nec facultatis meæ. Insignem illam misericordiam celsitudinis tuæ, nobilissima regina, & ad leuandum pauperrimorum hominum inopiam incredibilem propensionem, qua de plurimis virtutibus nulla Deo gratior (πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες πτώχοι vt canit Homerus) in summa principe nulla mortalibus admirabilior esse potest, quibus tandem laudibus efferemus? Quàm honorificis verbis prosequemur? πτωχοδοχεῖον, hoc est, hospitium pauperum celeberrimum est apud omnes posteros regiæ virtutis atq; beneficentiæ monumentum futurum, institutum quidem ab illustrissimo Henrico patre celsitudinis tuæ, à nobilissimo Edouardo fratre

Henricus & Edouardus reges, necnon Elisabetha regina præcipui benefactores agnoscuntur.

tre maximis tabulis consignatum, a tua verò maiestate, quod non minorem laudem meretur, Crinlefordiensibus fundis & possessionibus egregiè nuper auctum atq; amplificatum, vt non tam alienis iam ornamentis, quàm proprijs virtutibus meritò lætari possis. Recordata quippe es pro tua singulari prudentia atq; eruditione, diuinam illam sapientissimi Platonis legem, quam vndecimo de legibus libro scriptam reliquit, πλοῦτος μηδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνέσθω. Tantam igitur benignitatem, tam eximiam & incredibilem misericordiam tuam (illustrissima princeps) quibus complectemur studijs? Quibus officijs, aut qua voce grati animi voluntatem testificabimur? Cùm enim omnes referendæ gratiæ studio & labore, vel accuratissimas rationes exquisiuerimus, ne vnius quidem huius beneficij, quo nos augustissimæ maiestati tuæ obstrictos esse & deuinctos agnoscimus, magnitudinem assequi poterimus. Superabimur vel ab hoc vno & singulari merito, nedum sperandum est, vt immenso reliquorum meritorum pelago, quod tum in omnes tibi subditos publicè & generatim, tum in hanc ciuitatem propriè ac particulatim exundauit, pares esse queamus. Verè nos iam ὄλβιον incolimus, & in beatis illis insulis de quibus meminit Hesiodus τὸ μὲν ἀκεάνου βαθυδίνηυ ætatem agimus, qui non modò frugibus, lana, pecore, alijsq; subsidijs humanæ vitæ sed multo magis veræ religionis verbiq; diuini, in quibus animi solùm acquiescunt, pretiosissimis opibus abundamus. Sunt qui Britanniam alterum orbem appellárunt, quod hac ætate nostra dici rectissimè posse arbitror. Cùm enim omnes vndique terræ grauissimis bellis affligantur, & discordiarum iactentur fluctibus, soli nos, celsitudine tua clauum moderante, in pacatissimo portu nauigamus, & ab orbe malorum disiuncti, in cœlum quodammodo fœlicitatis sublati videmur. Quod est ergò officij nostri, primùm deo Opt. Max. gratias agimus, cuius vnius bonitati omnem hanc, quantacúnq; est, beatitudinem acceptam referimus, precamúrq; vt eam nobis propriam & perpetuam esse velit: deinde celsitudini tuæ, serenissima regina, cuius opera, cura, solicitudine, & partam hanc nobis fœlicitatem, & tot annos conseruatam agnoscimus. Lætamur hoc aspectu tuo, & gratulamur incredibili studio, quòd tum ex meo ipsius sensu loquor, tum omnes qui iam vndiq; confluxerunt Nordouicenses tui à me dici postulant. Atq; vtinam in hæc pectora posses oculos inserere, & occultos animorum nostrorum sinus perlustrare, videres profectò inclusam intus, quæ tantis angustijs erumpere non potest, infinitam molem voluntatis. Fidem omnem, studium, obseruantiam, quæ tantæ principi debentur, vt hactenus promptissimè detulimus, ita studiosissimè semper deferemus: & si quando casus aliquis inciderit (quod Deus omen auertat) sacrosanctæ maiestatis tuæ, aut istius florentissimi regni, vel salus in discrimen veniat, vel dignitas periclitetur, non solum bonorum omnium ac facultatum effusionem, sed laterum nostrorum oppositus & corporum pollicemur. Rogamus deinde & obsecramus excellentiam tuam, illustrissima regina, vt & hoc nostrum qualecunq; officium à summa beneuolentia animóq; quàm gratissimo profectum boni consulas, & de nobis Nordouicensibus sic existimes, ad lautiores te fortasse subditos veniisse sæpe, ad lætiores nunquam.

Pares gratias pro imparibus beneficijs agi non posse.

Angliam meritò alterum orbem nuncupari.

Nordouicensium veranet ex intimis medullas prouenicus lætitia quam regiam maiestatem videant.

The oration of Stephan Limbert, publike schoolemaister, to the most magnificent prince, Elisabeth of England, France, and Ireland queene, &c: before the gates of the hospitall of Norwich.

IT is reported (most gratious queene) that Aegypt is watered with the yerelie ouerflowing of Nilus, and Lidia with the golden streame of Pactolus, which thing is thought to be the cause of the great frutefulnes of these countries: but vpon vs, and further, ouer all England, euen into the vttermost borders, manie and maine riuers of godlinesse, iustice, humilitie, and other innumerable good things, in comparison of the which, gold is vile and naught worth, doo most plentifullie gush out, and those not from Tmolus, or other hilles I know not which, but from that continuall and most aboundant wellspring of your goodnesse. And that of those infinit goodnesses I maie lightlie touch one, for that neither place, time, nor my abilitie dooth permit to speake of manie: with what praises shall we extoll; with what magnificent words shall we expresse that notable mercie of your highnesse (most renowmed queene) and vncredible readinesse to relieue the need of poore men, than the which of manie vertues none can be more acceptable vnto God, as Homer writeth, neither anie vertue in a mightie prince more woondered at amongst men. This hospitall of poore men is most famous, which will be a monument of princelie vertue and beneficence amongst all posteritie, instituted by the most mightie king Henrie your highnesse father, confirmed with the great seale by the most noble king Edward your brother, but by your maiestie, which deserueth no lesse praise, of late notablie increased and amplified by the lands and possessions of Cringleford, that you maie not now worthilie reioise so much in others ornaments, as your owne vertues. For you are said for your singular wisdome and learning, to haue studied that diuine law of the most wise Plato, which he left written in the eleuenth booke of lawes. Such your great bountie therefore, so exceeding and incredible mercie (ô most vertuous prince) in what bookes shall we comprehend? With what duties, or with what voice shall we testifie the good will of a thankefull mind? For when we diligentlie seeke all the most exquisit and curious means of thankesgiuing: we cannot so much as atteine vnto the greatnesse of this one benefit, by the which we acknowledge our selues bound and streictlie holden to your most roiall maiestie. We shall be ouercome, euen with this one and singular benefit, so much the lesse hope haue we then in anie point to counteruaile the huge sea of the rest of your benefits, which ouerfloweth on euerie side as well publikelie & generallie ouer all your subiects, as properlie and particularlie vpon this citie. We certeinlie now inhabit, and lead our liues in those most happie Ilands, of the which Hesiodus maketh mention, which not onelie abound with all maner of graine, wooll, cattell, and other aids of mans life; but much more with the most pretious treasure of true religion and the word of God, in the which onlie the minds of men haue rest and peace. There be that call England another world, which I thinke maie be most true in this our age. For whereas all lands on euerie side of vs are afflicted with most grieuous warres, and tossed with the flouds of dissention, we onelie (your highnesse gouerning our sterne) doo saile in a most peaceable hauen, and seuered from a world of mischiefs, doo seeme after a sort to be taken vp into a heauen of happinesse. We therefore (according to our bounden dutie) first giue thanks vnto God almightie, vnto whose goodnesse onelie with thanks we referre all this our happinesse, how great soeuer it be, & praie that he would vouchsafe to make the same proper and perpetuall vnto vs. And afterwards vnto your highnesse (ô most gratious queene) by whose studie, care and diligence we confesse this blessednesse to be gotten, and so manie years preserued vnto vs. We are glad in this beholding you, and we reioise with desire more than maie be beleeued, which as I speake of mine owne thought, so also all the subiects of Norwich desire me to saie the same in their behalfe. And I would

The excellent and incomparable blessings of England.

King Henrie king Edward and queene Elisabeth acknowledged speciall benefactors.

Condigne thanks vnpossible to be giuen.

England sometime called another world.

Their bounden reuerence to her maiestie.

I would to God you could pearse these our breasts with your eies, and throughlie view the hidden and couered creeks of our minds! Then vndoubtedlie should you behold an infinit heape of goodwill closelie shut vp within, which cannot breake out of so narrow straits. All the faith, studie, and obedience, which are due to so great a prince, as hitherto we haue most willinglie imploied, so will we alwaies most diligentlie performe the same: and if at anie time anie chance shall happen (which fortune God turne from vs) that the state of thy blessed maiestie, or of this flourishing realme should come in danger, or the worthinesse therof be in hazard, we do not onlie protest the effusion of all our goods and substance, but also the putting foorth and brunt of our strengths and bodies therein. Finallie, we desire and beseech thy excellencie (most renowmed queene) well to accept of this our dutie, howsoeuer it be, proceeding from a singular good will, and a most thankefull mind, and so to thinke of vs citizens of Norwich, that perhaps you haue manie times come to people more wealthie, but to more ioifull neuer.

The excellent and incomparable blessings of England.

Immediatlie after the beginning of the oration hir maiestie called to hir the French ambassadors, whereof there were three, and diuerse English lords, and willed them to harken, and she hirselfe was verie attentiue, euen vntill the end thereof. And the oration ended, after she had giuen great thanks therefore to maister Limbert, she said to him; It is the best that euer I heard; you shall haue my hand: and pulled off hir gloue, and gaue him hir hand to kisse, which before kneeling on his knees, he arose and kissed; and then she departed to the court without anie other shew that night, but that she sent backe to know his name. The nert night being thursdaie there was an excellent princelie maske brought before hir after supper by maister Goldingham in the priuie chamber, it was of gods and goddesses both strangelie and richlie apparelled. The first that entred was Mercurie, then entred two torchbearers in purple taffata mandillions laid with siluer lace, as all other the torchbearers were; then entred a consort of muslke, to wit, six musicians, all in long vestures of white sarsenet girded about them, and garlands on their heads, plaieng verie cunninglie; then two torchbearers more; then Iupiter and Iuno, then two torchbearers more; then Mars and Venus, then two torchbearers more; then Apollo and Pallas, then two torchbearers more; then Neptune and Diana; and lastly Cupid concluding the matter.

The queenes high commendation of maister Limberts oration.

King Henrie king Edward and queene Elisabeth acknowledged speciall benefactors.

The description of an excellent and princelie maske.

Thus when they had once marched about the chamber, Mercurie dischargeth his message in these words to the queene: The god meaning maior and all his brethren, with the rest, haue not rested from praieng vnto the gods to prosper thy comming hither; and the gods themselues moued by their vnfained praiers, are readie in person to bid thee worthilie welcome; and I Mercurie the god of merchants and merchandize, and therefore a fauourer of the citizens, being thought meetest am chosen fittest to signifie the same. Gods there be also which cannot come, being tied by the time of the yeare, as Ceres in haruest, Bacchus in wines, Pomona in orchards. Onelie Hymineus denieth his good will, either in presence or in person: notwithstanding Diana hath so counterchecked him therfore, as he shall hereafter be at your commandement. For my part, as I am a reioiser at your comming, so am I a furtherer of your welcome hither; and for this time I bid you farewell.

Mercuries message to the queene.

Condigne thanks vnpossible to be giuen.

England deserueth called another world.

Feare not oh queene, thou art beloued so,
As subiects true will truelie thee defend:
Feare not my power to ouerthrow thy foe,
I am the God that can each mischiefe amend.
Thou doest know great Iupiter am I,
That gaue thee first thy happie soueraintie.
I giue thee still as euer thou hast had,
A peerelesse power vnto thy dieng daie:
I giue thee rule to ouercome the bad,
And loue to loue thy louing subiects aie.

Then marched they about againe, and that done Iupiter spake to the queene in this sort, and then gaue hir a riding wand of whales fin curiouslie wrought.

Their vnfeigned reioising to see hir maiestie.

I giue thee heere this small and slender wand,
To shew thou shalt in quiet rule the land.

Then Iuno spake, whose gift was a purse curiouslie wrought.

Is Iuno rich? No sure she is not so,
She wants that wealth that is not wanting heere,
Thy goods get friends, my wealth wins mante a foe,
My riches rust, but thine shine palling cleere.
Thou art beloued of subiects farre and nie,
Which is such wealth as monie cannot buie.
Farewell faire queene, I cannot giue thee ought,
Nor take awaie thy good that is so bound:
Thou canst not giue that I so long haue sought,
Ne can I hold the riches thou hast found.
Yet take this gift, though poore I seeme to be,
That thou thy selfe shalt neuer poorer be.

Then after they had marched againe about, Mars gaue his gift, which was a faire paire of kniues, and said:

Where force dooth fiercelie seeke to foster wrong,
There Mars dooth make him make a quicke recoile,
Nor can indure that he should harbor long,
Where naughtie wights manure in goodlie soile.
This is the vse that aids the force of warre,
That Mars dooth mend, that force dooth seeke to marre.
And though oh queene thou beest a prince of peace,
Yet shalt thou haue me tatlie sure at need:
The stormes of strife and bluttering byroles to cease,
Which forren foes or faithlesse friends may breed.
To conquer, kill, to vanquish and subdue,
Such fained folke, as loues to liue vntrue.

These words were ingrauen vpon the knives:

To hurt your foe and helpe your frend,
These knives are made vnto that end:
Both blunt and sharpe you shall vs find,
As pleaseth best your princelie mind.

Then spake Venus whose gift was a white doue.

In vaine (faire queene) from heauen my comming was,
To seeke to mend that is no waie amis:
For now I see thy fauour so dooth passe,
That none but thou, thou onelie she it is,
Whose beautie bids each wight to looke on thee,
By view they may another Venus see.
Where beautie boasts, and fauour dooth not faile,
What may I giue to thee O worthie wight?
This is my gift, there shall no two preuaile,
That seekes thy will against thy wilkes delight,
Not where they will, but where it likes thy mind,
Accept that friend if loiall thou him find.

The doue being cast off, ran directlie to the queene, and being taken vp and set vpon the table before hir maiestie, sate so quietlie as if it had beene tied. Then after they had marched againe about, Apollo presented his gift, which was an instrument called a bandonet, and did sing to the said instrument this short and pithie dittie, as he was plaieng therevpon:

The song of Apollo to the queene.

It seemeth strange to see such strangers heere,
Yet not so strange but strangers knowes you well:
Your vertuous thoughts to gods doo plaine appeere,
Your acts on earth bewraies how you excell:
You cannot die, loue here hath made your leale,
Which gods haue sent, and God saith shall not reale.
Vertuous desire desired me to sing,
No subiects sute, though suters they were all,
Apollos gifts are subiect to no king,
Rare are thy gifts that did Apollo call,
Then still reioise, sith God and man saie so,
This is my gift, thou neuer shalt haue wo.

Pallas then speaketh and presenteth his gift, which was a booke of wisdome.

Most worthie wight, what wouldst thou haue of me?
Thou hast so much, thou canst inioie no more:
I cannot giue that once I gaue to thee,
Nor take awaie the good I gaue before.
I robbed was by natures good consent,
Against my will, and yet I was content.
A Pallas thou, a princelie I will be:
I queene of losse, thou goddesse which hast got;
I sometime was, thou onelie now art she:
I take, thou gainest that lucke that was my lot.
I giue not thee this booke to learne thee aught,
For that I know alreadie thou art taught.

Then Neptune spake: his gift was a great artificiall fish, and in the belie of it a pike, which he threw out before hir maiestie.

What art thou (queene) that gods do loue thee so?
Who woon their wils to bend at thy will?
How can the world become thy cruell foe?
How can Disdaine or Malice seeke to kill?
Can sea or earth deuise to hurt thy hap?
Sith thou by gods doost sit in fortunes lap.
As heauen and earth haue vowed to be thine,
So Neptunes seas haue swore to drench thy foes;
As I am god, and all the waters mine,
Still shalt thou get, but neuer shalt thou lose:
And sith on earth my wealth is nought at all,
Accept good will, the gift is verie small.

Diana presented a bow and arrowes nocked and headed with siluer; hir speach was this.

Who euer found on earth a constant friend,
That may compare with this my virgin queene?
Who euer found a bodie and a mind
So free from staine, so perfect to be seene?
Oh heauenlie hew, that aptest is to soile,
And yet doost liue from blot of anie soile.
Rare is thy gift, and giuen to few or none,
Mallst therefore of some that dare not say,
More shines thy light, for that I know but one,
That anie such shew, to follow on their waie.
Thou thou art thee, take thou the onelie praise,
For chastest dame in these our happie daies.

Accept

Accept my bowe, ſith beſt thou dooſt deſerue,
Though well I know thy mind can thee preſerue.

Cupido his ſpeach, his gift an arrow of gold.

Ah ha, I ſee my mother out of ſight,
Then let the boy now plaie the wag a while,
I ſeeme but weake, yet weake is not my might,
My boiſtſh wit can oldeſt folke beguile.
Who ſo dooth thinke, I ſpeake this but in teſt,
Let me but ſhoot, and I ſhall quench his reſt,
Marke here my ſhafts: this all is made of wood,
Which is but ſoft, and breeds but ſoft good will,
Now this is gilt, yet ſeemes it gold full good,
And dooth deceiue blind louing people ſtill.
But here is one is ſeldome felt or ſeene:
This is of gold, meet for the nobleſt queene.
Wherefore dame faire, take thou this gift of me,
Though ſome deſerue, yet none deſerue like you,
Shoot but this ſhaft at king or Ceſar: he,
And he is thine, and if thou wilt allow,
It is a gift that manie here doo craue,
Yet none but thou this golden ſhaft maie haue.

There was written vpon the ſhaft:

My colour, ioy, my ſubſtance pure,
My vertue ſuch as ſhall indure.

The quéenes behauiour after all this welcomming.

Hir maieſtie receiued theſe gifts verie thankefullie, the gods and goddeſſes with the reſt of the maſke marched about the chamber againe, and then departed in like maner as they came in. Then the quéene called vnto hir maſter Robert Wood, the maior of Norwich, whom firſt ſhe heartilie thanked, and toke by the hand, and vſed ſecret conference: but what I know not. And thus this delightfull night paſſed, to the ioy of all that ſaw hir grace in ſo pleaſant plight.

The deuiſor is commanded to be readie with his ſhewes to delight the quéene.

On thurſdaie in the morning, my lord chamberlains gaue the deuiſor warning the quéene would ride abroade in the after none, and he commanded him to be readie, dutifullie to preſent hir with ſome ſhew. Then knowing which waie the quéene would ride (by coniecture and inſtructions giuen) the deuiſor cauſed a place to be made and digged for the nymphes of the water, the maner and proportion whereof was in this ſorme and faſhion. Firſt there was meaſure taken for three ſcore foot of ground euerie waie, the hole to be made déepe and foure ſquare, which ground was all couered with canuas painted græne like the graſſe, and at euerie ſide on the canuas ran a ſtring through curteine rings, which ſtring might eaſilie be drawne anie kind of waie, by reaſon of two great poales that laie along in the ground, and anſwered the curteine or canuas on each ſide, ſo that drawing a ſmall cord in the middle of the canuas, the earth would ſéeme to open, & ſo that againe as the other end of the cord was drawne backward.

A proper deuiſe and verie delectable of a caue & twelue water nymphes, &c.

And in the ſame caue was a noble noiſe of muſike of all kind of inſtruments, ſeuerallie to be ſounded and plaied vpon, and at one time they ſhould be ſounded all together, that might ſerue for a conſort of broken muſike. And in the ſame caue alſo was placed twelue water nymphes, diſguiſed or dreſſed moſt ſtrangelie, ech of them had either vpon white ſilke, or fine linnen, græne ſedges ſtitched cunninglie on a long garment, ſo well wrought and alſo ſet on, as ſcarſe anie whit might be perceiued. And euerie nymph had in hir hand a great bundle of bulruſhes, and had on hir head a garland of iuie, vnder the which iuie was a coiſe of moſſe, and vnder the moſſe was there long goodlie heare like golden treſſes that couered hir ſhoulders, and in a maner raught downe vnto hir middle.

Now touching the beautie of the nymphes, they ſéemed to be the choſen children of the world, and became their attire ſo well, that their beautie might haue abuſed a right good iudgement. For diuerſe of thoſe that knew them before (albeit they were bare faced) could ſcarſe know them in their garments, and ſundrie toke them to be yong girles and wenches, prepared for the nonce, to procure a laughter.

What was deuiſed to be done by the nymphes at the

Theſe nymphs thus apparelled, and all things in good plight and readineſſe, there was deuiſed, that at the quéenes comming néere the water ſide (as this caue ſtood at the brim of the riuer) one nymph ſhould pop vp out of the caue firſt, and ſalute the quéene with a ſpeach, and then another: and ſo till foure of them had finiſhed their ſpeaches, there they ſhould remaine; and when they retired into their caue, the muſike ſhould begin: which ſure had béene a noble hearing, and the more melodious for the varietie thereof, and becauſe it ſhould come ſecretlie and ſtrangelie out of the earth. And when the muſike was done, then ſhould all the twelue nymphs haue iſſued together, & danſed a danſe with timbrels that were trimmed with belles, and other iangling things, which timbrels were as brode as a ſiue, hauing bottoms of fine parchment, and being ſounded, made ſuch a confuſed noiſe and paſtime, that it was to be wondered at: beſides the ſtrangeneſſe of the timbrels (yet knowne to our forefathers) was a matter of admiration vnto ſuch as were ignorant of that new found toy, gathered and borrowed from our elders. So in order and readineſſe ſtood that ſhew for the time.

The quéens comming neere the water ſide.

And to kéepe that ſhew companie (but yet farre off) ſtood the ſhew of Manhood and Deſert, as firſt to be preſented, and that ſhew was as well furniſhed as the other; men all, ſaue one boy called Beautie; for the which, Manhood, Fauour, and Deſert, did ſtriue (or ſhould haue contended) but good Fortune (as victor of all conqueſts) was to come in, and ouerthrow Manhood, Fauour, Deſert, & all their powers, and onelie by fine force (vpon a watchword ſpoken) ſhould laie hand on Beautie, and carrie or lead hir away. The other ſutors troubled with this kind of dealing, ſhould talke togither, and ſweare to be in one mind for an open reuenge: and vpon that Fortune ſhould crie Arme, arme. The other ſide called for their friends, at the which ſtirre ſhould appeare both their ſtrengthes: but good Fortune ſhould farre in power exceed his enimies. And yet to ſhew that Deſtinie (and who beſt can conquer) ſhall gouerne all, Fortune ſhould make an offer, that ſix to ſix with ſword and target ſhould end the brall and buſineſſe. Then ſix gentlemen on either ſide with rebated ſwords and targets (onelie in dublet and hoſe, and murrion on head) approched and would claime the combat, and deale togither twelue blowes apéece, and in the end Fortune ſhould be victor: and then the ſhot and armed men ſhould fall at variance ſo ſharpelie (vpon miſtaking of the matter) that Fortunes ſide ſhould triumph and march ouer the bellies of their enimies: in which time were legs and armes of men (well and liuelie wrought) to be let fall in numbers on the ground, as bloudie as might be. Fortune, regarding nothing but victorie, marcheth ſo awaie in great triumph: and then ſhould haue come into the place a ſong for the death of Manhood, Fauor, and Deſert, and ſo the ſhew ſhould haue ended.

The ſhew of Manhood and Deſert with the furniture declared.

A bloudie fight and yet harmleſſe done by art.

But now note what befell after this great buſineſſe and preparation. For as the quœnes highneſſe was appointed to come vnto hir coch, and the lords and courtiers were readie to mount on horſſebacke, there fell ſuch a ſhowre of raine (& in the necke thereof came ſuch a terrible thunder) that euerie one of vs were driuen to ſéeke for couert and moſt comfort, inſomuch that ſome of vs in hote ſtood vnder a bridge and were all ſo daſhed & waſhed, that it was a greater paſtime to ſée vs loke like drowned rats, than to haue beheld the vttermoſt of the ſhewes rehearſed. Thus you ſée, a ſhew in the open field is alwaies ſubiect to the ſudden change of weather, and a number of more inconueniences. But what ſhould be ſaid of that which the citie loſt by this cauſe; veluets, ſilkes, tinſels, and ſome cloth of gold being cut out for theſe purpoſes, that could not ſerue to anie great effect after: Well, there was no more to ſaie, but an old adage, that Man dooth purpoſe, but God dooth diſpoſe,

All the preparation diſappointed by thunder and raine.

The cities loſſe by occaſion of this tempeſt.

to

to whose disposition and pleasure the guide of greater maters is committed. So this thursdaie toke his leaue from the actors, and left them loking one vpon another, & he that thought he had receiued most iniurie, kept greatest silence, and lapping vp (among a bundle of other misfortunes) this euill chance, euerie person quietlie passed to his lodging.

The nert daie being fridaie, in which daie the court remoued, the streets towards saint Benets gates were hanged, from the one side to the other, with cords made of hearbs and floures, with garlands, coronets, pictures, rich cloths, and a thousand deuises. At the gates themselues there was a stage made verie richlie apparelled with cloth of gold and crimsin veluet, wherupon in a close place made theron for the purpose, was placed verie swéet muslike: & one readie to render hir this speach following. The dolefull houre of hir departure came, she passed from the court, to those gates, with such countenances, both of hir maiesties part, and hir subiects now dolorous, now chéerefull, as plainlie shewed the louing hearts of both sides. When she came there the speach was thus vttered vnto hir in verie plausible sort:

Terrestriall ioies are tide with slender file,
Each happie hap full hastilie dooth slide,
As summer season lasteth but a while,
So winter stormes doo longer time abide:
Alas what blisse can anie time endure?
Our sunshine daie is dasht with sudden shoure.
Could toong expresse our secret ioies of hart,
(Oh mightie prince) when thou didst come in place?
No no God wot, nor can expresse the smart
Thy subiects feele in this departing case.
But gratious queene, let here thy grace remaine
In gratious wise, till thy returne againe.
In lieu whereof, receiue thy subiects harts,
In fixed faith continuallie thine owne:
Who readie rest to loose their vitall parts
In thy defense, when anie blast is blowne.
Thou art our queene, our rocke and onelie staie,
We are thine owne to serue by night and daie.
Farewell oh queene, farewell oh mother deare,
Let Jacobs God thy sacred bodie gard:
All is thine owne that is possessed here,
And all in all is but a small reward
For thy great grace, God length thy life like Noy,
To gouerne vs, and eke thy realme in ioy. Amen.

These words were deuised by B. Goldingham, and spoken by himselfe, to whome hir maiestie said: We thanke you hartilie. Then with the musicke in the same place was song this short ditte following, in a verie swéet voice, to the great delite of the hearers;

What vaileth life, where sorow sokes the hart?
Who feareth death that is in deepe distresse?
Release of life dooth best abate the smart
Of him, whose woes are quite without redresse.
Lend me your teares, resigne your sighes to me,
Helpe all to waile the dolor which you see.
What haue we doone, the will no longer staie?
What may we doo to hold hir with vs still?
Shee is our queene, we subiects must obaie,
Grant, though with greefe, to hir departing will.
Conclude we then, and sing with sobbing breath,
God length thy life (oh queene Elisabeth.)

On fridaie, the court vpon remoue, the citie troubled with manie causes, and some séeking to doo seruice like the deuiser, moued him to doo somewhat of himselfe, bicause his aids (as manie times they were before) were drawne from him, each one about his owne businesse, and he left to his owne inuentions and policie, at which exigent or casuall things of fortune, he drew his boies vnto him, that were the Nymphs on the water, and so departed the citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted his purpose and the matter he went about. Then he chose a ground, by the which the quéene must passe, inclosing his companie in the corner of a field, being defensed with high and thicke bushes, and there some parts he made, which the boies might misse, bicause the time was short for the learning of those parts. But he being resolued to doo somewhat might make the quéene laugh, appointed that seauen boies of twelue should passe through a hedge from the place of abode (which was gallantlie trimmed) and deliuer seauen spéeches. And these boies (you must vnderstand) were dressed like Nymphes of the water, and were to plaie by a deuise and degrees the feiries, and to danse (as nére as could be imagined) like the feiries. Their attire and comming so strangelie out, made the quénes highnesse smile and laugh withall. And the deuiser hearing this good hope, being apparelled like a water spirite, began to sound a timbrell, & the rest with him, all the twelue Nymphs togither (when the seauen had repaired in) sounded timbrels likewise. And although the deuiser had no great hearting, yet as he durst, he led the yong foolish feiries a danse, which boldnesse of his bred no disgrace, but as he heard, was well taken. The quéene vpon their retire in, hasted to hir highnes lodging, which was seuen miles off, and at that present, when the shew ended, it was past fiue of the clocke.

All these shewes finished, hir maiestie in princelie maner marched toward the confines of the liberties of the citie of Norwich, which was supposed almost two miles. Before she came there, maister maior brake to my lord chamberlaine, that he was to vtter to hir maiestie an other oration, whereof my lord séemed to haue good liking: but before they came to the said confines, maister maior was willed to forbeare the vtterance of the same his oration, bicause it was about seauen of the clocke, and hir maiestie had then fiue miles to ride. Neuertheless he gaue to hir maiestie both his orations in writing, which she thanked him for. She also thanked the maior, euerie alderman, and the commoners, not onelie for the great chére they had made hir, but also for the open houholds they kept to hir highnesse seruants, and all others. Then she called maister maior and made him knight: and so departing, said: I haue laid vp in my breast such good will, as I shall neuer forget Norwich; and proceéding onward did shake hir riding rod and said: Farewell Norwich, with the water standing in hir eies. In which great good will towards vs all, I beséech God to continue hir maiestie with long and triumphant reigne ouer vs, Amen.

Now to come to the returne of the quénes maiestie from Norfolke and Suffolke, in which two counties hir highnesse knighted certeine gentlemen, as namelie in Suffolke George Colt, Philip Parkar, Robert Iermine, William Spring. Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Kidson, Arthur Yedingham: In Norfolke, Thomas Kneuet, Nicholas Bacon, William Paston, Edward Cléere, Rafe Shelton, Henrie Woodhouse, Thomas Gaudie, Robert Wood maior, Roger Woodhouse. These gentlmen hir maiestie knighted, for that they should all their life time after haue the greater regard to God and their prince. Now the quénes maiestie passing from Norwich, she came to sir Roger Woodhouses that night, where she was well receiued, and noblie interteined. From thense to Wood rising at sir Edward Cléeres. From thense to sir Thomas Kidsons, where in verie déed the fare and bankets did so excéed a number of other places, that it is worthie the mention. A shew representing the feiries (as well as might be) was there séene, in the which shew a rich iewell was presented to the quénes highnes. From thense to master Reuets, where all things were well and in verie good order, and meat liberallie spent.

But now to speake a little by the waie of Gods mightie hand and power, that framed mens hearts so well in manie parts, before the quénes highnesse came to Cambridgshire, and to tell how blessedlie our great and good God did deale with our dere soueréigne ladie, in causing euerie person to shew their dutie, is a matter of great discourse, and of no little weight and comfort to all good minds that shall consider of the same. Such a Lord is our great God, that

quéns coming nére the water side.

The deuisers doings well taken of the quéne, &c.

The quéens departure fro Norwich heartilie taken.

Maister maior purposing to vtter another oration, is willed to forbeare it, and why, &c.

The shew of Wanhood and Desert with the furniture declared.

The maior of Norwich knighted.

Gaue the true hearts of the citizens and people.

The quénes words at hir departing.

A ditte sung in verie swéet voice.

Gentlemen of Suffolke & Norfolke knighted.

A bloodie sight and yet harmlesse done by art.

Fridaies deuise vpon the remaining of the court.

All the preparation disappointed by thunder and raine.

The quénes maiestie departeth from Norwich and is now interteined by the waie.

A pleasant deuise to make the quéene laugh.

The cities losse by occasion of this tempest.

that can frame all things to the beſt, and ſuch a ſouereigne ladie we haue, that can make the crooked paths ſtreight where ſhe commeth, & draw the harts of the people after hir whereſoeuer ſhe trauelleth. So from maſter Reuets hir highneſſe came to my lord Noths, who was no whit behind anie of the reſt for a franke houſe, a noble heart, and well ordered interteinement. And there was an oration made by a gentleman of Cambridge, with a ſtatelie and a faire cup preſented from the vniuerſitie, all the ambaſſadors of France beholding the ſame. And the gentlemen of the ſhire (as in manie other places) did beare the quéenes meat to the table, which was a great liking & gladneſſe to the gentlemen, & a ſolemne ſight for ſtrangers & ſubiects to looke vpon. From my lord Noths to ſir Giles Allingtons, where things were well, and well liked. From thenſe to ſir John Cuts. From thenſe to M. Kapels, where was excellent good chéere & interteinement. From thenſe to Hide hall, where I heard of no great chéere nor banketting. From thenſe to Rockwood hall, but how the traine was there interteined, I am ignorant of. From thenſe to maſter Stonars, and from thenſe to my lord of Leiceſters houſe, where the progreſſe ended, & (to knit vp all) the good chéere was reuiued, not onelie with making a great feaſt to the quéene and the French ambaſſador, but alſo in feaſting ſolemnelie (at ſeuerall times) the whole gard, on ſundaie and mondaie before the quéene came, at his owne table, vſing ſuch courteſie vnto them for the ſpace of two daies, as was and is worthie of perpetuall memorie. Thus much of the quéenes highneſſe returne, whom God hath ſo well preſerued, that ſhe like a worthie prince to our great comfort proſpereth in peace, to the great diſgrace of the enimies of God, and aduerſaries of our common weale and countrie, wherin God continue hir maieſtie, Amen.

The vniuerſitie of Cambridge preſent a faire and ſtatelie cup to the quéene.

T.C.

The lord of Leiceſters bountifull interteinement.

The quéenes maieſtie, now gone from Norwich, carried awaie with hir all the gladneſſe of the citie, which ſprang from hir preſence; in place whereof ſucceéded melancholie ſadnes: in ſomuch that the verie aier altered with the change of the countrie chére proceéding from the departure of hir highnes roiall perſon: which he meant that made theſe verſes, wherwith the deſcription of this progreſſe ſhall end.

Ad ſolem nubibus obductum die lunæ 18. Auguſti, 1578.

Splendide Phœbe redi, cur te ſub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallas adeſt, ſplendide Phœbe redi.
Haſta minax procul eſt, non Gorgonis ora videbis,
Pallas inermis adeſt, ſplendide Phœbe redi.
Scilicet à tanto metuis tibi lumine forſan:
Ne ſuperet radios fœmina Phœbe tuos.
Pulcher Apollo tibi ne ſit regina rubori:
Ipſe decore tuo vincis, & illa ſuo.
Euge redux reducem qui a pulſa nocte reducis
Phœbe diem: toto eſt gratius orbe nihil.
Hæc pepulit tetri tenebras noctémque papiſmi,
Et liquidum retulit relligione diem.
Euge nigras nebulas radys quia ſæpe repellis
Phœbe tuis: pene eſt gratius orbe nihil.
Texuerant remoras diſcrimina mille papiſtæ:
Ne ceptum princeps continuaret iter:
Nec tamen hunc nebulæ potuerunt condere ſolem:
Quamuis tu nebulis cedis Apollo tuis.
Ergò iubar noſtrum repuliſſe obſtaculo cernis:
Sic age, ſol nebulas lumine pelle tuo.
Splendide Phœbe redi, cur te ſub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallas adeſt, ſplendide Phœbe redi.

Eiuſdem in eandem.

Suſtinet, ornat, habet, regnum, literaria, formam,
Prouida, docta, decens, Iuno, Minerua, Venus.
Singula dona trium ſimul Elizabetha dearum
Prouida, docta, decens, ſuſtinet, ornat, habet.
Eſſe deas luſi: diuinam dicimus iſtam:
Quamuis nec liceat nec libet eſſe deam.

In ſhadowing clouds why art thou cloth'd O Phebus bright retire:
Vnhouſed Pallas preſent is, O Phebus bright retire.
The threatning ſpeare is long far off, doubt not grim Gorgons ire:
Vnarmed Pallas preſent is, O Phebus bright retire.
Perhaps thou art afraid: And why? at this ſo large a light:
Least that a woman ſhould excell, thy beams (O Phebus) bright.
Let not a queene, a virgine pure, which is, and euer was,
O faire Apollo, make thee blush: you both in beautie paſſe.
O Phebus ſafe and ſound returne, which, baniſhing the night,
Bringſt backe the daie: in all the world nothing of like delight:
She, onelie ſhe, the darkeneſſe driue of poperie quite awaie:
And by religion hath reſtord the bright and lightſome daie.
O Phebus with thy beams, which foilſt the clouds both blind & The world, in maner all, a thing of like delight doth lacke. (blacke,
A thouſand dangers and delaies the papiſts had deuiſd,
To thend our princeſſe ſhould abridge hir progreſſe enterpriſe:
Yet this our bright & ſhining ſun, caſt light through euerie cloud:
Although in clouds thou art content, Apollo oft to ſhroud.
Thou ſeeſt our ſinne in comelie courſe, cuts off each ſtop and ſtaie:
Do thou the like, and by thy light driue euerie cloud awaie.
In ſhadowing clouds why art thou cloth'd: O Phebus bright retire:
Vnhouſed Pallas preſent is: O Phebus bright retire.

To the ſame, couered vnder clouds & vapours of miſt and miſtie ſmoke, during the time of Auguſt laſt.

Hir kingdome all by prouidence, queene Juno doth vphold:
And of Minerua ladie learnd, is learned loze extold:
And Venus faire of countenance, hath beautie vncontrold.
Theſe ſundrie gifts of goddeſſes three, Eliſabeth poſſeſſeth:
By prouidence hir peoples peace, and comfort the increaſeth:
Hir learning, learning amplifies: hir beautie neuer ceaſeth.
I did but teaſt, of goddeſſes to giue them three the name:
This ladie maiſt thou goddeſſe call, for ſhe deſerues the ſame:
Although ſhe will not vndertake, a title of ſuch fame.

By the ſame concerning the queene.

Matthew Hamont, by his trade a ploughwright of Hetharſet three miles from Norwich, was conuented before the biſhop of Norwich, for that he denied Chriſt our ſauiour. At the time of his appearance it was obiected that he had publiſhed theſe hereſies following. That the new teſtament and goſpell of Chriſt are but méere folichneſſe, a ſtorie of man, or rather a méere fable. Item, that man is reſtored to grace by Gods méere mercie, without the meane of Chriſts bloud, death and paſſion. Item, that Chriſt is not God nor the ſauiour of the world, but a méere man, a ſinfull man, and an abhominable idoll. Item, that all they that worſhip him are abhominable idolaters, & that Chriſt did not riſe againe from death to life by the power of his godhead, neither that he aſcended into heauen. Item, that the Holie ghoſt is not God, neither that there is anie ſuch Holie ghoſt. Item, that baptiſme is not neceſſarie in the church of God, neither the vſe of the ſacrament of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt. For the which hereſies he was condemned in the conſiſtorie, and ſentence was pronounced againſt him by the biſhop of Norwich on the thirteenth daie of Aprill, and thervpon deliuered to the ſhiriffes of Norwich. And becauſe he ſpake words of blaſphemie (not to be recited) againſt the quéenes maieſtie and others of hir councell, he was by the recorder, maſter ſergeant Windham, and the maior ſir Robert Wood of Norwich condemned to loſe both his eares, which were cut off on the thirteenth of Maie in the market place of Norwich, and afterwards, to wit on the twentith of Maie, he was burned in the caſtell dich of Norwich.

Matthew Hamont burned at Norwich.

The hereſie that he held.

This yeare in the moneth of Maie, Marke Scaliot blacke ſmith citizen of London, borne in the parith of ſaint Clements Dane without Temple bar, and now dwelling in Cornehill néere vnto Leaden hall, for triall of workemanſhip, made one hanging locke of iron, ſteele and braſſe, of eleuen ſeuerall peéces, a pipe keie filed three ſquare with a pot vpon the ſhaft, & the bow with two eſſes, all cleane wrought, which weied but one graine of gold or wheat corne. He alſo at the ſame time made a chaine of gold of three and fortie linkes, to the which chaine the locke and keie being faſtened, and put about a fleas necke, ſhe drew the ſame with eaſe. All which, locke, keie, chaine, and flea, weied but one graine and a halfe. A thing almoſt incredible, but that my ſelfe (amongſt manie others) haue ſéene it, & therfore muſt affirme it to be true.

In Engliſh man made a locke and a keie, weieng but one graine corne.

The firſt of June deceaſed Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, biſhop of Wincheſter, and prelat of the garter, at Wincheſter place in Southworke, and was

The biſhop of Wincheſter deceaſed.

was buried at Winchester. ¶ This man was learned and eloquent, of a round and readie vtterance, sound in religion and zelous in the truth; in testimonie whereof he chose rather to forsake his natiue soile, and to liue a stranger in a forren land, than with offense of conscience to tarrie at home within the sight and hearing of the manifold abhominations which supported poperie: so that although death haue deuoured his mortall bodie, yet in respect of his vertue and godlinesse, his name shall be immortall; according to the truth of this sentence:

Corpore deposito viuit virtute superstes,
De virtute nihil mors violenta rapit.

John Wolton now liuing, was called to be bishop of Excester, ¶ consecrated at Lambith by Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie, in August 1579. He is a professor of diuinitie, and a preacher of the gospell, and vniuersallie seene in all good letters. This William Wolton, being in successiue order the eight and fortith that occupied the said see, from the first that inioied the same episcopall aduancement, minister sith occasion to insert a catalog of all the bishops of Excester as they followed one after another in that see, being an apt collection, and verie answerable to the description of Excester, and the ancient foundation of saint Peters church there; mentioned in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, page 1007, and continued to page 1028.

A catalog of the bishops of Excester *collected by* John Vowell *alias* Hooker, *gentleman.*

Werstanus. 1 WErstanus, at a prouinciall synod holden in Wessex, in the yeare 905, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, and had his see at bishops Tauton: and in the yeare following 906 he died, and was buried in his owne church.

Putta. 2 Putta, after the death of Werstanus, was elected and consecrated bishop, and had his see at Tauton: and taking his iourneie towards Crediton, to see and visit the king (or as some saie, Alfa the kings lieutenant) was by the said Alfas men slaine, and then vpon his death the see was remoued to Crediton.

Eadulphus. 3 Eadulphus, brother to Alfius duke of Deuon and Cornewall, and founder of Lancestor, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, but installed at Crediton, where he had his see, and continued bishop two and twentie yeares, and then dieng about the yeare 932, he was buried in his owne church.

Ethelgarus. 4 Ethelgarus, in the yeare 932, succeeded Eadulphus, and in his time king Athelstane subdued the Cornish people, reedified this citie, and compassed the same with a stone wall: he founded the monasterie of saint Peters for monks of saint Benets order. This Ethelgarus, after he had beene bishop ten yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Algarus. 5 Algarus, in the yeare 942 after Ethelgarus, was constituted & installed bishop at Crediton, and hauing beene bishop about ten yeares, died and was buried in his owne church.

Alfwoldus. 6 Alfwoldus, as Matthew Westminster writeth, was nert bishop after Algarus, and consecrated by the aduise of Dunstane, in the yeare 952. In this time Odogarus earle of Deuon, and father in law to king Edgar, builded the abbeie of Tauestoke: and king Edgar called home all the monkes of saint Peters which were dispersed, and without anie abbat, and made Sidemannus abbat, who was afterwards bishop. This Alfwoldus after fiftéene yeares that he was consecrated, died and was buried in his owne church.

7 Alfwolfus, as Dicetus affirmeth, was consecrated bishop in the yeare of our Lord 969, and after nine yeares died, and was buried in his owne church. Alfwolfus.

8 Sidemannus of an abbat was made a bishop, in the yeare 978. In this mans time the Danes ouerran and spoiled the whole countries of Deuon and Cornewall, burned the towne of Bodmen, and the cathedrall church of saint Petrokes, with the bishops house. Wherevpon the bishops sée was remoued from thense to saint Germans, where the same continued, vntill the remouing and vniting thereof vnto Crediton. Sidemannus in the twelfe yeare after his consecration died, and was buried at Crediton in his owne church 990. Sidemannus.

9 Alphzedus, whome Dicetus calleth Alfricus, abbat of Malmesburie, was consecrated bishop, and installed at Crediton: he was taken for a learned man, because he wrote two bookes, the one intituled *De rebus cœnobij sui*, and the other *De rerum naturis*. In this bishops time, king Ethelred endowed the bishoprike of saint Germans with lands, liberties, and priuileges. The Danes made a fresh inuasion in and vpon all Deuon and Cornewall, burned and spoiled the abbie of Mydolphus at Tauestoke: they besieged Excester, and being remoued from thense, were fought withall at Pinneho, about three miles from the citie, and ouerthrowne. Alphzedus, after he had béene bishop about nine yeares, died in the yeare 999, and was buried in his owne church. Alphzedus.

10 Alwolfus (as Dicetus writeth) was the nert bishop. In his time Sweno king of Denmarke, by intisement of one Hugh then earle of Deuon, came with a great host and besieged the citie of Excester, tooke it and burned it, and with great cruelties vsed the people, vntill in the end Almarus then earle of Deuon, and the gentlemen did yéeld and submit themselues, and so obteined peace. This Alwolfus about the fiftéenth yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare 1014 died, and was buried in his owne church. Alwolfus.

11 Arnoldus, by the report of the archdeacon of London, succéeded Alwolfus, and was installed at Crediton. In this mans time, king Canutus gaue to Athelwold abbat of S. Peters of this citie great gifts, and sundrie priuileges, in recompense of his fathers great iniuries. Arnoldus in the fiftéenth yeare of his bishoprike 1030 died, and was buried in his owne church. Arnoldus.

12 Leuigus or Leuingus abbat of Tauestoke, and nephue to Brithwaldus bishop of Cornewall, was chosen the nert bishop, and according to the orders then vsed, consecrated and installed. He was in great fauour and credit with king Canutus, vpon whome he attended in pilgrimage to Rome; and after his vncle the bishop of saint Germans being dead, obteined of the king that the bishops sée was remoued from saint Germans vnto Crediton, and both were thereby reduced and vnited into one bishoprike, and so hath euer since continued. Hée was after the death of Brithegus bishop of Worcester, remoued to that church, and there died, and was buried as some suppose: but some affirme, that in the time of Hardicanutus the king, at the accusation of Alfredus then archbishop of Yorke, for that he should be consenting to the death of Alfredus the sonne of Ethelred, that he should be deposed of his bishoprike there, and so did returne vnto Tauestoke, where he died. But Dicetus affirmeth, that he purged himselfe of this crime, and by that meanes was restored, both to the fauour of the king, and to his bi- Leuigus, or Leuingus.

shopzike againe, and died bishop of Wozcester. It is recozded that he was bishop of Crediton fifténe yeares.

Leofricus. 13 Leofricus, a man descended of the bloud and line of Brutus, but brought vp in the land of Lothoringia oz Lozeine, was so well commended foz his nobilitie, wisedome, and learning, that king Edward the Confessoz had him in great fauour, and made him first one of his priuie councell; then lozd chancellos of all England: and lastlie the bishopzike of this pzouince being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed bishop of the same. By him and by his meanes, the bishops sée was remoued from Crediton vnto this citie of Excester: foz at his request, king Edward togither with quéene Edith his wife came to Excester, & remouing the monkes from hense to Westminster, did also remoue the bishops sée from Crediton vnto his citie, and did put the bishop in possession. Foz he conducting the bishop on the right hand, and the quéene on the left hand, brought him to the high altar of his new church, and there placed him in a seat appointed foz him. He suppzessed sundzie houses oz cels of religion within his sanctuarie, and appzopziated and united them to his owne church; as also by the good liberalitie of the king obteined great reuenues, possessions, pziuileges, and liberties to be giuen vnto the church. In this mans time, William duke of Nozmandie made a conquest of this whole realme, as also in the yeare 1068 besieged this citie of Excester, which after by composition he restozed to his fozmer estate againe. Also in his time, Richard de Bzion, a noble man of Nozmandie, the sonne of Baldwin of Bzion, & of Albzed the néece to the Conquezoz, was made baron of Okehampton, warden of the castell of Excester, and vicount of Deuon. This Leofricus, after that he had well and wozthilie ruled his church and diocesse by the space of thzée and twentie yeares, he ended his daies in peace, and died in the yeare 1073, and was buried in the cemiterie oz churchyard of his owne church, vnder a simple and a bzoken marble stone, which place by the since inlarging of his church is now within the tower of the same, where of late, in the yeare 1568, a new monument was erected in the memozie of so good, wozthie, and noble a personage, by the industrie of the writer hereof, but at the charges of the deane and chapter.

Osbertus oz Osbernus. 14 Osbertus oz Osbernus, a Nozman bozne, and bzother to an earle named William, was pzeferred to this bishopzike, and in the yeare 1074 was consecrated and installed to the same. Polydorus writeth, that one Galfrid who ioined with Odo, earle of Kent and bishop of Baion, against William Rufus, should be bishop of Eron: but it was not, noz could not so be. In this mans time, William the Conquezoz, and William Rufus his sonne died. This Osbertus oz Osbernus, after he had béene bishop thirtie yeares, was blind, and died, and lieth buried in his owne church.

William Warlewast. 15 William Warlewast a Nozman bozne, and chapleine both to the Conquezoz and his two sons, William and Henrie: he was a graue and a wise man, and foz the same was pzeferred by Henrie the king to this bishopzike, in the yere one thousand one hundzed and seuen, and was consecrated by Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, in the moneth of August the same yeare. He first began to inlarge his church, which at that time was no bigger than that which is now called the ladie chappell. He founded and builded the monasterie of Plimpton, and placed therein regular canons: in his latter daies he wared and became blind. And yet notwithstanding foz his wisdome the king sent him in ambassage vnto pope Paschalis the second, wherein he so wiselie dealed, and so discrétlie behaued himselfe in his message, that he made a reconciliation betwéene the pope and the king, and returned with great praise and commendation. Not long after his returne, and hauing small ioie of the world, he gaue ouer his bishopzike, and became one of the religious canons in his owne house of Plimpton, where he died and was buried, he was bishop about twentie yeares.

Robert Chicheller. 16 Robert Chicheller, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop vnder Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, Anno 1128, and the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first. He was a gentleman bozne, and therefoze esteemed foz his zeale in religion, wherein he was deuout accozding to those daies; and thinking his labours to be best imploied that waie, did eftsoons go in pilgrimage, sometime to Rome, sometime to one place, sometime to another; and euer he would bzing with him some one relikie oz other. He was a liberall contributoz to the buildings of his church. In his time was founded and builded the monasterie of S. Stephans in Lancestor, and furthered by Reinold erle of Cozne wall; but vnto it this bishop was an aduersarie, not foz misliking the wozke, but foz feare of an intrusion vpon his liberties. Likewise at this time was builded the pziozie of saint Nicholas in Excester, by the abbat of Battell, vnto which abbeie this pziozie was a cell. In this mans time also king Henrie made William Rideuers a Nozman (and his kinsman) earle of Deuon; and therewith the lozdship of Twifozdton, and the honoz of Plimpton, togither with the third pennie of his reuenues in Deuon, which in the whole was then thirtie marks, whereof this earle had ten. Also in this mans time king Henrie died, and king Stephan entred, and toke vpon him the crowne, whereof insued great warres. This bishop, after that he had occupied the place two and twentie yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. But the monke of Westminster writeth that he should be bishop seuen and twentie yeares, and died in the yeere one thousand one hundzed fiftie and fiue, but he neuer saw the recozds of this church which are to the contrarie.

John the chanter.

Robert Warlewast. 17 Robert Warlewast, nephue to William the bishop of this church, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop by Theobaldus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundzed and fiftie, he nothing degenerated from the steps of his predecessors, but was altogither of the same bent and disposition. In his time king Stephan died, and Henrie the second was crowned king. This Robert after that he had occupied this sée nine yeers oz thereabout, died, & was buried at Plimpton by his vncle.

Henrie Marshall.

Bartholomeus Iscanus. 18 Bartholomeus Iscanus, otherwise Bartholomew of Excester, was consecrated bishop of Excester vnder Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare a thousand one hundzed fiftie nine, he was called Iscanus of Isca, which is one of the ancientest names of this citie. He was a meane citizens son, but being verie apt vnto learning, his parents and friends kept him to schole; and he so well pzofited therein, that he came and pzoued to be a verie well learned man: and being bishop he wzote sundzie bookes, as of pzedestination, fréewill, penance, and others. Of all men he could not bzooke noz fauoz Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie foz his contempt and disobedience against the king, foz the which he sharplie impzoued, rebuked, and inueighed against him openlie in the parlement house holden at Nozthampton; and with such effectuall reasons, and pithie arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole parlement relied vnto his iudgement and opinion herein against Thomas Becket. And

after

after his death, such was the grauitie, modestie, and wisedome of the man, that he was spetiallie chosen to be ambassador for the king vnto pope Alexander the third; and so wiselie, and with such discretion vsed the same, that notwithstanding his cause and message had manie aduersaries, yet he reconciled the pope and the king, obteined the good will and fauour of the pope, and brought his message to good effect. This bishop was in great familiaritie and acquaintance with Baldwin of Exceter his countriman, now archbishop of Canturburie, who was a poore mans sonne in this citie; but for his learning aduanced to this estate. In this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred three score and eight, William Fitzralfe a citizen of this citie founded a cell for monks within this citie, and dedicated the same to saint Alexius, which not long after was united to saint Johns within the east gate of the same citie. In his time also Reinold of Courteneie a nobleman of Normandie, the son of Elorus the son of Lewes, named Lewes le Grosse king of France came into this land, and married Hawise daughter and heire to Hawd the daughter and heire to Adelis, sister and heire to Richard de Brione the first vicount of Deuon, and in hir right was vicount of Deuon. This Bartholomew, after he had béene bishop about fourteene yeares, in the yere one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, died: but where he died, and where he was buried it doth not appeere.

In this bishops time about the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuentie, one Johannes Cornubiensis a Cornish man borne, was a famous learned diuine, he was a student at Rome and other places in Italie, and by that meanes grew into great acquaintance with pope Alexander the third: he wrote diuerse bookes, and namelie one *De incarnatione Christi*, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed, *Quòd Christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est*; and this he dedicated to pope Alexander.

John the chanter.

19 John the chanter of the cathedrall church of this citie was consecrated and installed bishop of this church, in the yeare one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, he was well reported of for his liberalitie in continuing the buildings of this church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his predecessors. In his time king Henrie Fitzempréelle died, and he himselfe, hauing beene bishop about six yeares, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred ninetie and one.

Henrie Marshall.

20 Henrie Marshall archdeacon of Stafford, the brother to Walter earle marshall of England, was consecrated bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred ninetie and one; he finished the building of his church, according to the plot and foundation which his predecessors had laid; and that done, he purchased the patronage and lordship of Woodburie of one Albemarlie, which he gaue and impropriated vnto the vicars chorall of his church. In this mans time, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, one Simon Thurnaius a Cornish man borne, brought vp in learning, did by diligence and studie so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberall sciences, and in his daies none thought to be like him. He left Oxenford, where he had béene a student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied diuinitie, and therein became so excellent, and of so deepe a iudgement, that he was made chéefe of the Sorbonists; at length he became so proud of his learning, and did glorie so much therein, that he would be singular, & thought himselfe to be another Aristotle: and so much he was therein blinded, and waxed so farre in loue with Aristotle, that he preferred him before Moses and Christ. But behold Gods iust iudgement. For suddenlie his memorie failed him, and he waxed so forgetfull, that he could neither call to remembrance anie thing that he had done, neither could he discerne, read, or know a letter of the booke. This Henrie, after that he had spent and liued twelue yeares in his bishoprike, he died, and lieth buried in the north side of the chancell of his church, in a verie faire tome of marble, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six.

Simon de Apulia.

21 Simon de Apulia, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six was installed bishop of this see, of him there remaineth no memoriall at all. In his time were famous Joseph Iscanius, and Alexander Neckam; the one was verie well learned in the Latine and Greeke tong, and in the liberall sciences; the other was prior of saint Nicholas, and was an vniuersall man, being a profound philosopher, an eloquent orator, a pleasant poet, and a déepe diuine. In this bishops time the doctrine of elevation, adoration, reseruation, and praieng for the dead, being established by pope Honorius the third, the parish churches within this citie were limited, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie & two. In this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, one Johannes Deuonius, so surnamed, because he was borne in Deuon, being well bent to good studies, was much commended for his learning and modestie. He was familiar and of great acquaintance with Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and being made abbat of Ford, was in such fauor with king John, that he chose him to be his confessor and chapleine: he was a writer, and compiled diuerse bookes which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his abbeie, the people much lamenting the want of so good a man. This bishop hauing spent eightéene yeares, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure, & was buried in his owne church.

William Brewer.

22 William Brewer, verie shortlie after the death of the foresaid Simon, was elected bishop, and consecrated by Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, being brother to sir William Brewer knight, the husband of the eldest daughter, & one of the heirs to William de Werona, erle of Deuon; and who also was founder of the abbeies of Tor, of Hartland, and other monasteries. This bishop so wiselie and discréetlie behaued himselfe, that he was had in great reputation among all men, and in spetiall fauour with the king. For king Henrie, hauing giuen his sister ladie Isabell to wife vnto Frederike the emperor, did commend and betake hir to this bishop, to be conueied and conducted to the emperor. And such was the fame and good report spred of him, that as he passed through the countries, they were from place to place receiued with great honor; and being come to the citie of Coleine, the archbishop there did not onelie verie honorablie receiue them, but also accompanied them vnto the citie of Wormes, where the mariage was solemnized. When this bishop had séene the marriage, and all things performed, he toke his leaue, and was dismissed with great présents, and honorablie accompanied homewards by the archbishop and others. At his returne he was ioifullie receiued of all the noble men about the king, and most thankfullie by the king himselfe, and whome the king vsed as his spetiall and most trustie councellor in all his weightie causes. This bishop being come home to his owne house, and minding (as his predecessors had done) to leaue some good memoriall behind him, he made a deane, and constituted twentie foure prebendaries within his church. To the one he impro-

priated Brampton and Colliton Rawleie: for the others he purchased so much land, as out whereof he assigned to euerie prebendarie foure pounds by the yeare, and of these he ordeined his chapter. Also in this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and fortie, Gilbert Long and Robert his brother citizens of this citie builded and founded the hospitall of saint Johns, within the east gate of this citie, for the sustenance of certeine poore folks, called afterwards the poore children of saint Johns, & gaue all their lands and tenements to the same, which was sufficient. The yeare following, the cell of Alexius was removed and adjoined to saint Johns; and then the founders being dead, the charge and gouernement of that house was by those founders commended to the maior of this citie, & they thenceforth were founders and patrons thereof. In the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, there grew a contention concerning the poore lazer sicke people of the Magdalen without the south gate of this citie, whose maner and vsage was then, with a clapdish vpon euerie market daie to resort and come to the markets, and there to beg euerie mans deuotion: but by reason of their sickenesse, which was lothsome and abhorred, the peoples deuotion waxed short and scant against them: as also euerie man murmured against their going & begging at large. Where vpon the matter being brought into question betweene the bishop and this citie, it was concluded that a permutation should be made: and that therefore the bishops should be patrones, and haue the gouernement of saint Johns, and the maior and his successors to be gardians and founders of the hospitall of the Magdalen; with a prouiso, that the proctor of the hospitall of the Magdalen should on one daie in euerie moneth come with his box to saint Peters church at the time of seruice, and there receiue and gather the deuotion of the canons, which is vsed at these presents. This poore house remaineth still, but the other for want of good friends was suppressed and dissolued. This bishop, after he had continued in his church about nine teene yeares, he died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, and lieth buried in the middle of his owne church vnder a plaine marble stone.

Richard Blondie.

23 Richard Blondie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and fiue, was consecrated and installed bishop, Bonifacius then being archbishop of Canturburie. This Richard was a man of a mild spirit, but verie stout against such as in his time did offer anie iniurie to the church. And in his old yeares being but a weake man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were his officers and about him, who taking the opportunitie of the time, vsed all the meanes they might to inrich themselues. His chiefest officers were one Lodeswell his chancellor, Sutton his register, Fitzherbert his officiall, and Ermelstow the keeper of his seale. These with others of the chiefe seruants of his household compacted among themselues, that whilest the bishop was yet liuing, who then laie sicke and verie weake in his bed, to make and conueie vnto themselues conueiances of such liuelihods as then laie in the bishops disposition; and accordinglie made out aduousons and other such conueiances as to them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and deliuered according to the orders among them concluded. But these their subtill dealings were not so closelie conueied, but that the nert bishop following boulted and found the same out; and did not onelie reuerse all their doings, but also did excommunicat them, and who were not absolued vntill they had done their penance for the same: which was done at saint Peters church openlie, vpon Palmesun-

date, being the nineteenth date of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred threescore and seuen. This bishop Richard, in the twelfe yeare of his bishoprike, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Walter Bronescome.

24 Walter Bronescome, archdeacon of Surrie, was consecrated bishop of Exceter vpon Passion sundaie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and six vnder Bonifacius then archbishop. He was borne in this citie of Exon, and was the sonne of poore parents; but he being of a verie towardnesse and good disposition, and verie apt to learning, they partlie of themselues, and partlie by helpe of their friends, did put him to schole and kept him to his booke, wherein he proued and prospered so well that he was verie well learned. At the time of his election he was no priest, and therefore not capeable of anie such dignitie: but immediatlie he tooke that order vpon him, and forthwith was consecrated bishop. All which being done within fifteene daies, it was counted as for a miracle; namelie, that he should be elected bishop, then made priest, and at last to be consecrated within that space. For so manie dignities (as they termed it) to be cast vpon one man in so short a time, had not beene lightlie seene. He founded the college of Glasenberie in Perrin in Cornswall, and indowed the same with faire possessions and reuenues. He purchased the Barton of Rokesdon and Clist, and gaue it to the hospitall of S. Johns within the east gate of the citie of Exceter. He instituted in his owne church the feast called Gabriels feast; and gaue a peece of land for the maintenance thereof. He also did by a policie purchase the lordship and house of Clist Sachtisfield, and by a deuise did inlarge the Barton thereof, by gaining of Cornish wood from his deane and chapter: and builded then a verie faire & sumptuous house, and called it bishops Clist, which he left to his successors. Likewise he got the patronage of Clist Fomeson, now called Sowton, and annexed the same to his new lordship, which (as it was said) was in this order. He had a frier to be his chapleine and confessor, which died in his said house of Clist, and should haue bin buried at the parish church of Faringdon, bicause the said house was and is in that parish: but bicause the parish church was somewhat far off, the waies foule, and the weather rainie, or for some other causes; the bishop willed and commanded the corps to be carried to the parish church of Sowton, then called Clist Fomeson, which is verie neere and bordereth vpon the bishops lordship: the two parishes there being diuided by a little lake called Clist. At this time one Fomeson a gentleman was lord and patrone of Clist Fomeson, and he being aduertised of such a burtall towards in his parish, and a leech waie to be made ouer his land, without his leaue or consent required therein, calleth his tenants together, and goeth to the bridge ouer the lake, betweene the bishops land and his, and there meeteth the bishops men bringing the said corps, and forbiddeth them to come ouer the water. But the bishops men nothing regarding the same, doo preasse forwards to come ouer the water; and the others doo withstand and fall at strife about the matter, so long, that in the end my lords frier is fallen into the water. The bishop taketh this matter in such griefe, that a holie frier, a religious man, and his owne chapleine and confessor should so vnreuerentlie be cast into the water, that he falleth out with the gentleman, and (vpon what occasion I know not) he sueth him in the law, and so vexeth and tormenteth him, that in the end he was faine to yeeld himselfe to the bishops deuotion, and seeketh all waies he could to currie the bishops good will, which he could not obteine, vntill for his re-

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demption he had giuen and surrendred vp his patronage of Sowton with a peece of land, all which the said bishop annexeth to his new lordship. Thus by policie he purchased the manor of bishops Clift, by a deuise gaineth Cornish wood, and by power wresteth the patronage of Sowton. This bishop after he had occupied this see about three and twentie years, died and was buried in his owne church, in a sumptuous tome of alabaster.

Walter Stapledon.

Peter Quiuill.

25 Peter Quiuill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and one, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder John archbishop of Canturburie. He first instituted a chanter and a subdeane in his church. To the one he impropriated Painton and Chidleigh, and to the other the rectorie of Eglosehaile in Cornewall, he was a liberall and a speciall benefactor to the hospitall of saint Johns in Excester as well in goods as in liuelihoods, he first began to inlarge & increase his church from the chancell downewards, and laid the foundation thereof. In his time in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred foure score and fiue, Walter Lichlade the first chanter was slaine in a morning as he came from the morning seruice, then called the Mattins, which was then wont to be said shortlie after midnight. Vpon which occasion the king came vnto this citie, and kept his Christmasse in the same, and thereupon a composition was made betweene the bishop and the citie for inclosing of the churchyard, and building of certeine gates there, as appeareth by the said composition bearing date in *Festo annunciationis beatæ Mariæ* 1286. The king at the sute of the earle of Hereford, who at his being here was lodged in the house of the Greie friers, which then was neere the house of S. Nicholas, obteined of the bishop, that they should be remoued from thense to a more wholesome place, which was to the place without the south gate: wherof after the kings departure grew some controuersie, because the bishop refused to performe his promise made to the king. This man also impropriated the parish of S. Newleine, and the parish of Stoke Gabrell, and vnited the same to the office of the chancellor of the cathedrall church; & vnder condition, that the said chancellor should continuallie read a lecture within the said citie, of diuinitie or of the decretals: and if he should faile to do this, that then it might and should be lawfull to the bishop to resigne the said parsonages impropriated, and to bestow it at his pleasure, as appeareth by the said grant vnder the seales of the said bishop, deane and chapter, dated the twelfe of the calends of Maie 1283. This bishop not long after, and in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, died; being choked in drinking of a sirrup, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and two, & was buried in his owne church. The Franciscans or Greie friers of this citie imputed his death to his hard dealing with them. For whereas he had promised the king to prouide a conuenient place for them to build their house in, and had willed their warden named Deodatus, to seeke out and make inquirie for the same: yet notwithstanding when he had so done, because the same was in his see, he did swarue from his said promise, and did vtterlie denie to performe the same, by the persuasion of one Peter Kenckeld, a Dominican or Blacke friar, and Confessor vnto the said bishop. For he enuieng the good successe of the Franciscans, persuadeth with the bishop, that in no wise he should permit them to inioy the place which they had gotten, nor to build therein; because it was within his see: for saith he, as vnder colour of simplicitie they creepe into the hearts of the people, and hinder vs more preachers from our gaines and liuings; so be ye sure, that if the canons put not within your liberties, they will in time so incroch vpon the same, as that they will be cleane exempted from out of your libertie, and iurisdiction. The bishop being soone persuaded and contented contrarie to his promise to yeeld thervnto, denieth the Franciscans; and vtterlie forbiddeth them to build or to do anie thing within his see or libertie. About two yeares after, the bishop kept a great feast vpon the sundaie next before saint Francis daie, and among others was present with him one Walter Winborne one of the kings chiefe iustices of the bench; and who was present when the bishop at the request of the king made promise to further and to helpe the Franciscans, and who in their behalfe did now put the bishop in mind thereof, and requested him to haue consideration both of his owne promise and of their distresse. The bishop misliking these speeches, waxed somewhat warme and offended, and in open termes did not onelie denie to yeeld herevnto, but wished himselfe to be choked what daie soeuer he did consent or yeeld vnto it. It fortuned that the same weeke, and vpon the daie of saint Francis eue, the bishop tooke a certeine sirrup to drinke, and in to hastie swallowing thereof his breath was stopped, and he forthwith died. The Franciscans hearing thereof, made no little a do about this matter, but blazed it abrode that saint Francis wrought this miracle vpon the bishop, because he was so hard against them.

Thomas Bitton.

26 Thomas Bitton the yeare following was elected bishop, & the see of Canturburie being void, he was consecrated by John Roman archbishop of Rome. He left no memoriall of anie great things done by him, sauing that he continued in the building of his church; as also was a fauourer of such learned men as were in his diocesse in his time: namelie Robert Plimpton a regular canon of Plimpton, and professor of diuinitie, and who wrote two bookes, Walter of Eron a Franciscane frier of Carocus in Cornewall, who at the request of one Baldwin of Excester wrote the historie of Guie of Warwike; William of Excester doctor of diuinitie and warden of the Franciscane friers of this citie; Godfrie surnamed Cornewall, a subtill scholeman, and a reader of diuinitie sometimes in Paris. This bishop, after foureteene yeares that he had occupied this see, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and six, and was buried in his owne church.

Walter Stapledon.

27 Walter Stapledon, in the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauen, being elected bishop of this citie, was consecrated by Robert Winchelseie archbishop of Canturburie. He descended of a most noble parentage, which ioined with his learning, wisedome, & politike head, did him great credit and fauour with the king, who had him not onelie one of his priuie councell, but also made him lord treasuror of England. At his inthronization or installing he kept a solemne obseruation. For being come first to the citie, immediatlie after his consecration, as soone as he came to the east gate, he alighted from his horsse, and went in on foot, all the street being couered and laied with blacke cloth; he was led on both sides with two men of worship: and sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who clamed to be steward of his feast, went next before him. The feast it selfe was verie sumptuous and liberall. A controuersie was betweene him & the said sir Hugh Courtneie, concerning his chalenge to be his steward, but it was compounded and ended. This bishop as he grew and increased in wealth, so he was carefull in the well disposing of part therof. For the increase of learning he builded and erected two houses in Oxenford, the one named Stapledons inne, but since Excester college, the other Hart hall. He was also a speciall

ciall benefactor vnto the hospitall of saint Johns in Excester; vnto the which, for the releeuing of certeine poore children therein, he impropriated the rectorie or personage of Ernescome. In the controuersie betweene his maister king Edward the second, and Charles the French king, he was sent ambassadour to the French king, and ioined in commission with the queene, for the treatie of a peace and reconciliation: which though it were obteined, yet he ioining with the Spensers, who fauoured not the queene, he returned into England; leauing the queene behind him. And whereas they practised what they could, to put enimitie betweene the king and hir; and to set hir besides the cushion, they themselues fell into the same snares, which they had laid for others. For not long after, the queene, by the helpe of the earle of Henauld, and of sir John his brother, came into England with a great armie. Whereof the king and the Spensers, being affraied, departed from London to Bristow, leauing the bishop at London, and made him custos of the same; who requiring the keies of the gates of the citie of the maior, the commoners tooke him and beheaded him, as also his brother sir Richard Stapledon, in Cheapside, and carried his bodie to his house without Templebar, & there buried it in a sandhill; namelie the fiftéenth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. But the queene forgetting all discurtesies, and reuerencing his calling, commanded his corps to some more honourable buriall: whereupon the same was taken vp, and brought to this citie, and with great solemnitie was buried in his owne church, vpon the eight and twentith of March, where his epitaph by the writer thereof is set. Thus after that he had béene bishop about twentie yeares, he ended his daies.

James Barkeleie.

28 James Barkeleie, vpon the six and twentith of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, before the buriall of his predecessor in his owne church, was consecrated bishop of this citie. He descended of the noble house of the lord Barkeleie, and albeit he were reputed to be a verie godlie and a wise man, yet he had no time to yéeld the triall thereof. For he died in the fourth moneth after his consecration, vpon the foure & twentith daie of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, and was buried in his owne church as some say, but some thinke he neuer came hither at all.

John Grandesson.

29 John Grandesson, being in Italie with pope John the two & twentith. After the death of James Barkeleie, the king presented him vnto the pope, who accepted the presentation, & consecrated him bishop of this diocesse on the eight of October, Anno 1327. He was borne and descended of the ancient house of the Grandessons, dukes of Burgognie, his father was named Gilbert, the brother of Otho the great lord Grandesson. Which Gilbert comming into this land, was well interteined by the king and nobilitie, and had a good liking of the countrie, that by meanes of Henrie earle of Lancaster, with whome he came into England, he married ladie Sibill, daughter and one of the heires to John Tregos, lord of the castell of Ewas, néere Hereford east, and by hir had issue fiue sonnes, and foure daughters; of which this bishop was one, and was borne in the parish of Ashperton, in the diocesse of Hereford. He was from his childhood verie well affected to learning, and became a good scholar and professor of diuinitie, of which method he wrote two books, the one intituled *Pontificales maiores*, and the other *Pontificales minores*. He was also verie graue, wise, and politike, and therby grew into such credit with pope John the two and twentith, that he was not onelie of his priuie councell, but also *Nuntius apostolicæ sedis*; and in all matters of weight and importance an ambassadour for him to the emperour, to the kings of Spaine, of France, of England, and of all others the mightiest princes of christendome. And being on a time sent in an ambassage to king Edward the third, he did with such wisedome and grauitie behaue himselfe, that the king was rauished in loue with him; and did so tenderlie loue and fauour him, that he neuer ceassed, vntill he had procured him from the pope, and then he gaue him the archdeaconrie of Notingham, and bestowed great liuings on him. He made him one of his priuie councell, and in the end preferred him to this bishoprike. After this, there being some dislking betweene pope Clement the sixt, and the king; he for his approued wisedome was sent in an ambassage to the pope, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and three, for an intreatie of a peace and an amitie betweene them to be had; and with such wisedome he did his message, that he obteined his purpose, and made a reconciliation. After his returne home to his bishoprike, he was altogither giuen in doing some good things. He builded & founded the college of saint Marie Otreie, and indowed the same with great and goodlie liuelihods, he was a liberall benefactor to the vicars choiall of his owne church, as also to the college of Glasneie in Perrin; he builded the two last arches in the west end of his church, vaulted the roofe of all the church, and fullie perfourmed and ended the buildings of the same, and then inriched his said church with plate, ornaments, and great riches. Also he builded a verie faire house in his sanctuarie at bishops Teington, which he gaue and left full furnished vnto his successors, and did impropriate vnto the same the parsonage of Radwaie, to the end as he setteth downe in his testament, *vt haberent locum vndè caput suum reclinarent, si fortè in manum regis eorum temporalia caperentur*: and which his hastening in the end came partlie to effect. For not onelie the most part of the temporalties of this bishoprike, but this new builded house and impropriation are come to be the possessions and inheritances of temporall men. This bishop waxed old, and féeling in himselfe a decaie of nature, made his last will and testament, wherein he made such large and bountious legacies to the pope, emperour, king, queene, archbishop, bishops, colleges, churches, and to sundrie persons of high estates and callings; that a man would maruell, considering his great and chargeable buildings & works otherwise, how and by what meanes he could haue attained to such a masse of welth and riches; but his wisedome and policie considered, it was easie. For first, he sequestrateth from himselfe and out of his house the troope of manie men and horsses, reteining and keeping no more than to serue his reasonable estate; his diet was frugall, his receipts great, his expenses no more than necessarie. Moreouer, he had taken and set an order with all the ecclesiasticall persons of his diocesse, that at the time of their deaths, they should leaue and bequeth all their goods to him or to some other in trust, *In pios vsus*, & towards his chargeable buildings; and so well he was beloued, and his doings liked, that they all accepted this his order: by meanes whereof he grew within the course of fortie yeares to infinite wealth and riches. He was in all his life time a plaine man, and void of all vaine glorie and pompe; and preuenting that none should be vsed at his buriall, commanded the same to be done plainelie & simplie; and that none of his executors, chapleins, seruants, nor none of his houshold should weare anie mourning blacke cloths at the same, but onelie their accustomable & common apparell, which then was commonlie greie coloured cloths. This

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bishop was no lesse graue and wise, than stout and of courage, if occasion did so require. And amongest other things this is reported of him; that about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, Simon Pepham, then archbishop of Canturburie, sent his mandatum to this bishop, that he would visit his church & dioceese vpon mondaie nert after Ascension daie then following. This bishop (vpon what occasion it is not written) did refuse this mandatum, and appealed from the same, aduertising the archbishop that he should not visit his church nor dioceese. Notwithstanding, the archbishop at the time appointed came to this citie, and went to S. Peters church, nothing thinking that anie durst to withstand him. But the bishop knowing of his coming, goeth to the church doore, meeteth the archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his church; but the archbishop pressing forward, as with force to enter, the bishop being then well garded, denied and resisted him: wherupon the archbishop departed, and after at a prouinciall counsell holden at London, the archbishop complained hereof, but by meanes of the like discord betweene him & his suffragans, he preuailed not. In this bishops time one William of Excester, a verie well learned man, was a canon of this church; and he ioining with Nicholas de Cesena, Okeham, Walsingham, and others, did openlie preach, that Christ and his apostles were but poore men, and had no temporall possessions: neither was anie emperor or laie man subiect to the pope, but onlie in matters of religion. But when he heard that pope John the three and twentith had excommunicated, and would condemne them all for heretikes; this William, to saue his liuings, secretlie shonke awaie from his old companions, and changed his copie, and writeth certeine conclusions against them and his owne preachings. Also in this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, one John of Bampton, so named, bicause he was borne at Bampton, in this dioceese, and a monke of the order of the Carmelites, was a verie good scholar, and first did openlie read Aristotle in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he was a scholar; and afterwards he studied diuinitie, and was made doctor: he wrote certeine bookes, which are not extant. This bishop, after that he had occupied this church about two and fortie yeares, he died vpon S. Swithins daie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred sixtie and nine, and was buried in a chappell which he builded in the west wall of his owne church.

Thomas Brentingham.

30 Thomas Brentingham, after the death of this John Grandeson, was at one instant chosen bishop of Excester and bishop of Hereford, who refusing the one tooke the other, and was consecrated bishop of Excester vpon the tenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, being the feast daie of Nereus and Achilles, William of Worcester then archbishop of Canturburie. This Thomas was a man verie well learned, and experted both in ecclesiasticall matters, and in politike gouernement, and in both these respects greatlie reuerenced and esteemed; and for that cause, at the parlement holden at Westminster, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, was chosen one of the twelue peeres of the realme vnder the king. He was a benefactor to the Calenderhaie of the vicars chorall of his owne church, and perfourmed and supplied in buildings and otherwise, what his predecessors had left vndone. And hauing beene bishop foure and twentie yeares, he died the third of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1394, and was buried in the north side of the bodie of his owne church.

Edmund Stafford.

31 Edmund Stafford vpon the twentith daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, was consecrated at Lambeth by William Courtnaie archbishop of Canturburie. He was borne and descended of noble parentage, being brother to Ralfe lord Stafford created earle of Stafford by king Edward the third; he was both wise and learned, and for his wisedome grew into great credit with the king, and was both of his priuie councell, as also lord chancellor of England. At the parlement holden at Westminster, the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, he being then speaker of the higher house, made a verie learned and pithie oration, to proue the absolute authoritie of a king: his theme was, *Rex vnus erit omnibus.* And hauing discoursed at large of the authoritie of a king, he did conclude; *Quòd potestas regis esset sibi sola, vnita, annexa, solida*; and whosoeuer did by anie meanes impeach the same, *Pœna legis meritò esset plectendus.* And for the furtherance of good letters, he did increase two fellowships in the college of Stapledons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and altered the name of it, and called it Excester college. After that he had continued bishop in much honor about three and twentie yeares, he died the fourth of September, being the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, and lieth buried in his owne church in a verie faire tome of alabaster.

James Carie.

32 James Carie bishop of Chester, then being at Florence when news was brought to pope Martin the fift of the said late bishop Stafford's death, was there made bishop of this church, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, and also consecrated; but long he inioied not his office, for there he died, and was buried.

Edmund Lacie.

33 Edmund Lacie bishop of Hereford was translated from thense vnto this church in the feast of Easter, and in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and twentie. He was a man verie deuout and religious, but subiect to flatterers, who carried him to their pleasure; he was a liberall benefactor vnto the vicar of Calenderhaie. Great contentions were betweene him and the citie for liberties, which by arbitrement were compounded. He founded the chapter house in his owne church. He was a professor of diuinitie, and verie well learned. For in the second yeare of his bishoprike, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, there was a parlement holden at Westminster, in which great complaints were made against the lose and dissolute life of the religious men, and especiallie the blacke monks. And this matter being brought to the conuocation house, this bishop as chefe proloquutor of that assemblie, did make a verie learned and a pithie oration before the king, then of purpose present, and the whole cleargie, much lamenting that the religious men were so far straied from the rules of their professions, and the holinesse of their predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed the same, he deliuered vp certeine articles in writing, praieng for reformation. Which his speeches were so effectuallie vttered, and his articles so pithilie penned, that both the king and the clergie did not onelie with great liking and allowance praise and commend the same; but also tooke order that there should be a prouinciall councell called out of hand for a reformation. Which was then promised, but not performed, by reason of the kings death, which not long after followed. But yet in the waie of good speed, it was then concluded and agreed, that euerie third benefice, being of the gift of anie of the prelats, or of anie monasterie, should from thensefoorth for seauen yeares

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be giuen to some scholar of Oxford or Cambridge. This bishop, after he had liued fiue and thirtie yeares in this bishoprike, died and was buried in the north wall of the quere in his owne church. After whose death manie miracles were said and deuised to be done at his tome, whereupon great pilgrimages were made by the common people to the same.

George Neuill. 34 George Neuill succeeded Edmund Lacie, and was consecrated in the feast of saint Katharine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue, he was of a noble parentage, being the second son of Richard Neuill earle of Sarisburie, he finished and ended the chapter house which his predecessor had begun. And after that he had beene bishop about ten yeares, he was remoued to Yorke, and made archbishop there, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and fiue.

John Booth. 35 John Booth, after the translation of George Neuill to Yorke, was consecrated bishop vnder Thomas Burscher archbishop of Canturburie, vpon the two and twentith daie of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and six. He was by profession a ciuillian, and a batchelor of the same, he gouerned his church verie well, and builded (as some suppose) the bishops see in the quere. But being wearie of the great troubles which were in this countrie betweene king Edward the fourth and the earle of Warwike, he remoued from hense to his house of Horsleigh in Hamshire, where in the twelfe yere of his bishoprike he died, vpon the first of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, and lieth buried at saint Clements in London.

Peter Courtneie. 36 Peter Courtneie, immediatlie after the death of John Booth, was presented to this bishoprike, and consecrated by Thomas archbishop of Canturburie in November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and seuen at saint Stephans in Westminster; he was the son of sir Philip Courtnie of Powderham, his mother was named Elisabeth, daughter to Walter lord Hungerford. He for his wisedome and good behauiour was in great fauor & credit with king Henrie the seauenth, by whose means he was translated from this church to Winchester, in the ninth yeare of his being bishop here, and in the fift yeare of his being there he died, vpon the twentith daie of December, in the yere one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, and lieth buried in his owne church. He finished the north tower of saint Peters, and gaue the clocke bell which is in the same, and which beareth the name Peter.

Richard For. 37 Richard For, vpon the remouing of Peter Courtneie, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and six. He was a verie wise man, and in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the seuenth, vnto whome he was a faithfull councellor, and of his councell; with whom he acquainted himselfe at Paris, when he was there a student. For king Henrie then erle of Richmond, being at Uenice, and aduertised how the nobilitie of England was bent to haue him for their king, came from thense to Paris, and sought vnto Charles then king of France for aid and helpe: in which the earle his suites this For was a speciall traueller and councellor; and in the end, God giuing the succes, the erle obteined the crowne, and hauing had due triall of the fidelitie, wisedome, & truth of this bishop, he made him lord priuie seale; and kept and vsed him & his aduise in all his weightie matters as well at home as abrode. He being ambassador sundrie times to the kings of France and Scotland, and of a verie hartie good will and loue, the king made him godfather to his second son king Henrie the eight. There was a kind of emulation, betweene this bishop and the earle of Surreie, both of them being verie wise and of great seruice to the king and commonwealth: howbeit, in some diuersitie of respects, the one hauing no issue to care for, did deale without anie priuat affection or singular gaine; and the other hauing issue, was desirous to aduance his house and honor. These affections did breed some dislike betweene them two, yet the king finding a faith vnto himselfe, and a commoditie to the commonwealth, misliked it not, if the same exceeded his measure: and they more warme than commendable for their callings and estates. The king then or the councell would deale betweene them for the appeasing and pacifieng of them, and to them he was both friendlie, louing, and liberall. The one he deliuered out of the tower, pardoned him of his offenses, restored him to his lands, receiued him into speciall fauor, made him of his priuie councell, as also lord treasuror of England, and his generall into Scotland, & augmented his liuelihods. The other he first made bishop to this church, then remoued him to Bath, and from thense vnto Durham, and lastlie vnto Winchester. Erasmus, in his booke intituled The preacher or Ecclesiastes, declareth how that the king vpon a time, wanting some peece of monie, was to borow the same of the commons, and of the clergie. And for the dealings with the clergie, the matter was by commission committed to this bishop. Who when they came before him, vsed all the excuses that they could, to shift themselues from lending of anie monie. Some came verie seemelie and well apparelled, and awaited vpon by their men, according to their liuelihods; and these alledged, that they were greatlie charged in hospitalitie and house keeping, with other charges incident to the same, so that they had no monie, & therefore could paie none. Some came poorelie and barelie apparelled, and they alledged that their liuelihods were but small, and yet their charges were great, and by that meanes the world was so hard with them that they had it not to spare. This bishop, hauing heard all these excuses, vsed this dilemme. To the richer sort he said; Forsomuch as you are so well and seemelie apparelled, and do keepe so great houses, and haue all things necessarie about you; it is a manifest argument, that you haue some store about you, or else you would not do as ye do: and therefore yee must needs lend. To the other, who pretended excuse of their pouertie, he thus replied vnto them; that forsomuch as they were so bare in their apparell, and so sparing of their expenses, it must needs be that they saued their purses and had monie, and therefore they must needs paie, and so adiudged them to lend vnto the prince. Now as he arose by learning, so he was a great fauorer and furtherer of learning: and for the good increase of the same he builded and founded *Corpus Christi* college in Oxenford. In his latter daies he waxed and was blind, and dieng in Winchester, he was there buried in his owne church, after that he had beene bishop of Excester six yeers, he was remoued to Bath, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two.

Oliuer King. 38 Oliuer King, immediatlie vpon the transferring of bishop For, was consecrated bishop of this church, in Februarie, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two, John Morton then archbishop of Canturburie. This Oliuer was chapleine to king Henrie the seuenth, and deane of Windesor, and register of the order of the garter. In his time were the rebellions of Joseph the blacke smith in Cornewall, and of Perken Warbecke. This bishop after that he had occupied this see about fiue yeares, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred

died ninetie and seuen, and (as some suppose) he was buried at Windesor.

Richard Redman. 39 Richard Redman, immediatlie vpon the death of bishop Oliuer King, was translated from his bishoprike in Wales to this citie; but after fiue yeares he was remoued vnto the bishoprike of Elie, and installed there in September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and one. He was a gentleman borne, and descended of a verie worshipfull house, which ioined with his wisedome and learning, did much increase his credit and good report.

John Arundell. 40 John Arundell, next after the translation of bishop Redman, was remoued from Couentrie and Lichfield vnto this citie, and was installed the fifteenth of March, one thousand fiue hundred and one. Wherein he sought not the preferment for anie liuelihods, but rather desirous to be a dweller and resiant in his countrie where he was borne: for he was descended of the Arundels of Lanherne in Cornewall, a house of great antiquitie and worship. He long inioied not his new bishoprike, for after two yeares after his installing, he had occasion to ride vnto London, and there died, and was buried in S. Clements church without Templebar, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and three.

Hugh Oldam. 41 Hugh Oldham, vpon the death of Arundell, by the preferment of the countesse of Richmond and Derbie, vnto whom he was chapleine, was preferred vnto this bishoprike, and installed in the same. He was a man hauing more zeale than knowledge, and more deuotion than learning; somewhat rough in speeches, but friendlie in doings. He was carefull in the sauing and defending of his liberties, for which continuall sutes was betweene him and the abbat of Tauestoke; he was liberall to the vicars choall of his church, and reduced them to the keeping of commons, and towards the maintenance thereof he gaue them certeine reuenues, and impropriated vnto them the rectorie of Cornewood. He albeit (of himselfe) he were not learned, yet a great fauourer and a furtherer of learning and of learned men. Notwithstanding, he was sometime crossed in his honest attempt therein. He first was minded to haue inlarged Excester college in Oxford, as well in buildings as in fellowships: but after being a requester to the fellowes for one Atkins to be a fellow, in whose fauour he had written his letters and was denied, he changed his mind, and his good will was alienated. About the same time doctor Smith bishop of Lincolne was building of the college named Brasen nose, and was verie willing and desirous to ioine with him: but being denied to haue the nomination of a founder, his mind was changed. Not long after, being aduertised that bishop Fox of Winchester was minded to erect & found a new college, he ioined with him, and contributed vnto him a great masse of monie, and so a college was builded for scholars, and great liuelihods prouided for them; & then the house was named *Corpus Christi* college. Whereof the one of them bare the name of a founder, and the other of a benefactor. Howbeit, some diuersitie was betweene these two bishops at the first, to what vse this college should be imploied. For the founder was of the mind that he would haue made it for a house of monks; but the benefactor was of the contrarie mind, and would haue it for scholars, alleging that monks were but a sort of buzzing flies, & whose state could not long indure; whereas scholars brought vp in learning would be profitable members to the commonwealth, and good ornaments to the church of God, and continue for euer. The founder being a wise man, and of a deepe iudgement, when he had paused and considered hereof, yeeldeth herevnto: and so it was concluded betweene them to make and build a college for scholars. And forthwith for the good direction, guiding, and gouernement of the said college and scholars; such wise, good, & politike statutes and ordinances were by good aduise and counsell deuised, established, and ordeined; as whereby the said college hath beene, and yet continueth one of the best nurseries for training and instructing of good scholars in learning within that vniuersitie. This bishop and the abbat of Tauestoke did still contend and continue in law during their liues: and during which sute this bishop died, being excommunicated at Rome, and who could not be suffered to be buried, vntill an absolution from Rome was procured for him. After that he had beene bishop about fiftene yeares, he died the fiue and twentith of June, one thousand fiue hundred and nineteene, and was buried in his owne church.

John Voisey. 42 John Voisey, otherwise Harman, succeeded Oldham, by the preferment of king Henrie the eight, whose chapleine he then was, and deane of his chapell as also of this church; he was doctor of the lawes, verie well learned and wise, and in great fauour with the king, who sent him sundrie times in ambassages to forreine princes; he was lord president of Wales, & had the gouernement of the kings onlie daughter ladie Marie princesse of Wales. Of all the bishops in the land he was accounted the courtlikest and the best courtier. And although he were well reported for his learning, yet better liked for his courtlike behauiour, which in the end turned not so much to his credit, as to the vtter ruine and spoile of the church: for of two and twentie lordships and manors, which his predecessors had and left vnto him, of a good yearelie reuenue he left but three, & them also leased out. And where he found fourteene houses well furnished, he left onelie one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundrie fees and annuities; and by these means this bishoprike, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall lands one of the meanest, and according to the forepurposeing of bishop Grandison, a place scarse left for the bishop to laie and rest his head in; and yet neuertheless he was a great fauourer of learned men, and especiallie of diuines, whome he preferred in his church aboue others. He was verie bountious and liberall vnto all men, but especiallie vnto courtiers, vnto his owne kindred and countriemen. Vpon manie he bestowed much, to the confusion of some of them; and vpon the others he spent much by building of a towne called Sutton Colshull where he was borne, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a market towne, and set vp therein making of hearses, but all which in the end came to small effect. In his time, after the death of king Henrie the eight, there was an alteration of religion by king Edward the first, whereof insued a rebellion & commotion in this diocesse: which in some part was imputed to this bishop, bicause he laie farre from it, and dwelled in his owne countrie. Whereupon he resigned the bishoprike into the kings hands, after that he had beene bishop about thirtie yeares, and liued by the rents of the temporaltie of the bishoprike, which when he alienated and discontinued, he did receiue vnto him for terme of his owne life.

Miles Couerdale. 43 Miles Couerdale, after the resignation of Voisey, was by king Edward made bishop of this citie, & consecrated at Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie. He was borne in the north countrie, and from his childhood giuen to learning, wherein he profited verie much: he was one of the first which professed the gospell in this land in the time of king Henrie the eight, he

translated

translated the bible out of the Hebrue into English, and wrote sundrie bookes vpon the scriptures. Which doctrine being verie new and strange in those daies, and he verie streightlie pursued by the bishops, made his escape, & passed ouer into low Germanie, where he printed the bibles of his translation and sent them ouer into England, and therof made his gaine wherby he liued. But the bishops, namelie D. Stokesleie bishop of London, when he heard hereof, and minding to preuent that no such bibles should be dispersed within this realme, made inquirie where they were to be sold, and bought them all vp; supposing that by this meanes no more bibles would be had: but contrarie to his expectation it fell out otherwise. For the same monie which the bishop gaue for these bookes, was sent ouer by the merchant vnto this Couerdale, and by that meanes he was of that wealth and abilitie, that he imprinted as manie more and sent them ouer into England; but he was then so narrowlie sought for, that he was driuen to remoue himselfe out of Flanders into Germanie, and dwelled vnder the Palsegraue of Rhene, where he found much fauor. First he taught yong children, and hauing learned the Dutch tong, the prince Palatine gaue him a benefice, named Burghsaber, where he continued and liued verie well, partlie by that benefice, and partlie by the liberalitie of the lord Cromewell, who was his good lord and releeued him verie much. At length, when the religion was altered in England, and the gospell had a free passage, he returned & did verie much good in preaching of the same. And when the commotion in Deuon was for religion, he was appointed to attend the lord Russell, when he came to suppresse the same, and verie shortlie for his learning and godlie life was made bishop of this see; who most worthilie did performe the office committed vnto him. He preached continuallie vpon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twise in the weeke in some one church or other within this citie. He was after the rate of his liuings a great keeper of hospitalitie, verie sober in diet, godlie in life, friendlie to the godlie, liberall to the poore, and courteous to all men, void of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring couetousnesse, and an enimie to all wickednesse and wicked men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no wise shrowd or haue in his house and companie. His wife a most sober, chast, and godlie matrone; his house and houshold another church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and vertue. No one person being in his house, which did not from time to time giue an account of his faith and religion, and also did liue accordinglie. And as he had a care for the successe in religion, so had he also for the direction of the gouernement in ecclesiasticall causes. And bicause he was not skilfull therin, neither would be hindered from his godlie studies, and be incombered with such worldlie matters, which neuertheles he would haue be done in all vprightnesse, iustice, and equitie; he sent to Oxford for a learned man to be his chancellor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof he procured and obteined one maister Robert Weston doctor of the ciuill law, & afterwards lord chancellor of Ireland, vnto whome he committed his consistorie, and the whole charge of his ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; allowing vnto him, not onelie all the fees thereunto apperteining, but also lodged and found him, his wife, familie, horsse, and man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yearelie pension of fortie pounds. And surelie the bishop was no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning preaching; but this man also was as diligent and seuere in doing of his office, without reproch of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this good man, new a blamelesse bishop, liued most godlie and vertuous: yet the common people, whose old bottels would receiue no new wine, could not brooke nor digest him; for no other cause, but bicause he was a preacher of the gospell, an enimie to papistrie, & a married man. Manie deuises were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings, and false libels; sometimes by secret backbitings, and in the end practised his death by impoisoning: but by Gods prouidence the snares were broken and he deliuered. After that he had béene bishop about three yeares king Edward died, and then queene Marie hauing the crowne, the religion was altered, and he deprriued. And notwithstanding the malice of prelats and archpapists was most bitter against him, and who had sworne his death: yet by the goodnesse of God he was most miraculouslie preserued, and deliuered from out of their hands, at the suite and by the meanes of the king of Denmarke: who so earnestlie sued, & so often wrote to the quéene for him, that he was deliuered and sent vnto him; with whome after that he had staied a while, he went againe into Germanie to the Palsgraue, who most louinglie receiued him, placed him againe in his former benefice of Burghsaber, where he continued vntill the death of quéene Marie. And then the preaching of the gospell being againe receiued, & hauing a free passage, he returned into England; but would neuer returne to his bishoprike, notwithstanding it was reserued for him, & sundrie times offered him; but liued a priuat life, continuing in London, preaching & teaching the gospell, so long as the strength of his bodie would permit; and at length being verie old and striken in yeares, he died, and was honorablie buried at saint Magnus church in London.

44 John Molsleie, after the deprriuation of Miles Couerdale, was restored to this church, and for the better setling of the Romish religion did here staie for a while: but his mind was addicted to his owne countrie, that he returned thither, and made his onlie abode there, practising there what he could, to haue the making of kersies to come to some effect; but the same being more chargeable than profitable, came to small prowse. This man being verie old died in his owne house, with a pang, and was buried in his parish church there, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue. John Molseie.

45 James Troblefield succéeded bishop Molseie, and was consecrated in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie & six, he was a gentleman borne, and of a good house, verie gentle and courteous; he professed diuinitie, but most zelous in the Romish religion, & yet nothing cruell nor bloudie. And yet that he might not séeme to do nothing, he was contented to prosecute and condemne a giltlesse poore séelie woman, named Agnes Pirell for religion and heresie, & who was burned in Southingham for the same. It was laied to his charge (as doth appeare by an indictment taken at Lancester, *Die lunæ in quarta septimana quadragesimæ, anno Philippi & Mariæ secundo & tertio*, before William Stanford then iustice of the assise) that she should denie the reall presence in the sacrament of the altar, and that the same was but a signe and a figure of Christs bodie, and that none doth eat reallie the bodie of Christ but spirituallie. He was verie carefull to recouer some part of the lands of his bishoprike, which his predecessor walked, and did obteine of quéene Marie, to him and to his successors, the fee farme of the manor of Crediton. After that he had béene bishop about two yeares, quéene Marie died; and he was deprriued, and liued after a priuat life. James Troblefield.

46 William Alleie, in the second yeare of quéene Elisabeth, was chosen bishop, and installed the first of August, William Alleie.

William Bradbridge.

Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſirtie and one. In all quéene Maries time, which were called the Marian daies, he trauelled from place to place in the north countrie, where he was not knowne; and ſometimes by practiſing of phyſike, and ſometimes by teaching of ſcholars, he picked out a poore liuing for himſelfe and his wife, and ſo continued, being not knowne to haue béene a prieſt, during all quéene Maries time: after whoſe death he went to London, and there did read diuinitie lecture in Paules verie learnedlie, and to his great commendation; and from whenſe he was taken and made biſhop of this citie. He was verie well learned vniuerſallie, but his chiefe ſtudie and profeſſion was in diuinitie, and in the tongs. And being biſhop, he debated no part of his former trauels, but ſpent his time verie godlie and vertuouſlie. Vpon euerie holie daie (for the moſt part) he preached, and vpon the wéeke daies he would and did read a lecture of diuinitie; the reſidue of his time, and free from his neceſſarie buſineſſe, he ſpent in his priuat ſtudies, and wrote ſundrie boks, whereof his prelections or lectures which he did read in Paules, and his poore mans libzarie he cauſed to be imprinted: the like he would haue done with his Hebrue grammar, and other his works, if he had liued. He was well ſtored, and his libzarie well repleniſhed with all the beſt ſort of writers, which moſt gladlie he would impart and make open to euerie good ſcholar and ſtudent, whoſe companie and conference he did moſt deſire & imbrace. He ſéemed at the firſt appéerance to be a rough and an auſtere man, but in verie truth, a verie courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honeſt ſpæches, ioined with learning and pleaſantneſſe, according to the time, place, and companie. All his exerciſes, which for the moſt part was at bowles, verie merrie and pleſant, void of all ſadneſſe, which might abate the benefit of recreation; loth to offend, readie to forgiue, void of malice, full of loue, bountifull in hoſpitalitie, liberall to the poore, and a ſuccourer of the néedie, faithfull to his friend, and courteous to all men; a hater of couetouſneſſe, and an enimie to all euill and wicked men, and liued an honeſt, a godlie, and vertuous life. Finallie, he was indued with manie notable good gifts and vertues, onelie he was ſomewhat credulous, of a haſtie beléefe, and light of credit, which he did oftentimes miſlike & blame in himſelfe. In his latter time he waxed ſomewhat groſſe, and his bodie full of humors, which did abate much of his wonted exerciſes: and hauing béene biſhop about eight yeares, he died the firſt of Aprill one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeauentie; and was buried in his owne church.

William Bradbridge.

47 William Bradbridge, deane of Sariſburie, was the next biſhop, and conſecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker archbiſhop of Canturburie, the eighténth of March one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeauentie: he was a profeſſor of diuinitie, but not taken to be ſo well grounded as he perſuaded himſelfe, he was zelous in religion, but not ſo forwards as he was wiſhed to be. In his latter daies he delighted to dwell in the countrie, which was not ſo much to his liking, as troubleſome to his clergie, & to ſuch as had anie ſutes vnto him. It was thought he died verie rich, but after his death it proued otherwiſe: he died ſuddenlie, no bodie being about him, at Newton Ferris, the ninth yeare of his biſhoprike, vpon the nine and twentith of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1578, and was buried in his owne church. Thus farre the collection of Iohn Hooker, agréeing with the records.]

I. Stow.

The ſeuenténth daie of Julie the quéenes maieſtie being on the riuer of Thames, about nine of the clocke at night (betwixt hir highneſſe manour of Gréenewich & Dartford) in hir priuie barge, accompanied with the French ambaſſador, the earle of Lincolne, and maiſter vicechamberlaine; it chanced that one Thomas Apletrée, a yong man, and ſeruant to maiſter Henrie Carie, with two or three others, being in a bote on the Thames, rowing vp and downe betwixt the places aforenamed: the foreſaid Thomas had a caliuer or harquebus charged with bullet, and ſhooting at random, by miſfortune ſhot one of the watermen, being the ſecond man next vnto the bales of the ſaid barge (which ſat within ſix foot of hir highneſſe) cleane through both armes, and mooued him out of his place. For the which fact the ſaid Thomas being apprehended and condemned to death, was on the one and twentith of Julie brought to the water ſide, where was a gibbet ſet vp, directlie placed betwixt Dartford and Gréenewich. But when the hangman had put the halter about his necke, the right honorable ſir Chriſtopher Hatton capteine of the gard, and one of hir maieſties priuie councell, ſhewed the quéenes maieſties moſt gratious pardon, and deliuered him from execution. This yeare Iohn For of Woodbridge, William Wicknete of Portſmouth, and Robert Pore of Harwich Engliſhmen, hauing béene priſoners in Turkie about the ſpace of thirtéene or fourtéene yeares, with more than two hundred and ſirtie other chriſtians of diuerſe nations, by killing their kéeper, marueilouſlie eſcaped, and returned into their natiue countries.

Traitorous fact of Thomas Appletrée.

John Fox an Engliſhman deliuered two hundred and three ſcore chriſtians frō captiuitie of the Turke.

This yeare in the moneths of September and October fell great winds and raging flouds in ſundrie places of this realme, as in the towne of Newport: the cotages were borne downe, the corne loſt, paſture ground ouerwhelmed, and cattell drowned. In the towne of Bedford the water came vp to the market place, where cupbords, cheſts, ſtoles, and ſcurms ſwam about the houſes; their fewell, corne and haie was wracke & borne awaie. Alſo the towne of ſaint Edes in Huntingtonſhire was ouerflowed ſuddenlie in the night, when all men were at reſt; & the waters brake in with ſuch force, that the towne was almoſt all defaced; the ſwans ſwam downe the market place, and all the towne about the botes did flote. The towne of Gormanchester was ſuddenlie ſuppreſt, their houſes flowed full of water, when men were at reſt, and their cattell with other things were deſtroied.

winds and high waters.

The one and twentith of Nouember, ſir Thomas Gréſham knight agent to the quéenes highneſſe, who had in his life built the roiall Exchange in London, betwéene ſix and ſeuen of the clocke in the euening, comming from the ſame Exchange to his houſe (which he had ſumptuouſlie builded) in Biſhopſgate ſtréet of London, ſuddenlie fell downe in his kitchin, and being taken vp was found ſpéechleſſe, and preſentlie dead, who afterwards was ſolemnlie buried in his owne pariſh church of ſaint Helen there, where he had prepared for himſelfe a ſumptuous towme or monument, without anie epitaph or inſcription thereupon. This ſir Thomas Gréſham in his teſtament (which long before his death he had ordeined) bequeathed diuerſe large legacies not yet performed.

Anno reg. 22.

Sir Thomas Gréſham deceaſſed.

1580

The eight and twentith daie of March, one Francis alias Marmaduke Glouer was hanged on a gibet ſet vp for that purpoſe by the ſtandard in Cheape, for wilfullie murthering ſergeant Grace after he was by him arreſted. Alſo on the next morrow, being the nine and twentith daie of March, the ſame gibet was ſet vp at Hog lane end vpon eaſt Smithfield, néere vnto the tower of London, thereon to haue

Glouer a murtherer hanged in Cheape.

Dod executed for murther.

haue hanged one Richard Dod for murthering of mistresse Skinner a widow, in hir house there by. But sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the tower, cõmanding the officers perteining to the shiriffes of London backe againe to the west side of the crosse, toke the shiriffe of the out shire with the prisoner into an house, and after long talke brought the prisoner forth againe, & deliuered him to the officers, to be by them brought backe to London. Then he caused the gibet to be taken downe and carried awaie at his pleasure, and without further contention (to my knowledge) the said Richard Dod was in the after none of the same date hanged at Tiborne.

A great earthquake.

On the first of Aprill, being wednesdaie in Easter weeke about six of the clocke toward euening, a sudden earthquake happening in London, and almost generallie throughout all England, caused such an amazednesse among the people as was wonderfull for the time, and caused them to make their earnest praiers to almightie God. The great clocke bell in the palace at Westminster strake of it selfe against the hammer with the shaking of the earth, as diuerse other clocks & bels in the steeples of the citie of London and elsewhere did the like. The gentlemen of the Temple being then at supper, ran from the tables, and out of their hall with their knives in their hands. The people assembled at the plaie houses in the fields, as at the Whore ater (the Theater I would saie) were so amazed, that doubting the ruine of the galleries, they made haste to be gone. A peece of the temple church fell downe, some stones fell from saint Paules church in London: and at Christs church neere to Newgate market, in the sermon while, a stone fell from the top of the same church, which stone killed out of hand one Thomas Greie an apprentise, and an other stone fell on his fellow seruant named Mabell Everet, and so bruised hir that she lived but foure daies after. Diuerse other at that time in that place were sore hurt, with running out of the church one ouer another for feare. The tops of diuerse chimneies in the citie fell downe, the houses were so shaken: a part of the castell at Bishops Stratford in Essex fell downe. This earthquake indured in or about London not passing one minute of an houre, and was no more felt. But afterward in Kent, and on the sea coast it was felt three times; as at Sandwich at six of the clocke the land not onelie quaked, but the sea also somed, so that the ships tottered. At Douer also the same houre was the like, so that a peece of the cliffe fell into the sea, with also a peece of the castell wall there: a peece of Saltwood castell in Kent fell downe; and in the church of Hide the bels were heard to sound. A peece of Sutton church in Kent fell downe, the earthquake being there not onlie felt, but also heard. And in all these places and others in east Kent, the same earthquake was felt three times to moue, to wit, at six, at nine, and at eleuen of the clocke. The nineteenth date of Aprill the ferrie at Lambeth was drowned with fiue men and foure horsses; other two men and fiue horsses swam to land and were saued.

A water quake.

A ferrie drowned.

William Lambe esquier deceased, his almesdeeds.

On the one and twentith of Aprill, in the yeare 1580 departed this life master William Lambe esquier, sometime gentleman of the chappell in the reigne of king Henrie the eight, citizen of London, and free of the clothworkers. Of this mans almesdeeds and manifold charities, some before, some since his death put in effectuall practise, thus reporteth a memorall recorded in print, agreeing in truth with his last will and testament: an extract whereof for others imitation is necessarilie here to be inserted. This gentleman remembring that learning bringeth preferment, yea euen to them which are put baselie borne, as it pleased God to moue him by his good and gratious spirit, he proued himselfe by testimonials of his doings a louer of learning, and a fauourer of euerie honest profession. For in the towne of Sutton Valens in Kent, this worshipfull gentleman at his owne costs and proper expenses erected a grammar schole for the education of youth in the feare of God, in good maners, in knowledge and vnderstanding.

The erection of a grammar schole & necessarie allowance to the master and vsher.

He also weieng with himselfe, that the labourer ought of right to haue his hire; and that, no man goeth to warre of his owne proper charge, besides other commodities which he thought meet and necessarie, hath allowed the maister twentie pounds, and the vsher ten pounds, from time to time, as either place shall be supplied by succession, for their yearelie stipends and perpetuall pensions. To continue the rehersall of his good deeds in Sutton aforesaid, note his tender & pitifull heart toward the poore, for whose sustentation, maintenance, and releefe, he hath builded six almes houses for the impotent, and hath giuen six pounds to be yearelie paied vnto them for their necessarie prouision. Moreouer, besides this charitable deed, to keepe still within the compasse of Kent, marke the singular loue which this gentleman did beare vnto learning; for the furtherance wherof, and the more incouragement of poore scholers, he hath giuen to the schole of Maidstone ten pounds a yeare for euer, with this caueat or prouiso, that needie mens children should be preferred to the enioieng of this singular benefit.

Almes houses built for the poore.

A warre for poore mens children to be kept at schole.

What this gentleman had not onelie a regard for the seed-plots of learning, to haue them watered with the springs of his bountie: but also a prouident eie, and a carefull hart for the profit of the commonwealth, the particulars following substantiallie do proue. For, seeing in his life time the decaie of sundrie trades, the ruine of diuerse occupations, and other inconuenences, which are like to grow to the vndoing of a multitude, except by policie they be preuented: of a meere affection (if I said fatherlie I were not controllable) he hath freelie giuen to the poore clothiers in Suffolke, to the poore clothiers of Bridgenorth in Shropshire, and to the poore clothiers at Ludlow in the said countie, three hundred pounds, to be paid by euen portions, to each seuerall towne of the said counties one hundred pounds a peece, for their supportation and maintenance at their worke and occupation. So little esteemed he the mucke of this world, in respect of doing good, specially when he saw old age drawing him to his graue: of which mind it were to be wished all richmen would be (whom God hath made his stewards) when they war crooked & bow backt, and (as the poet saith)

Obrepit canis rugosa senecta capillis.

The common wealth remembred.

A relefe to poore clothiers in diuerse places.

Furthermore, the well of his weldoing not yet waring drie, but yelding liquor of releefe verie largelie, & watered other places. For, as the countrie, so likewise the citie (the citie I meane of London) hath cause, yea iust cause with open mouth to magnifie the goodnesse of God, so mightilie working in this praiseworthie esquier. The memorable monuments, which shall liue when he is dead, and shall flourish when he is rotten, are witnesses of the loue, which he being a citizen bare vnto this citie. For, let vs begin with the conduit which he of his owne costs, not requiring either collection or contribution, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing expenses so it might be substantiall, not pinching for charges so it might be durable and plentifull, as they can testifie which saw the seeking of the springs, the maner of making the trenches, the ordering of the pipes, lieng in length from the head to the said conduit, more than two thousand yards: and finallie, the framing of euerie necessarie appurtenance

London the better by master Lambe.

A remembrance of Holborne conduit founded and finished in An. 1577.

Allowance for foure yearelie sermons.

Euerie poore man and poore woman a shirt, a smock a gowne, and a paire of shoes, &c.

Saint Giles without Cripplegate beneefited.

The wall water at the bridge running at the tempered.

tenance thereunto belonging. Besides this, means is made, by a standard with one cocke at Holborne bridge to conuey the wall, which doth such seruice, the water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and wholsome, as neither rich nor poore can well mislike. Which great worke as he aduisedlie attempted, so he commendablie finished, hauing disbursed therabouts, of his owne costs & charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

The erection of a grammar schoole & necessarie allowance to the maister and vsher.

And yet further note the wisedome and prouidence of this gentleman, who considering that the right vse of a good thing might cut off manie occasions of vnthriftines and idlenesse, and knowing that we are placed in this world to follow the vocation whereunto we are called: besides that, seeing the hardnesse of this age wherein we liue, that manie would worke if they had meanes, manie neglect and care not for worke though they haue meanes, some would willinglie withstand pouertie if they might, some had rather beg and do worse than giue themselues to labour, hath béene thus beneficiall to poore women that are glad to take paines, as to bestow vpon them a hundred and twentie pales, therewith to carrie and serue water: an honest thrift of liuing, though somewhat toilesome. To descend and come downe to other his almesdeeds, you shall vnderstand that he being a member of the right worshipfull corporation and societie of Clothworkers, was not forgetfull of that companie, vnto whome he hath giuen his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and tenements, to the value of thirtie pounds or thereabouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the hiring of a minister to read diuine seruice thrise a weeke, that is, euerie sundaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie throughout the yeare, in the chapell or church belonging to his house, called by the name of saint James in the wall by Cripplegate: and for foure sermons there yéerelie to be made and preached, a competent allowance.

Manes houses built for the poore.

Poore women benefited by the conduit.

The right worshipfull Clothworkers remembred.

Allowance for foure yearelie sermons.

Out of which sum also of thirtie pounds, it is prouided that a deduction be made by the said Clothworkers, for apparelling twelue men, and as manie women, in forme as followeth: that is to saie, to euerie one of the twelue men one freeze gowne, one locrum shirt, & a good strong paire of winter shoes: to twelue women likewise one freeze gowne, one locrum smocke, & a good strong paire of winter shoes, all readie made for their wearing: remembred alwaies that they must be persons both poore and honest, vnto whome this charitable déed ought to be extended. Prouided also, that the execution hereof be done the first date of October, orderlie from yeare to yeare for euer whiles the world doth last. Moreouer, he hath giuen to those of his companie foure pounds frélie, not for a time, but perpetuallie: and thus doth his bountifulnesse manie waies appeare. To the parish of S. Giles without Cripplegate, he hath giuen fiftéene pounds to the bels and chime, hauing meant (as it seemeth if they had taken time) to be more liberall in that behalfe. The said bels & chime were in his life, & also after his deth kept in good order according to his will: but afterwards vpon occasion some of them newlie cast became ill of sound & out of tune: a fault in some which would be amended. The poore of the parish aforesaid, by their releife in his life time secretlie ministred, haue iust cause to lament the losse of this right bountifull almoner. For by his means their succour was the more: now it is to be feared it will be so much the lesse, by how much it may be supposed he increased their releefe. Thus regarded he not so much his priuat thrift, as the cómon good, giuing therein to the world a testimonie of christian prudence, whose nature is to prefer the benefit of manie before the profit of one, according to that of the poet:

Guerie poore man and poore woman a shirt, a smock, a gowne, and a paire of shoes, &c.

A releefe to poore clothiers in diuerse places.

Saint Giles without Cripplegate benefited.

London the better by maister Lambe.

Publica priuatis qui sapit anteferet.

A remembrance of Holborne conduit founded and finished in An. 1577.

This gentlemans distributions are so diuerse, and so manie, that the rehersall of them requireth a large discourse. It is well knowen, and that can the worshipfull companie of the Stationers witnesse, that this gentleman, for the space of these foureteene or fiftéene yeares, whiles he liued, was pitifull to the poore of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes: in which said parish church, euerie fridaie ordinarilie throughout the yeare, distribution was made of their allowance by the hands of the said worshipfull Stationers, to whome that charge was and is committed: namelie, to twelue poore people twelue pence in monie, and twelue pence in bread. Neither is this charitable déed laid aslæpe, but continued euen to the worlds end, for the perpetuall succor of the poore and impotent, a legacie of six pounds, thirtéene shillings and foure pence, allowed to that end; the bestowing whereof is in the hands of the said worshipfull societie of Stationers, the distributors of this almesse to the poore: who are put in mind to praise God for that prouision, in this request of the benefactor grauen in mettall, and fixed fast in the wall hard by his tome:

Releefe for the poore people. M. Lambes loue to the worshipfull Stationers.

Perpetuall prouision for the poore.

I praie you all that receiue bread and pence,
To saie the Lords praier before ye go hence.

As for Christes hospitall, vnto the which he hath proued himselfe a fatherlie benefactor, towards the bringing vp of the poore children, he hath giuen six pounds, which they shall inioie for the terme of fiue hundred yeares. Moreouer (marke the rare liberalitie of this vertuous gentleman) he hath giuen to the said hospitall one hundred pounds in readie monie, therewith to purchase lands, that their releefe, by the reuenues of the same, might be perpetuall: a notable déed, and an vndoubted worke of perfect christianitie. As for S. Thomas spitle in Southwarke, toward the succour of the sicke and diseased, he hath giuen foure poundes yearelie, and for euer: so that we may sée in all his procéedings with what mercie he was moued, with what pitie pricked: and finallie, in all respects how godlie giuen. And here by the waie it is to be noted, that whereas it was reported, that he gaue to the hospitall, commonlie called the Sauoie, founded by king Henrie the seuenth, to purchase lands for the behoofe of the said hospitall, one hundred pounds in monie: it is nothing so. For his beneficence towards that hospitall was staid, not thorough anie default in him; but bicause such agréements could not be concluded vpon, as he reasonablie required. Wherefore his contribution that waie ceased, sore (I dare saie) against his godlie will. Thus much I was desired to speake touching that matter, to the intent that nothing but plaine truth might be reported, with the contrarie whereof he was not a little offended.

Releefe for Christes hospitall.

A purchase for the said hospitall.

Releefe for S. Thomas spittle.

Why he staid his beneficence from the hospitall of the Sauoie.

And although offendors deserue rather to be punished than fauoured, whereupon by politike gouernement it is prouided, that their bodies apprehended, be committed to appointed places of imprisonment: yet this good gentleman remembring that the holie Ghost willeth vs not to withdraw our hand from anie of our brethren in distresse, considering that charitie should not be partiall but indifferent, hath for the releefe of the poore prisoners of the two Counters, of Newgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalsie, of the Kings Bench, and of the white Lion, dealt verie bountifullie, and discrétlie: giuing vnto the two Counters, six pounds to be paied vnto them both by twentie shillings a moneth: and to the other prisons aboue mentioned, six mattresses a péece, the whole number being two dozen and a halfe. In consideration of which charitable déed, how deepelie they are bound, if they haue anie sparkle of grace, to thanke God for his goodnesse shewed vnto them by the ministerie of this gentleman, all the world maie perceiue.

Prisons for offendors.

Releefe for poore prisoners.

A charitable worke indéed.

ceiue. It were iniurie offered, to let slip vnremembred his mindfulnesse of poore maides marriages: and how willing he was to helpe them, it appeareth by his good gift of twentie pounds to be equallie diuided among fortie such in number by equall portions of ten shillings a peece: with this caueat, that these poore maides so to be married, should be of good name and fame: wherein marke how in all his bequests, wisedome is ioined as a yokefellow with his bountie.

Marriage monie for poore maids.

Lastlie, and for conclusion, this discréet gentleman, carried awaie with the zeale of a good conscience, tendering the state of his seruants, left them also at a reasonable good state. For besides their halfe yeares board frelie giuen and granted, he hath béene beneficiall to them in diuerse other respects, which I passe ouer vnremembred. But alas! these sorowfull seruants do not a little lament the losse of so louing a maister. I omit the hundred eight frése gownes readie made, which he bequeathed at his funerall to poore people, both men and women: with the dispersing of the remnant of all his goods after his buriall, where need and reason required. And thus you sée what monuments this gentleman hath left behind him, to beare witnesse to the world of the fruitfulnesse of his faith: which if (as saint James saith) it maie be iudged by works, and that it is a dead and a barren faith which declareth not it selfe by déeds: then the sequele maie be this, that the faith wherewith he (of whome this is written) was indued, sheweth it selfe to be the same faith which is wished, and I would to God were in the heart of euerie christian. As for his religion, it was sound; his profession sincere; his hearing of Gods word, attentiue & diligent; his vse of praier, deuout: in his sickenesse patient, willing to forsake the world, and to be with Christ, in whose faith he died; and lieth intombed in a faire large valt in saint Faiths vnder Paules, this epitaph grauen in braile or copper, fixed vpon his graue stone, comprising a note of our mortalitie:

His loue towards his seruants.

His faith was fruitfull.

As I was, so are ye:
As I am, you shall be:
That I had, that I gaue:
That I gaue, that I haue:
Thus I end all my cost:
That I left, that I lost.

Hitherto concerning maister Lambes almes déeds, wherein thus much hath at large bene spoken for others example, whome as God hath indued with riches: so it were to be wished they would vse them no worse.] The first daie of Maie, after twelue of the clocke in the night, was an earthquake felt in diuerse places of Kent, namelie at Ashford, great Chart, &c: which made the people there to rise out of their beds, and run to the churches, where they called vpon God by earnest praiers to be mercifull vnto them. Of this earthquake one writeth thus. Manie thousands haue heard and commonlie it is reported, that latelie in Kent an other earthquake was séene and felt, and so terriblie and sore the earth did tremble and quake, that it wakened people that soundlie slept, and had like to haue rocked them all asléepe that were awake. So fearefull was the matter, and so dreadfull is the wrath of God in time of visitation, and wicked season of iniquitie. This was a prétie naturall cause: in déed so I thinke. For the naturall diseases of man, and the naughtie filthinesse of the flesh (full of lust and infirmities) caused God for the correction of natures inclination, to make Douer, Sandwich, Canturburie, Gravesend, and sundrie other places trembls and shake.

I. Stow. An earthquake in Kent.

T. C.

Castels and ships séene in the aier.

The eighteenth daie of Maie, about one houre before sun setting, diuerse gentlemen of worship, and good credit, riding from Bodman in Cornewall towards Foie, there appeared to their séeming in the northeast, a verie great mist or fog, much like vnto the sea: and the forme of a cloud in the fashion of some great castell, with flags, & streamers thereon as it were standing in the sea, which presentlie vanished awaie. In whose stéed, and nere to the same place, appeared an other cloud which altered into the likenesse of a great argosie, furnished with masts, and other necessaries; and hir sailes séeming full of wind, made hir waie on the southwest of the castell, hauing streamers and flags verie warlike, with two boats at either sterne. There incontinent appeared againe the forme of a castell, and behind the same came following on the southwest side, an other great argosie, furnished as the first. This being past, there appéared three or foure gallies with their masts and flags in warlike sort, hauing boats at their sternes; and thereby appeared other small clouds to the number of twelue, which altered into the proportion of the said castels, and one following an other, as some as ante of them vanished other came in their roms; and this continued the space of an houre. Shortlie after the sights in the aier aforesaid, a worthie Gentleman in the countrie writ to a right good gentleman in the court, that there was séene vpon a downe called Brodwels downe, in Summersetshire, three score personages all clothed in blacke, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing, and a little while tarieng, they vanished awaie; but immediatlie, an other strange companie in like maner, colour and number appeared in the same place, and they incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie. And the third time appeared that number againe all in bright armour and incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie. Foure honest men which saw it, reporting the same abroad, were examined thereof, before sir George Norton, to whome they sware, that those things they had séene were true, as here before is rehearsed.

T. C.

Wonders in Wiltshire and Summersetshire.

Louis oratio apud Homerum.

Soldiors transported into Ireland.

Monstrous birth.

Moreouer, it is credible reported of manie honest men, that fiue miles from Blonsdon in Wiltshire, a crie of hounds was heard in the aier, the selfe same daie that the first earthquake was, and the noise was so great that was made, that they séemed three or foure score couples: whereat diuerse tooke their greihounds, thinking some gentlemen had béene a hunting in the chase, and thought to course: yet some of those that went out of their houses, séeing nothing below abroad, looked vpwards to the skies, and there espied in the aier fiue or six hounds perfectlie to be discerned. Now (to saie my fansie) I doubt not but thousands hold these newes for fables inuented for pleasure. But I protest before God and man, I can beléeue a great deale more stranger matter than this, in this strange world: for the people so estrange themselues from God by vsing manie strange fashions, and clapping on new conditions & natures, that except he shew some miracles, his godhead would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men would beléeue there were no other world but this.

T. C.

Blasing star.

Sergeants leak.

The thirteenth of June, about six of the clocke in the morning, at Shipwash within the baronie of Bothell in Northumberland, there happened a tempest of lightning and thunder, after the which, on a sudden came a great showre of haile, amongest the which were found stones of diuerse shapes maruelous to behold, as in the likenes of frogs, mattocks, swords, horse shoes, nailes, crosses of diuerse sorts, skuls of dead men, &c. The seuenteenth day of June, in the parish of Blasedon in Yorkshire, after a great tempest of lightning & thunder, a woman of fours score yeares old, named Alice Perrin, was deliuered of an hideous monster, whose head was like vn-

Haile stones of strange shapes.

A monstrous birth.

Proclamation against the familie of loue.

to

to a sallet or headpeece, the face like vnto a mans, except the mouth, which was round and small, like vnto the mouth of a moale, the fore part of the bodie like to a man, hauing eight legs not vnlike an other, and a taile halfe a yard long. Which monster brought into the world, besides an admiration of the diuine works of God, an astonishment at his iudgements: But of these we may saie as a stranger said sometime vpon the like occasion of prodigies and wonders successiuelie insuing, not without weightie signification; to wit, that such things be as tales told to the deafe, verie few weieng in their minds the meaning & effect of strange accidents, and therfore thinke vpon nothing lesse than a reformation of their wicked life: for the which things sake God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rod in hand, and whippeth vs till we smart: we then not looking to the meanes that prouoke this vengeance, as willing to auoid them: but murmuring at the iust iudge, vnder whose heauie hand we grone, & charging him to be the author of all misfortunes falling vpon vs: which Homer trulie seemeth right well to haue noted in this sense:

Iuuis oratio apud Homerum.

Cur stulti incusant mortales numina cœli?
Et sibi nos dicunt autores esse malorum?
Cum præter fati leges in aperta ferantur
Damna, suamentis proprijs erroribus orti.

Souldiors transported into Ireland.

About the eightéenth daie of Julie, the lord Grete tooke his voiage towards Ireland as lord deputie thereof, after whom was sent diuerse bands of lustie souldiors, both horsemen and footmen, vnder the leading of expert captens, of whose prosperous and happie successe against their enimies, the Irish and others, diuerse pamflets haue beene published, & matter more at large is set downe in the historie of Ireland. The three and twentith of September, at fennie Stanton in Huntingtonshire, one Agnis wife to William Linsete was deliuered of an vglie and strange monster, with a face blacke, the necke red, mouth and eies like a lion, on the fore head a roll of flesh that might be turned vp with ones finger, on the hinder part of the head a lumpe of flesh proportioned like a feather, being hollow, with one eare growing on the lower part of the cheeke, his bellie big and hard, the armes big, hauing fiue fingers and a thumbe on either hand, and in place of toes on the left foot fiue fingers and a thumbe, on the right foot a thumbe and seuen fingers, & in the place of priuitie the shape both of male & female: a strange sight to be seene, and I feare, signifieth our monstrous life, which God for his mercie giue vs grace to amend, without procrastination or putting off from daie to daie, as the poet significantlie saith:

Monstrous birth.

Cras vultis, sed vult hodie vindex Deus, & cras,
Aut non vult, aut vos obruet atra dies.

Blasing star.

The eight daie of October, immediatlie after the new mone, there appeared a blasing star in the south, bushing toward the east, which was nightlie seene (the aier being cleere) more than two moneths.

Sergeants feast.

The eightéenth of October were made eight sergeents at law, to wit, William Fletwood recorder of London, Edward Flowerdue, Thomas Snag, William Periam, Robert Halton, John Clench, John Pickering, Thomas Warmsleie; maister Snag before named was sicke, and therefore was sworne in his chamber at Greies inne, the other seuen were sworne at Westminster, and held their feast at the new Temple at London.

Proclamation against the familie of loue.

The queenes maiestie being informed, that in sundrie places of this realme, certeine persons secretlie taught damnable heresies, contrarie to diuers principall articles of our beleefe and christian faith, who to colour their sect named themselues the familie of loue, and then as manie as were allowed by them to be of that familie to be elect and saued, and all others of what church soeuer they be; take reiected and damned. And for that vpon conuenting of some of them before the bishops ordinaries, it was found that the ground of their sect is maintained by certeine olde, heretical, and seditious books, first made in the Dutch tong, and lastlie translated into English, and printed beyond the seas, & secretlie brought ouer into the realme, the author whereof they name Hull. &c. And confirming also it is found, that their seruaries hold opinion, that they may forsweare anie iudiciall or ecclesiasticall or temporall, or anie other person, not being professed to be of their sect, by oth or otherwise vse anie thing for their aduantage: & as though many of them are well knowne to be teachers and spreaders abroad of these dangerous and damnable sects; yet by their alone confession they can not be condemned. Therefore her maiestie being verie sorie to see so great an euill, by maisters of the diuell to be brought into this hir realme, and by hir bishops and ordinaries the vnderstandeth it verie requisit, not onelie to haue those dangerous heresies and sects to be seuerelie punished; but that also all other meanes be vsed by hir maiesties rot all authorities, which is giuen hir of God to defend Christs church, to root them out from further infecting of hir realme: she hath thought meet and conuenient, and so by hir proclamation commandeth, that all hir officers and ministers temporall shall in all their seuerall vocations assist the bishops of hir realme, and all other person to search out all persons vnlie suspected, to be either teachers or professors of the foresaid damnable sects, and by all good meanes to proceed seuerelie against them, being found culpable by order of the lawes ecclesiasticall or temporall: and that all search be made in all places suspected, for the books and writings maintaining the said heresies and sects, and them to destroie and burne, &c: as more at large may appeare by the said proclamation, giuen at Richmond the third of October, and proclamed at London on the nineteenth daie of the same moneth.

The queenes maiesties purpose to root out this pestilent sect.

Victorie against the Irish and other in Ireland.

About this time there arriued vpon the west coast of Ireland, a certeine companie of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the pope to the aid of the earle of Desmond in his rebellion, which fortified themselues stronglie nere vnto Smerwike, in a fort which they called castell del Oro, there erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie. Which when the lord Grete of Wilton deputie of Ireland vnderstood, he marched thitherward, and on the first of Nouember, hearing of the arriuall of the Swift, the Tigre, the Aid, the Merlion, & other of the queenes maiesties ships, and also of three barks fraughted from Corke and Limerike with victels, on the morrow after marched towards the fort, vnto the which he gaue so hot an assault, that on the ninth of Nouember the same was yeelded, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and more than foure hundred Spaniards, Italians, and Biscaies put to the sword; the colonell, captens, secretarie, and others, to the number of twentie saued for ransome. In which fortresse was found good store of monie, bisket, bacon, oile, wine, and diuerse other prouisions of victels sufficient for their companie for halfe a yeare, besides armour, powder, shot, and other furniture for two thousand men and vpwards.

Anno reg. 23. Randoll hanged for coniuring.

The eight and twentith daie of Nouember were arreigned in the kings bench, William Randoll for coniuring to know where treasure was hid in the earth, and goods feloniouslie taken were become; Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding, and procuring the said Randoll to the coniuration a-

foresaid Randoll, Elks, Spacie, and Mandington were found guiltie, & had iudgement to be hanged: Randoll was executed, the other were reprieued. About the 24 of December in the towne of Walkham in the countie of Suller, a child of eleuen yeers old, named William Withers, late in a trance for the space of tendaies without anie sustenance, and at the last comming to himselfe he vttered to the standers by manie strange speaches, inueieng against pride, couetousnesse, coldnesse of charitie, and other outragious sins. To behold this child there resorted diuerse godlie & zelous preachers, as also knights, esquiers, & gentlemen, all of them hearing and seeing that which was wonderfull. And among others that came thither, there was a gentleman of great credit and worship, with certeine of his men to heare and behold the child: who hauing espied a seruingman that had béene there with his maister two times, whom he had sharplie tawnted for his great and monstrous ruffes, spake vnto him verie vehementlie, and told him that it were better for him to put on sackecloth and mourne for his sinnes, than in such abhominable pride to prancke vp himselfe like the diuels darling, the verie father of pride and lieng: who sought by the exercise of that damnable sinne to make himselfe a preie to euerlasting torments in hellfire. Wherevpon the seruingman, as one pricked in conscience, sore sorowed and wept for his offense, rent the band from his necke, tooke a knife and cut it in peeces, and vowed neuer to weare the like againe. This for the strangenesse thereof will be condemned as a lie, specially of vnbeléeuers and peruers worldlings, whose hearts are so hardened, that they will not beléeue though one rise from the dead, or though God should speake vnto them from heauen (as the poet noteth truelie) which he hath done in times past:

——soliloque tremendus ab alto
Altitonans cœlo signa stupenda dedit.

Strange speaches of a child.

Pride in great ruffes reprooued and reformed sometime.

Ab. Harc. in R. L.

About the twelfe daie of Januarie proclamation was published at London, for reuocation of sundrie the quéenes maiesties subiects remaining beyond the seas vnder colour of studie, and yet liuing contrarie to the lawes of God, and of the realme: and also against the reteining of Iesuits and massing priests, sowers of sedition, and other treasonable attempts, &c. The thirteenth of Januarie a man was drawne to saint Thomas of Waterings, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for begging by a licence wherevnto the quéenes hand was counterfeited.

Against Iesuits and massing priests.

One executed for counterfeiting the quéenes hand.

On the sixteenth daie of Januarie, the lords and barons of this realme began to sit in the parlement house at Westminster: and on the twentith daie of Januarie the quéenes maiestie went from White hall to the parlement house by water. Whereas a great chalenge of iusts was signified by waie of deuise before hir maiestie on Twelfe night last past, to haue bene performed the fifteenth daie of Januarie, hir maiesties pleasure was for diuerse considerations the same should be deferred vntill the two and twentith daie of the same moneth; on which daie the same was most courageouslie accomplished in the accustomed place at Westminster, where manie staues were valiantlie broken; but through the great concourse of people thither repairing, manie of the beholders, as well men as women, were sore hurt, some maimed, and some killed, by falling of the scaffolds ouercharged.

Parlement at Westminster.

Iusting at Westminster.

This yeare about Hallowntide last past, in the marishes of Danesete hundred, in a place called Southminster, in the countie of Esser, a strange thing happened. There suddenlie appeered an infinite multitude of mice, which ouerwhelming the whole earth in the said marishes, did sheare and gnaw the grasse by the roots, spoiling & tainting the same with their venemous teeth: in such sort that the cattell which grazed thereon were smitten with a murreine and died thereof. Which vermins by policie of man could not be destroied, till now at the last it came to passe, that there flocked together all about the same marishes such a number of owles, as all the shire was not able to yeeld, whereby the marsh holders were shortlie deliuered from the vexation of the said mice.

Mice deuoure the grasse in Danesete hundred.

This yeare (against the comming of certeine commissioners out of Fraunce into England) by hir maiesties appointment, on the six and twentith date of March in the morning (being Easter date) a banketting house was begun at Westminster, on the south west side of hir maiesties palace of White hall, made in maner and forme of a long square, three hundred thirtie and two foot in measure about; thirtie principals made of great masts, being fortie foot in length a peece, standing vpright; betweene euerie one of these masts ten foot asunder and more. The walles of this house were closed with canuas, and painted all the outsides of the same most artificiallie with a worke called rusticke, much like to stone. This house had two hundred ninetie and two lights of glasse. The sides within the same house was made with ten heights of degrées for people to stand vpon: and in the top of this house was wrought most cunninglie vpon canuas, works of iuie and hollie, with pendents made of wicker rods, and garnished with baie, rue, and all maner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toseans made of hollie and iuie, with all maner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, orenges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richlie hanged. Betwixt these works of baies and iuie, were great spaces of canuas, which was most cunninglie painted, the clouds with starres, the sunne and sunne beames, with diuerse other cotes of sundrie sorts belonging to the quéenes maiestie, most richlie garnished with gold. There were of all maner of persons working on this house, to the number of three hundred seuentie and fiue: two men had mischances, the one brake his leg, and so did the other. This house was made in three weeks and three daies, and was ended the eighteenth daie of Aprill; and cost one thousand seuen hundred fortie and foure pounds, nine téene shillings and od monie; as I was credible informed by the worshipfull maister Thomas Graue surueior vnto hir maiesties workes, who serued and gaue order for the same, as appeareth by record.

1581

Banketting house at Westminster.

The excellent inuention of the triumph.

How this banketting house was garnished and decked with artificiall deuises.

The first deuise of challenge.

The costs and charges of this banketting house.

Desire and hir foure fostered children.

On the sixteenth daie of Aprill arriued at Douer these noblemen of France (commissioners from the French king to hir maiestie) Francis of Burbon prince dolphin of Auergne, Arthur Costaie marshall of France, Lodouic Lusignian lord of Laneoc, Tauergius Caercongin countie of Tillir, Bertrand Salignacus lord Pot Fenelon, monsieur Panassour, Barnabie Brissen president of the parlement of Paris, Claud Pinart, monsieur Marchmont, monsieur Verais; these came from Graues end by water to London, where they were honorably receiued and interteined; and shortlie after being accompanied of the nobilitie of England, they repaired to the court and banketting house prepared for them at Westminster, as is afore said, where hir maiestie

Noblemen of France arriued at Douer.

Vertuous desire not to be excluded from perfect beautie.

——(decus illa Britannûm
Gemmáque non aliis inuenienda locis)

with amiable countenance & great courtesie receiued them: and afterward in that place most royallie feasted & banketted them. Also the nobles & gentlemen of the court, desirous to shew them all courtesie possible

poſſible fitteſt for ſuch eſtates, and to ſport them with all courtlie pleaſure, agréed among them to prepare a triumph, which was verie quicklie concluded: and being deuiſed in moſt ſumptuous order, was by them performed in as valiant a manner to their endleſſe fame and honor. The chiefe or chalengers in theſe attempts were theſe: the earle of Arundell, the lord Windſore, maiſter Philip Sidneie, and maiſter Fulke Greuill, who calling themſelues the foure foſter children of deſire, made their inuention of the foreſaid triumph in order and forme following.

The excellent inuention of the triumph.

The gallerie or place at the end of the tiltyard adioining to hir maieſties houſe at Whitehall, wher as hir perſon ſhould be placed, was called and not without cauſe, The caſtell or fortreſſe of perfect beautie, for as much as hir highneſſe ſhould be there included; whereto the ſaid foſter children laid title and claime as their due by deſcent to belong vnto them. And vpon deniall or anie repulſe from that their deſired patrimonie, they vowed to vanquiſh and conquer by force who ſo ſhould ſéeme to withſtand it. For the accompliſhing whereof they ſent their challenge or firſt defiance to the quéenes maieſtie: which was vttered by a boie on ſundaie the ſixteenth of Aprill laſt, as hir maieſtie came from the chappell, who being apparelled in red and white, as a martiall meſſenger of Deſires foſtered children, without making anie preciſe reuerence at all, vttered theſe ſpéches of defiance from his maiſters to hir maieſtie, the effect whereof inſueth.

The firſt dait of challenge.

O ladie, that doeſt intitle the titles you poſſeſſe with the honor of your worthineſſe, rather crowning the great crowne you hold, with the fame to haue ſo excelling an owner, than you receiuing to your ſelfe anie increaſe, keeping that outward ornament: vouchſafe with patient attention to heare the words which I by commandement am here to deliuer you, wherein if your ears (vſed to the thankeſgiuing of your people & the due praiſes of the earth) ſhall féele a ſtatelie diſdaine to heare once the ſound of a defie, yet dare I warrant my ſelfe ſo far vpon the replie & deceiuing ſhew of rare Beautie, as that malice can not fall from ſo faire a mind vpon the ſealie meſſenger, whoſe mouth is a ſeruant to others direction. Know yée therefore alonelie princeſſe, that herby (for far off they are neuer) there lies incamped the foure long hapleſſe, now hopefull foſtered children of Deſire: who hauing béene a great while nouriſhed vp with that infectiue milke, and too too much care of their fierie foſterer (though full oft that drie nurſſe deſpaire indeuored to weine them from it) being now as ſtrong in that nurture, as they are weake in fortune, incouraged with the valiant counſell of neuer fainting Deſire, and by the ſame aſſured, that by right of inheritance euen from euer, the fortreſſe of beautie doth belong to hir foſtered children: laſtlie, finding it blazed by all tongs, ingraued in all hearts, and proued by all eies, that this fortreſſe built by nature is ſeated in this realme: theſe foure I ſaie and ſaie againe, thus nouriſhed, thus animated, thus intituled, and thus informed, do will you by me, euen in the name of iuſtice, that you will no longer exclude vertuous Deſire from perfect Beautie. Whereto if you yéeld (O yéeld for ſo all reaſon requireth) then haue I no more to ſaie, but reioiſe that my ſaiengs haue obteined ſo rightfull and yet ſo bliſſefull a requeſt. But if (alas but let not that be needfull) Beautie be accompanied with diſdainefull pride, and pride waighted on by refuſing crueltie; then muſt I denounce vnto you (woo is me, anſwer before it be denounced) that they determine by requeſt to accompliſh their claime. And bicauſe they will better teſtifie to the world, they haue bin brought vp vnder the wings of honorable Deſire, this honorable forewarning they ſend you, that vpon the foure and twentith daie of this moneth of Aprill they will beſiege that fatall fortreſſe, vowing not to ſpare (if this obſtinacie continue) the ſword of faithfulnes, and the fire of affection. Now if ſo it fall out, the worthie knights of your court (moued with paſſion in themſelues) diſdaine of my ſenders boldneſſe, or partiall liking (which I moſt doubt) to the maieſtie of your eies, will either bid them battell before they approch, or ſuffering them to approch, will after labour to leuie the ſiege; they proteſt to meet them in what ſort they will chooſe, wiſhing onelie it may be performed before your diuine eies, whome they know as euen in iudgement as dauntie in chooſing: where if ſo they liſt, firſt at the tilt in ſo manie courſes, as your ſelfe ſhall pleaſe to appoint; and then if anie will call them to the courſe of the field with lance and ſword, they hope to giue ſuch true proofes of their valour, as at leſt ſhall make their deſires more noble. Vowing on the other ſide, that if before the night part the fraie, they do not ouercome all them that come in againſt them, they will yéeld themſelues ſlaues vnto you for euer. This therefore O quéene (greater in that you are quéene of your ſelfe, than in paſſing the whole compaſſe of the earth) haue I deliuered my charge, not as a challenge to your knights, againſt whome (but in ſo ſuit a cauſe) they acknowledge themſelues vnable to match the meaneſt; but as a plaine proclamation of war, vnles the fortres of Beautie, that hath wone ſo manie to loſe themſelues, be ſpéedilie ſurrendered. And now it ſhall be ſéene what knights you haue, whome Beautie may draw to reſiſt a rightfull title. And I for my poore part moued by that I ſée in you (though I ſerue your enimies) will dailie praie that all men may ſée you, & then you ſhall not feare anie armes of aduerſaries: or if enimies you muſt haue, that either they may haue the mind of them that ſend me, or their fortune in that they haue long deſired.

The challenge made and how to be tried.

The fortreſſe of Beautie.

At which daie aboueſaid for certeine vrgent occaſions, the ſaid challenge and triumph, by hir maieſties commandement, was deferred till the firſt daie of Maie: at which daie for like cauſes it was further deferred till the next mondaie following, being the eight daie of Maie: and ſo till Whitſun mondaie, when they firſt began to performe it. The ſaid daie being come, the foure foſter children had made preparation to beſiege the fortreſſe of Beautie, and thereto had prouided a frame of wood, which was couered with canuas, and painted outwardlie in ſuch excellent order, as if it had bin verie naturall earth or mould, and caried the name of a rowling trench, which went on wheeles, which waie ſoeuer the perſons within did driue it. Vpon the top whereof was placed two cannons of wood, ſo paſſing well coloured as they ſéemed to be in déed two faire field peeces of ordinances, and by them was placed two men for gunners clothed in crimſon ſarcenet, with their baſkets of earth for defenſe of their bodies by them. And alſo there ſtood on the top of the trench an enſigne bearer in the ſame ſute with the gunners, diſplaieng his enſigne, and within the ſaid trench was cunninglie conueied diuerſe kind of moſt excellent muſike againſt the caſtell of Beautie. Theſe things thus all in a readineſſe, the challengers approched, & came from the ſtable toward the tiltyard, one after another in braue & excellent order as followeth.

Urgent cauſes why the challenge was deferd.

The order of the rowling trench with moſt excellent inuentions.

First, the earle of Arundell entred the tiltyard, all in gilt and ingrauen armour, with capariſons and furniture richlie and brauelie imbrodered, hauing attendant vpon him two gentlemen vshers, foure pages riding on foure ſpare horſſes, and twentie of his gentlemen. All which aforeſaid were apparelled in ſhort cloakes and venetian hoſe of crimſon

The earle of Arundels entrie the firſt daie and his attendants.

velvet, laid with gold lace, doublets of yellow ſattin, hats of crimſon velvet with gold bands and yellow feathers, and yellow ſilke ſtockes. Then had he ſix trumpetters that ſounded before him, and one and thirtie yeomen that waited after him apparelled in caſſocke coats, and venetian hoſe of crimſon velvet, laid on with red ſilke and gold lace, doublets of yellow taffatie, hats of crimſon taffatie, with yellow feathers, and yellow worſted ſtockings.

The lord Windſors entrie the firſt daie and his attendants.

After him proceeded the lord Windſore, in gilt and ingraven armour, with capariſons and furniture, richlie imbrodered with gold, having attendant on him foure pages riding on foure ſpare horſſes, and foure and twentie gentlemen, all apparelled in ſhort cloaks of ſcarlet, lined throughout with orange tawnie taffatie, and laid about with ſilver lace, doublets of orange tawnie ſattin, venetian hoſe of orange tawnie velvet, blacke velvet caps, with ſilver bands and white feathers, and ſilvered rapiers and daggers, with ſcabbards of blacke velvet; foure trumpetters, and two footmen in caſſocke coats and venetian hoſe of orange tawnie velvet, and blacke velvet caps with ſilver bands and white feathers, foure groomes of his ſtable leading of his foure horſſes, in caſſocke coats and venetian hoſe of orange tawnie taffatie and orange tawnie felts with ſilver bands, and white feathers. Then had he three ſcore yeomen in coats of orange tawnie cloth, with the unicorne of ſilver plate on their ſleeves, and orange tawnie felts with ſilver bands and white feathers.

M. Sidneis entrie, now ſir Philip Sidneie and his attendants.

Then proceeded maiſter Philip Sidnete, in verie ſumptuous maner, with armour part blew, and the reſt gilt and ingraven, with foure ſpare horſſes, having capariſons and furniture verie rich and coſtlie, as ſome of cloth of gold imbrodered with pearle, and ſome imbrodered with gold and ſilver feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought: he had foure pages that rode on his foure ſpare horſſes, who had caſſocke coats, and venetian hoſe all of cloth of ſilver, laied with gold lace, and hats of the ſame with gold bands and white feathers, and ech one a paire of white buſkins. Then had he a thirtie gentlemen and yeomen, & foure trumpetters, who were all in caſſocke coats and venetian hoſe of yelow velvet, laied with ſilver lace, yelow velvet caps with ſilver bands and white fethers, and everie one a paire of white buſkins; and they had vpon their coats, a ſcrowle or band of ſilver, which came ſcarſe wiſe ouer the ſhoulder, and ſo downe vnder the arme, with this poeſie, or ſentence written vpon it, both before and behind, *Sic nos non nobis.*

M. Fulke Greuils entrie with his traine of attendants.

Then came maiſter Fulke Greuill, in gilt armour, with rich and faire capariſons and furniture, having foure ſpare horſſes with foure pages riding vpon them, and foure trumpetters ſounding before him, and a twentie gentlemen and yeomen attending vpon him, who with the pages and trumpetters were all apparelled in loſe ierkins of tawnie taffatie, cut and lined with yelow ſarſenet, and laied with gold lace, and cut downe the arme and ſet with lopes and buttons of gold, venetian hoſe of the ſame lined (as aforeſaid) laied with gold lace downe the ſide with lopes and buttons of gold, with ech a paire of yelow worſted ſtockings, and hats of tawnie taffetie with gold bands and yelow feathers. Having thus all entered the tiltyard, they proceeded on with the rowling trench before them, which ſtaied againſt the queene, and they paſſed by, as though they would behold the Fortreſſe of beautie, and ſo went about the tilt. At laſt the boie that vttered the firſt defiance pronounced theſe ſpeeches to hir maieſtie.

The ſecond defie or challenge.

If the meſſage latelie delivered vnto you had beene beleeved and followed (O queene) in whome the whole ſtorie of vertus is written, with the language of beautie; nothing ſhould this violence haue needed in your inuiolate preſence. Your eies, which till now haue beene onelie wont to diſcerne the bowed knees of kneeling hearts, and inwardlie turned, found alwaies the heauenlie peace of a ſweet mind, ſhould not now haue their faire beames reflected with the ſhining of armour, ſhould not now be driuen to ſee the furie of deſire, nor the fierie force of furie. But ſith ſo it is (alas that ſo it is) that in the defenſe of obſtinate refuſall there neuer groweth victorie but by compaſſion; they are come: what need I ſaie more, you ſee them, readie in hart as you know, and able with hands as they hope, not onelie to aſſailing but to prevailing. Perchance you deſpiſe the ſmalneſſe of number. I ſaie vnto you, the force of deſire goeth not by fulneſſe of companie. Rate rather view with what vnreſiſtable determination themſelues approch, and how not onelie the heauens ſend their inuiſible inſtrument to aid them: but alſo the verie earth the dulleſt of all the elements, which with naturall heauineſſe ſtill ſtriues to the ſlaepie centre; yet for aduancing his enterprize is content actiuelie (as you ſhall ſee) to moue it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe to riſe vp in height, that it maie the better command the high and highminded fortreſſes. Manie words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both vnto the ſpeaker and hearer. You ſee their forces, but know not their fortunes; if you be reſolued, it boots not, and threats dread not. I haue diſcharged my charge, which was euen when all things were readie for the aſſault, then to offer partlie a thing not ſo much vnuſed as gratious in beſiegers. You ſhall now be ſummoned to yeeld, which if it be reiected, then looke for the affectionat alarme to be followed with deſirous aſſault. The time approcheth for their approches, but no time ſhall take me from wiſhing, that howſoeuer this ſucceed, the world maie long inioie hir chiefeſt ornament, which decks it with hir ſelfe, and hir ſelfe with the loue of goodneſſe.

Wherewith the mount moued and role vp in height.

Which ſpeech being ended, the rowling trench or mount of earth was moued as neere the queenes maieſtie as might be, which being ſetled, the muſike plaied verie pleaſantlie, and one of the boies being then accompanied with cornets, ſummoned the fortreſſe with this delectable ſong, here vnder noted.

The rowling trench moued neere to the queene.

The ſumme ſummoning ſong.

Yeeld, yeeld, ô yeeld, you that this fort doo hold,
which ſeated is, in ſpotleſſe honors feeld,
Deſires great force, no forces can withhold:
then to deſires deſire, ô yeeld ô yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, truſt not on beauties pride,
faireneſſe though faire, is but a feeble ſheeld,
When ſtrong deſire, which vertues loue doth guide,
claimes but to gaine his due, ô yeeld ô yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, who firſt this fort did make,
did it for iuſt deſires, true children beeld,
Such was his mind, if you an other take,
defenſe herein dooth wrong, ô yeeld ô yeeld,
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, now is it time to yeeld,
before th'aſſault begin, ô yeeld ô yeeld.

When that was ended, an other boie turning himſelfe to the foſter children and their retinue, ſong this alarme with pleſant voice & ſemelie countenance.

The alarme ſong.

Alarme alarme, here will no yeelding bee,
ſuch marble cares, no cunning words can charme,
Courage therefore, and let the ſtatelie ſee,
that nought withſtands deſire, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, let not their beauties moue
remorſe in you to doo this fortreſſe harme,
For ſith warre is the ground of vertues loue,
no force, though force be vſed, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, companions now begin,
about this neuer conquered wals to ſwarme,
More praiſe to vs we neuer looke to win,
much maie that was not yet, alarme alarme.

Alarme

violence haue neé.
our cies, which till
discerne the bowed
inwardlie turned,
se of a sweet mind,
cames reflected
not now be dri-
fierie force of fu-
it is) that in the
re neuer groweth
y are come: what
die in hart as you
y hope, not onelie
chance you despise
nto you, the force
ompanie. Nate ra-
e determination
elie the heauens
them: but al-
elements, which
ies to the sleepie
terprise is content
t selfe vpon it selfe
e better command
s. Manie words,
tions both vnto the
forces, but know
lued, it boots not,
rged my charge,
e readie for the
ot so much vnu-
all now be sum-
ued, then looke for
wed with desirous
eir approches, but
g, that howsoeuer
inioie hir chiefest
selfe, and hir selfe

rowling trench or
ere the quenes
led, the musike
the boies being
mmoned the for-
here vnder noted.
s fort doo hold,
ors feeld,
withhold:
yeeld.
eauties pride,
eeble sheeld,
oue dooth guide,
ld ô yeeld.
did make,
eeld,
ke,
eeld ô yeeld,
to yeeld,
yeeld.
oie turning him-
retinue, song this
lie countenance.
ng bee,
ds can charme,
see,
me alarme.
moue
e harme,
tues loue,
larme alarme.
begin,
to swarme,
win,
me alarme.
Alarme

Meaning the musike within the mount.

wherewith the mount moued & role vp in height.

The rowling trench moued nere to the quéene.

The fortresse summoned to yeeld.

The alarme sung.

Alarme alarme, when once the fight is warme,
then shall you see them yeeld, alarme alarme.

The shooting off of the two canons, the one with sweet water, and the other with sweet powder.

Which ended, the two canons were shot off, the one with sweet powder, and the other with sweet water, verie odoriferous and pleasant, and the noise of the shooting was verie excellent consent of melodie within the mount. And after that was store of prette scaling ladders, and the footmen threw floures and such fansies against the wals, with all such deuises as might seeme fit shot for desire. All which did continue till time the defendants came in.

The maner of the defendants coming in.

Then came in the defendants in most sumptuous maner, with euerie one his seruants, pages, and trumpetters (hauing some more, some lesse) in such order as I haue here vnder placed them, with euerie one his sundrie inuention, which for that some of them be mysticall and not knowne to manie, I omit therefore for breuities sake to speake of anie. Yet such speeches as were spoken or presented for them to hir maiestie, so manie as were, or at the least as I could come by, I haue here in their order placed them, whereby their inuentions for whome they were spoken, are therein plainelie declared. Therefore I referre you to the reading of them hereafter. But thus the defendants entered the tiltyard, one after an other as followeth. First maister Henrie Greie, sir Thomas Perot, maister Anthonie Coke, maister Thomas Ratcliffe, maister Henrie Knolles, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Francis Knolles, maister Rafe Bowes, maister Thomas Kelwaie, maister George Goring, maister William Tresham, maister Robert Alexander, maister Edward Dennie, maister Hercules Meautus, maister Edward Moze, maister Richard Skipwith, maister Richard Ward, maister Edward Digbie, maister Henrie Nowell, maister Henrie Brunkerd. And afterwards in the middest of the running came in sir Henrie Leigh, as vnknowne, and when he had broken his sir staues went out in like maner againe. So passing on one after an other, when sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke came to the end of the tilt, ouer against the quéenes maiestie, one of their pages arraied like an angell vttered these speeches vnto hir.

The defendants names that run at tilt.

The speech of sir Thomas Perot and maister Coke to the quéene.

Despaire, no not despaire (most high and happie princesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the aier, but that desire (ah sweet desire) inforced him to behold the sun on the earth, whereon as he was gazing with twinkling eie (for who can behold such beames stedfastlie?) he begun to dissolue into drops, melting with such delight, that he seemed to preferre the lingering of a certeine death before the lasting of an vncerteine life. Such is the nature of ingrauen loialtie, that it chooseth rather to haue the bodie dissolued, than the mind disliked. Thus consuming with content (a sweet sickenesse is conceipt) and pining with more than speakeable passions, he suddenlie beheld that sun to be besieged which he so deuoutlie serued. Wherewith boiling in no lesse disdaine, than surprised with immoderat pensiuenesse, he vttered these words: O Ioue, if thou meane to resolue nature into contraries; why doo I liue to see it? If into nothing, why doo I liue at all? If the foot scale the head, there is no rest; if desire ouershot dutie, there is no reason: and where either of these are, there can be no rule. And so setting more sighs than maie be numbred by ciphers, this present time (ah griefe) this present time, that honest & faire hearted frozen knight died (what said I) euen that which againe with griefe I must say died, whose ghost making spéedie passage into the Elisian fields (for what more swift than a soule) in the midst of the infernall multitude, with schéeches, cries & clamors made both heauen & hell to redouble this echo: O times, O men, O corruption of ma-

By the sun is meant hir maiestie, called before The fortresse of beautie.

ners! The sun is besieged, the sun (O mischiefe) the sun is besieged. Which strange and vnacquainted termes caused not onelie murmuring amongst the ghosts beneath, but a musing amongst the gods aboue: who as well to represse the tumults, which might haue risen among the shadows, as to reuenge the pride which began to grow on the earth, sent downe an angell with this commandement; Go descend, and cause Adam and Eue to appeare on the earth in that sort as they were in paradise, that the world may know them & wonder at them. For seeing out of their loines haue issued those preposterous limmes, I know none more fit to correct them. Certes none more willing. They will attempt anie thing for thy sake, and seruice of that earthlie, and yet (O strange conceipt) most heauenlie sun. For as they were before driuen from their desire, bicause they desired to know the best: so now shall they be driuen vnto their desire, which they couet to honour most. This shall be their reward, they shall come neére and yet shall not search, and be they farre off, it shall warme. A cloud maie sometimes barre their sight, but nothing shall depriue them of the safegard: yet command them to be humble in affection, though feruent, least they séeme to disdaine that pride in others which they desire themselues.

Sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke were both in like armour beset with apples and fruit, the one signifieng Adam & the other Eue, who had haire hang all downe his helmet.

The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow which is shortest, nourisheth the tree whose root groweth depest, not whose top springeth loftiest. This commission and counsell ended, all things were in a moment accomplished with such celeritie (for to the gods time is tied) that they were sped so sone as they were spoken. And now most renowmed and diuine sun, Adam and Eue being present, vouchsafe to heare somwhat in their behalfs pronounced. Sir knights, if in besieging the sunne ye vnderstood what you had vndertaken, ye would not destroie a common blessing for a priuat benefit. Will you subdue the sun? Who shall rest in the shadow where the wearie take breath, the disquiet rest and all comfort? Will ye bereue all men of those glistering & gladsome beams? What shall then prosper in the shining, but you will clime it by the rales? O rare exhalations! Brothers you may be to desire, but sons ye are to ill hap, which thinke you can not sinke deepe inough into the sea, vnlesse you take your fall from the sun. Desist you knights, desist, sith it is impossible to resist: content your selues with the sunnes indifferent succor, suffer the iuniper shrub to grow by the loftie oke, and clame no prerogatiue where the sun grants no priuilege; for being of the same mettall that others are, the sun will worke the like effects, as she doth in others. The giants would haue bin gods, if they could haue scaled the heauens; and you no lesse than stars could you conquer the same: but as their throwing hill vpon hill did manifest their pride, but nothing further their pretense; so your laieng chalenge vpon claime, and conquest vpon chalenge, may well proue a will but no worthinesse; a desire to reach, but no possibilitie to recouer. In which your soaring assaies if you chance to fall, the only comfort you haue is to crie with Phaeton, *Magnis excidimus ausis*. But if no persuasions may moue your minds, know yée proud knights, there are that haue hearts as big as mounteins, and as far aboue you in prowesse as ye are aboue all in presumption, yet not so vaine (which ye terme valiant) to assalt the sun. And whie? bicause it is impregnible. We content to inioie the light, yée to eclipse it; we to rest vnder the feet, yée to run ouer the head; we to yéeld to that which nothing can conquer, you to conquer that which maketh all men captiues. But were it possible that head could deuise, courage attempt, or hand execute anie thing that might shew the depth of our vnspotted loialtie, sone

The angell speaketh to the quéene.

He speaketh to the chalengers in the behalfe of the two knights Adam and Eue.

Magnis excidimus ausis, the crie of Phaeton at his fall.

should be seene (and for your selues to some) that your enterprises should be of as small account then, as now they are of likelihood; so deepe an impression is ingrauen in our thoughts, for the maiestie of that sun which now perling our eies hath fullie subdued our hearts, that we are prest in hir defense to offer the whole world defiance. In proofe whereof I am charged to throw downe this gantlet, which who so dareth take vp, shall feele both the heat of their iust conceiued quarrell, and the reproch of their owne deserued follie, not by riding in breaking a few staues to end the strife, but at tourneie, or what else soeuer they can deuise, or dare aduenture to win the benefit of Beautie. Thus most renowmed & diuine Beautie, whose beams shine like the sun, haue Adam & Eue aduentured to defend the sun. The same I call Beautie the light of the world, the maruell of men, the mirrour of nature, on which their incounter if those fauourable gleames may fall, they will not onlie thinke to haue done good herein, but to be restored againe to paradise. The one meaneth to repose his trust in a woman, who like Eue cannot be beguiled, the other to rest on a saint which by a serpent will not be tempted. Thus being placed in the garden of your graces, O of all things most gratious, where vertues grow as thicke as leaues did in paradise, they will take heede to tast of the forbidden fruit, contented to behold, not coueting to take hold. And for that it hath beene long argued, and no arguing can end, whether the first offense came by the crudelitie of Adam, or the simplicitie of Eue; the one defending his fault by sound arguments, the other excusing hirs by sharpe answers: they most humblie sue for this, that either by six courses betweene them the quarrell may be ended, or by your highnesse peremptorie sentence determined. For they both being in the world, are desirous that one might beare the blame of both. And what herein your excellencie shall set downe, there is none shall gainesaie; for whensoeuer the question shall be moued, no other reason shall be allowed or liked than this; *Elizabetha dixit*. This speach being thus ended, sir Thomas Perot and maister Cooke proceeded backward on the other side of the tilt. And when maister Ratclife came likewise against the queene, one of his pages pronounced these speeches in his masters behalfe to hir maiestie.

The defendants gantlet throwne downe, &c.

The defendants sute and desire.

M. Ratclifs speech to the queene.

So manie were the misfortunes (most renowned and beautifull princesse) of the desolate knight my master, as neither the shortnesse of the time will suffer me to repeat, nor the greatnesse of the mysterie to remember. But let this suffice, that some there were and so manifold, that geometrie whereon the bodie of man hangeth could not beare being intollerable, nor the mind which consisteth in arithmetike number being infinit. Thus alwaies crossed by fortune, whose crossing is no blessing, he determined to separate himselfe as far from societie, as his actions were from succesle; who wandering through manie deserts, yet finding as he thought no place desolate, happened at the last to come to a cliffe adioining to the maine sea, couered all with mosse, whereon he was walking: much delighted with the solitarie seat, but not well liking the cold situation, he suddenlie sunke into a hollow vault, surprised at the first with feare, but seeing it at the last a place of succour, he accounted his former miseries meetlie appeased by this present fortune. In this den he vsed for his bed mosse, for his candle mosse, for his ceeling mosse, and vnlesse now and then a few coales, mosse for his meat: a drie sod God wot and a fresh, but so moistened with wet teares, and so salt, that hard it was to coniecture, whether it were better to feed or to fast. Here he gaue himselfe to continuall meditation, separating his mind from his bodie, his thought from his hart, yea diuorcing himselfe from himselfe, in so much that with his strange diet and new conceits he became so inchanted, that neither the remembrance of others, nor a thought touching himselfe could enter into his mind: an alteration seldome heard of, that the place whereas he was throwded in, should make him to forget who he is. Liuing thus a long time, for that no lim should seeme short, rising according to his maner to walke in the mosse in the grisping of the day, he espied vpon the shore certeine men either cast awaie by shipwracke, or ouer bord by pirates, vnto whome he went; and perceiuing by their plaints one which laie dead amongst them to be their master, inquired whense they were: But they not willing to repeat their misfortunes, opened the bosome of the gentleman, and pulled out a scroll conteining a claime, a challenge, naie a conquest of Beautie. At the sight whereof, suddenlie (quoth he) Beautie! and therewithall appalled pansed, entring by litle and litle out of his present melancholies into his former misfortunes, who as one awaked out of a long dreame began thus to debate. O Beautie, where thy fortresse is founded I know, but what these brethren should meane I maruell; for as I am assured that to win thée none could be so fortunate, so did I thinke that to claime thée none could be so fond; when as thou O diuine Beautie art of eurie one to be desired, but neuer to be conquered of Desire. But as the eagle beholding the sunne, coueteth to build hir nest in the same, and so dimmeth hir sight: so they bewing the brightnesse of Beautie ars incensed to conquere it by Desire. And what then? Bicause she is inuincible shall I be indifferent? No, I will forsake this caitife cottage, and will take arms to defend that Beauties castell. Nothing shall remoue me from mine attempt, which being performed, nothing can moue me. Yea but she hath seruants alreadie a number; I but vnles I be there, not the whole number: but manie were famous, but none more faithfull: yet alas, if thou go, thou shalt euer be infortunat: better alwaies infortunat, than once disloiall. Which words being ended, he demanded whether they would in like case aduenture with one of no lesse courage than their master, but certenlie of greter affection: whose seruice he hauing vpon small intreatie obteined, for that belike they were desirous to see the euent for the which they had suffered such aduentures, he departed to his cave, hewing a shield out of the hard cliffe inriched onelie with soft mosse: a double signe of his desire, thinking that nothing could manifest Beautie so well as Pythagoras walnut, a tender rine and a hard shell. And now most excellent and diuine Beautie, diuine it must néeds be that worketh so heauenlie, sith he is called from his solitarie caue to your sumptuous court, from bondage to libertie, from a liuing death to a neuer dieng life, and all for the sake and seruice of Beautie: vouchsafe his shield, which is the ensigne of your fame, to be the instrument of his fortune. And for prostrating himselfe to your feet, he is here readie prest to aduenture anie aduentures for your gratious fauour.

A claime or conquest of beautie conteined in a scroll.

A similitude.

Here the boie deliuered M. Ratclifs shield to the queene.

Which speech being ended, he retired backe as the rest. And after him came the foure sonnes of sir Francis Knolles, one after an other, according to their age, and all in like armour: who comming to the end of the tilt, staied till these speeches were vttered by one of their pages, who being apparelled like vnto Mercurie, pronounced these speeches in the knights behalfes to hir maiestie.

Here enter the foure sons of sir Francis Knolles.

Report hath bruted all abroad, that desperat Desire with a wonderfull armie of affections hath laid his siege against the inuincible fortresse of peere-

The speech of the foure sons of sir Francis Knolles. proo-

lesse

A mossie cliffe.

Mosse and nothing but mosse.

nounced by their page being apparelled like vnto Mercurie.

lesse beautie, and that the chiefest champions of this most famous enterprise are foure of fansies fellowes, fosterbrothers to desire, and drie nurst by despaire, valiant knights, and honorable personages, whose hautie hearts deserue renowme at least, for venturing to win the golden fleece without Medeas helpe. The giants long ago did scale the clouds men sate, in hope to win the fort of Iupiter. The wanton youth, whose waren wings did trie with soaring vp aloft, had scapt vnscorcht if he had kept a meaner gale below. So falles it out in this attempt, desire vaunts to conquer Beauties fort by force, wherein the goddesse keepes continuallie watch and ward, so that desire may despaire to win one inch of hir against hir will. Hir statelie seat is set so high, as that no leuell can be laid against hir walles: and soner may men vndertake to hit a starre with a stone, than to beat hir braue bulworkes by batterie. No vndermining may preuaile, for that hir fort is founded vpon so firme a rocke, as will not stir for either fraud or force. And is there anie hope to win by famine such a fort as yelds continuall food to all hir foes? And though they fed not fat therwith, yet must they either feed thereon or fast: for Beautie is the onlie bait whereon desire bites; and loue the chiefe restoritie that ladie Beautie likes, so that she can no more be left without meat, than men can liue without minds. Of all affections that are, desire is the most worthie to woo, but lest deserues to win Beautie: for in winning his saint, he loseth himselfe: no soner hath desire what he desireth, but that he dieth presentlie: so that when Beautie yeldeth once to desire, then can she neuer vant to be desired againe. Wherfore of force this principle must stand, it is conuenient for desire euer to wish, and necessarie that he alwais want. O rare and most renowmed Beautie, O goddesse to be honored of all, not to be equalled of anie, become not now a prisoner: your fortresse is inuincible. No doubt desire will content himselfe with a fauourable parlee, and wait for grace by loialtie, not chalenge it by lance; although he make neuer so braue. The world doth know that ladie Beautie neds no rescue to raise this siege, for that she sits aboue all reach, hir heauenlie lokes aboue when she so liks can dazell all mens eies. But though she lik not vse those meanes, yet it is meete that all hir seruants come and shew themselues deuout to do hir will: perchance hir pleasure is to see the forts tried of these foure foster friends. O happie, ten times happie they whose hap shall be with fauour of hir destie, to take in hand this braue attempt: in hope whereof these foure legitimate sonnes of despaire, brethren to hard mishap, suckled with sighes, and swathed vp in sorrow, weaned in woo, and drie nurst by desire, long time fostered with fauourable countenance, and fed with sweet fansies, but now of late (alas) wholie giuen ouer to griefe and disgraced by disdaine, are come with readie hearts and hands, to prooue against these other foure, that desire doth not deserue one winke of good fauour from ladie Beauties smiling eies, for threatning to win hir fort by force. They doubt not the victorie, if onelie they may find some like shew from their saint in fauor of their enterprise. If Mercurie haue said amisse, blame those bright beams which haue bereft him of his wit; if well, vouchsafe one becke to bid him packe awaie.

These speeches being ended, both they and the rest marched about the tilt, and so going backe to the nether end thereof prepared themselues to run, euerie one in his turne, each defendant sir courses against the former challengers: who performed their parts so valiantlie on both sides, that their prowesse hath demerited perpetuall memorie, and worthilie won honor both to themselues and their native countrie, as fame hath the same reported. When this daies sport was thus accomplished, the boie that vttered the defiances, in these few speeches toke his good night of the quéne.

The boie that vttered the defiance, in this speech toke his good night of the quéne.

In the triall of this debatefull question (O your selfe) what can be said more than is? You se that séeing begins to faile. Night the ordinarie truce maker, though no truce be treated (if at least your presence make it not lightsome) will wrap all in hir blacke and mourning weeds, perchance mourning, for that the noblest desire hath béene subiect to vndeserued torments: and therefore these knights by the authoritie of darkenes verie vndesirouslie are compelled to depart from whence they came. To conclude, thus much they command me in their names to confesse, that such excellencie they find in your knights, and in comparison of them such vnableneesse in their selues, that if desire did not banish despaire as a traitor out of his kingdome, it would haue alreadie vndermined their best grounded determination: but no inward nor outward wound, no weakenesse, no wearinesse, can dant desire, nor take awaie the naturall effects that follow it. Therfore hauing left them no other courage than desire, no other strength than desire, no other beginning or ending cause but desire, they will continue this hard and hardie enterprise to morow. In the meane time they can find no place in their hearts that doth not wish you as swéet rest, as Psyche was conueied vnto by the gentle Zephyrus, and if it be possible by the same ghest visited. They wish that when your lids loke vp, your eies may be brightened, to sée to morrow a better daie than this, and therewithall so singular successe, as you may long, frélie, and joyfullie inioy your selfe, to the delight of lokers, and wonder of markers. ¶ This said, and all the triumphant shewes ended, the knights in verie comelie and conuenient order (as they came) departed:

Et fessos soluunt artus, mollissima quæque
Gustant, & dulci membra quiete fouent.

Desire and Beautie.

A claime or conquest of beautie conteined in a scroll.

Why desire laboureth least to win beautie.

A similitude.

The foure sonnes of sir Francis Knolles.

The running at the tilt.

The next daies shew was done in this order. The foure foster children of desire entered in a braue chariot (verie finelie and curiouslie decked) as men forewearied & halfe ouercome. The charriot was made in such sort, as vpon the top the foure knights sat, with a beautifull ladie, representing desire about them. Whereunto their eies were turned, in token what they desired. In the bulke of the charriot was conueied rome for a full consort of musike, who plaid still verie dolefull musike as the charriot moued. The charriot was drawne by foure horsses according to the foure knights, which horsses were apparelled in white and carnation silke, being the colours of desire. And as it passed by the vpper end of the tilt, a herald of armes was sent before to vtter these speeches in the knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

Here entereth a most excellent and braue charriot, with rare, curious, and costlie workes with the foure challengers in it, which charriot was verie curiouslie shadowed with fine lawne.

No confidence in themselues, O most vnmatched princesse, before whome enuie dieth, wanting all nérenes of comparison to susteine it, & admiration is exprelled, finding the scope of it void of conceiuable limits, nor anie slight regarding the force of your valiant knights, hath incouraged the foster children of desire to make this daie an inheritour of yesterdaies action: but the wing of memorie alas, the sworne enimie vnto the woefull mans quietnesse, being constantlie held by the hand of perfection, and neuer ceasling to blow the cole of some kindled desire, hath brought their inward fire to blaze forth this flame vnquenchable by anie meanes: till by death the whole fewell be consumed. And therefore not able to maister it, they are violentlie borne whither desire draweth, although they must confesse (alas) that yesterdaies braue onset should come to such a confession, that they are not greatlie comforted with hope,

The first speech the second daie.

the

Hope the ſupplier to deſires armie.

the common ſupplier to deſires armie. So as now from ſummoning this caſtell to yéld, they are fallen lowlie to beſæch you to vouchſaue your eies out of that impregnable fortreſſe, to behold what will fall out betwixt them and your famous knights: wherin though they be ſo ouerpæſſed with the others valour, that alreadie they could ſcarſelie haue bæne able to come hither, if the charriot of deſire had not carried them; yet will they make this whole aſſemblie witneſſes ſo farre of their will, that ſooner their ſoules ſhall leaue their bodies than deſire ſhall leaue their ſoules. In that onelie ſtandeth their ſtrength that gaue them their firſt courage, and muſt be their laſt comfort. For what reſiſtance is there, where not onlie they are met with foren enimies, ſuch as ſtatelie diſdeine, which loketh from ſo high a tower to poze deſire, that though (in it ſelfe) it be great, yet in hir eies (ſo ſeated) it ſéemeth ſmall, or ſuch on the other ſide as vnfortunat deſpaire, which maketh the countrie ſo barren where they laie their ſiege, that it would take awaie all the food of fanſie: but euen ciuill warre yeſterdaie grew betwixt them and others who beare the ſame badge of deſire: that they do ſo, as thus beſtead they are brought to this faire paſſe, to deſire no moze, but that this death or ouerthrow maie be ſéene by thoſe eies who are onlie vnhappie, in that they can neither find fellows nor ſée themſelues.

Which ſpæch being done, the defendants came in, in ſuch order as they came in the daie before. Therefore I ſhall not need to make a new repetition of the ſame, ſith all hath bæne touched alreadie. Then went they to the tourneie, where they did verie noblie, as the ſhiuering of the ſwords might verie well teſtifie; and after that to the barriers, where they laſhed it out luſtilie, & fought couragiouſlie, as if the Grécks and Troians had dealt their deadlie dole. No partie was ſpared, no eſtate excepted, but ech knight indured to win the golden fléece, that expected either fame or the fauour of his miſtreſſe, which ſport continued all the ſame daie. And towards the euening the ſport being ended, there was a boie ſent vp to the quéene being clothed in aſh coloured garments in token of humble ſubmiſſion, who hauing an oliue branch in his hand, & falling downe proſtrate on his face, and then knéeling vp, concluded this noble exerciſe with theſe words to hir maieſtie.

Tourneies & barriers couragiouſlie tried.

The laſt ſpæch to the quéene ſignifieng the humble hearted ſubmiſſion of the foure foſter children of deſire.

Moſt renowmed princeſſe of princes, in whome can nothing obteine victorie, but vertue. The foſter children of deſire (but heires onelie to miſfortune) ſend me to deliuer in ſuch words as ſorrow can afford their moſt humble hearted ſubmiſſion. They acknowledge this fortreſſe to be reſerued for the eie of the whole world, farre lifted vp from the compaſſe of their deſtinie. They acknowledge the blindneſſe of their error, in that they did not know deſire (how ſtrong ſoeuer it be) within it ſelfe to be ſtronger without it ſelfe than it pleaſed the deſired. They acknowledge they haue degenerated from their foſterer in making violence accompanie deſire. They acknowledge that deſire receiued his beginning and nouriſhment of this fortreſſe, and therefore to commit vngratefulneſſe in bearing armes (though deſirous armes) againſt it. They acknowledge noble deſire ſhould haue deſired nothing ſo much, as the flouriſhing of that fortreſſe, which was to be eſtéemed according to it ſelfes liking. They acknowledge the leaſt determination of vertue (which ſtands for the gard of this fortreſſe) to be too ſtrong for the ſtrongeſt deſire, & therefore they do acknowledge themſelues ouercome, as to be ſlaues to this fortreſſe for euer, which title they will beare in their foreheads, as their other name is ingrauen in their hearts. For witneſſe therof they preſent this olue branch to your preſence, in token of your triumphant peace, and of their peaceable ſeruitude, whereby they preſent themſelues as bondmen by thoſe bonds, which the loſſe of life can onelie looſe. Onelie from out of that which was theirs they craue thus much, to giue ſome token to thoſe knights, which maie be iudged to haue done beſt in ech kind of weapon, or who by his deuiſe hath come in beſt ſort in this deſirous ſtrife. This being done, they being now ſlaues (in whome much dutie requireth) for feare of offenſe, dare ſaie no further; but with from the bottome of their captiued hearts, that while this realme is thus fortified and beautified; deſire maie be your chiefeſt aduerſarie.

In oliue branch preſented to the quéene.

Which ſpæch being ended, hir maieſtie gaue them all praiſe and great thanks, which they eſtéemed ſo well, and thought themſelues rewarded according to their owne wiſhing: and ſo they departed ech one in order, according to the firſt comming in. And thus ceaſſed theſe courtlie triumphes, ſet forth with moſt coſtlie brauerie and gallantneſſe, whereof I maie ſaie as the academicall poet ſometime ſaid at the gratious entering of hir maieſtie into Cambridge:

Hîc cocco murex, aurum ſuperatur ab auro,
Naturam certant vincere quæque ſuam:
Nil ibi ſat pulchrum, quamuis pulcherrima quæque,
Et quamuis vincant omnia, victa iacent.

Croſſe in Cheape defaced.

The one and twentith of June in the night, the loweſt images (which were of Chriſts reſurrection, of the virgin Marie, and of kings and biſhops of this realme) about the croſſe in Cheape (being ſix ſquare) on all the ſides, were broken and defaced: whereupon two daies after, proclamation was made thorough out the citie, that who ſo would bewraie the doers thereof, ſhould haue fortie crownes for their labour: but nothing came to light. The ſeauen and twentith of June, Thomas Butcher brewer, was conuicted in the Guildhall of London, for that he as principall, and others as acceſſaries, to the number of a thouſand perſons, on the fiue and twentith of June laſt paſt, about ten of the clocke in the night, with force of armes, in weſt Smithfield of London, & other ſtréets of the citie congregated themſelues, and with diuerſe exclamations, prouoked the people in maner of a rebellion, contrarie to the peace & ſtatutes of the realme. On the eight and twentith of June, the ſame Thomas Butcher, being areigned at the Iuſtice hall in the old Baſtie, was found giltie, and had iudgement to be whiped on the nert market daie from Newgate thorough Smithfield, Long lane, Alderſgate ſtreet, ſaint Martins le grand; & ſo thorough the citie to the bars without Aldgate, & then to be committed to Newgate. On the 30 of June, the ſame T. Butcher, being deliuered vnto James Maſe and other beadles, to haue receiued execution, as is aforeſaid, he being whiped from Newgate into weſt Smithfield, was there reſcued, taken from the beadles, and ſent to ſhift for himſelfe abrode: for the which fact the one & twentith of Julie, William Downe, I. Hand, T. Yarres, and T. Appowell, three ſhomakers and a brewer, were whiped from Newgate to the middeſt of Smithfield, and there ſet on the pillorie, whereon they ſtood from ten of the clocke till twelue, and from thence againe committed to priſon. The thirtéenth of Julie, Richard Cox doctor of diuinitie, ſometime ſcholemaiſter to king Edward the firſt, deane of Weſtminſter, and of Chriſts college in Oxenford, and of late biſhop of Elie deceaſſed, and was buried at Elie; whoſe epitaph (alluding to his name and the execution of his charge, wherein he was iuſt) hereafter followeth:

Thomas Butcher whipped and reſcued.

Foure men whipt and ſet on the pillorie.

Biſhop of Elie deceaſſed.

Vita caduca vale, ſalueto vita perennis,
Corpus terra tegit, ſpiritus alta tenet.
In terra Chriſti gallus Chriſtum reſonabam,
Da Chriſte in cœlis te ſine fine ſonem.

This

This yeare were to be seene in London two Dutchmen of strange statures, the one in height seauen foot & seauen inches, in breadth betwixt the shoulders three quarters of a yard and an inch, the compasse of his breast one yard, an halfe, and two inches; & about the waist one yard, quarter, and one inch; the length of his arme to the hand a full yard: a comelie man of person, but lame of his legs (for he had broken them with lifting of a barrell of beere.) The other was in height but three foot, had neuer a good foot, nor anie knee at all, and yet could he danse a galliard, he had no arme, but a stumpe to the elbow or little more on the right side, on the which, singing, he would danse a cup, and after tosse it about three or foure times, and euerie time receiue the same on the said stumpe: he would shoot an arrow neere to the marke, flourish with a rapier, throw a bowle, beat with an hammar, hew with an ax, sound a trumpet, and drinke euerie daie ten quartes of the best beere, if he could get it. About the seauentéenth of Julie, I saw these men in the parish of saint Peter vpon Cornehill, the taller sitting on a bench bareheaded, the lesser stood on the same bench, and hauing on his head a hat with a feather, was yet the lower. Also the taller man standing on his feet, the lesser (with his hat & feather on his head) went vpright betweene his legs, and touched him not.

Strangers of strange stature to be seene.

The eightéenth of Julie, Euerard Hance, *alias* Ducket, a seminarie priest, was in the sessions hall in the old Bailie of London arreigned, where he before the quéenes iustices affirmed that himselfe being now in England was subiect to the pope in ecclesiasticall causes, and that the pope hath now the same authoritie here in England that he had an hundred yeares past, and which he hath now at Rome, with other traitorous spéeches: for the which he was condemned to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, and was executed accordinglie on the last of Julie. At the same sessions were brought from the Fléet, the Gatehouse, Newgate, and the Counters, sundrie prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to church; all which being conuicted by their owne confession, had iudgement according to the statute, to paie twentie pounds for euery moneth of such wilfull absence from the church. The first of Nouember, monsieur Francis duke of Anion, the French kings brother, and other nobles of France (hauing latelie arriued in Kent) came to London, and were honourablie receiued, and reteined at the court with banketting, and diuerse pleasant shewes and pastimes, of whome more hereafter in place conuenient.

Euerard Hance executed.

Crosse in Cheape defaced.

Thomas Butcher whipped and relieued.

Men arreigned for not comming to church.

Monsieur duke of Anion came into England.

On mondaie being the twentith of Nouember, Edmund Campion, Rafe Sherwin, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Cotebam, Henrie Orton, Robert Johnson, & James Bolgraue. All these before named persons were brought vnto the high barre at Westminster: where they were seuerallie, and altogither indicted vpon high treason, the sum whereof followeth in briefe as thus. That these persons, contrarie both to loue and dutie, forsoke their natiue countrie, to liue beyond the seas, vnder the popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuerse other places: where (the pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gratious princesse, and vtter subuersion of hir seat & kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable religion) these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the pope, to obeie him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent; yea vttermost furtherance they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent ouer to seduce the hearts of hir maiesties louing subiects, and to conspire and practise hir graces death, as much as in them laie, against a great daie, set and appointed, when the generall hauocke should be made, those onelie reserued that ioined with them. This laied to their charge, they boldlie and impudentlie denied. Whereupon a iurie was impanelled, their owne confessions, their owne writings, and credible witnesses *viua voce* produced to their faces, approuing them giltie of the former allegations, as hereafter followeth.

Ex libro cui titulus A discoueric of Edmund Campion dedicated to certeine Lords of the councell.

Edmund Campion with diuerse others arraigned of high treason. The forenamed parties iudgment.

After the indictment was read vnto them, and their answer, that it was beyond their power to proue them faultie in such matters, so stiffelie they stood in their apparant impudencie; first was moued to them sundrie treasons past, attempted against hir maiestie by those of their sect and disposition: yet notwithstanding the vttermost of their malice, how mightilie God had defended his chosen Elisabeth, returning their dealings to their owne destruction. Among sundrie these treasonable practises, which the pope, the ancient aduersarie to hir maiestie hath at diuerse times set abroch, the rebellion in the north may remaine as a witnesse of his excéeding malice and spite against hir grace and gouernement. Whereto let vs ad the bull sent ouer by John Felton, which traitorouslie he placed on the bishop of Londons gate: in which bull, the pope vtterlie excommunicated hir maiestie, she was an heretike, he had dispossessed hir of hir crowne and dominion, she was not the lawfull quéene of this realme, and hir subiects were not bound to obeie anie of hir laws or decrées; but they were all frée, and perfectlie discharged of their allegiance to hir, so that they might lawfullie, when time serued so conuenient for them, both stirre rebellion against hir, and also enter into armes against hir maiestie. The popes will in this hath bin put in execution, as through the ill demeanor of diuerse persons to him affected it was moued in the north, where mainteining themselues on the authoritie of the pope and his traitorous bull secretlie dispersed abrode, they entred into a plaine and manifest rebellion. The like was put in practise in Ireland through doctor Sanders and other traitors, who there ioined themselues togither vnder the popes standard, to bring to passe their secret appointment in this realme. Through their persuasions and dealings, the people were moued in the popes name to fight against their lawfull princesse vnder his banner; and to rebell against hir so notoriouslie as they might. The incouragement to this great disobedience they receiued through doctor Sanders a fugitiue and ranke traitor to his prince and countrie, as also through diuerse Iesuits both English and Irish, whose hypocriticall shew of holinesse and diuellish persuasions on the behalfe of the pope their maister and head, intised a multitude of the people there to change their profession in religion, and to yeeld themselues to the popes authoritie, whereby they should renounce the most certeine and iust title of hir maiestie: and when force forces should be assembled there, they to ioine with them in their intent, and so traitorouslie rebell against their lawfull souereigne. All these practises take their originall from the pope, as well by sending his secret messengers, as also by his traitorous bull, which being sent by Pius quintus, is neuertheless confirmed (in the former authoritie) by this pope Gregorie the thirteenth, and remaineth in hope to take effect at some time or other, for which he doth watch opportunitie as conuenientlie as he maie. But God the iust auenger of all causes, as he hath hitherto preserued hir maiestie & this litle Iland from all their malicious attempts and practises, and hath deseruedlie throwne the yoke of their shame on their owne necks: so will he no doubt continue his fatherlie care, that his children shall be preserued, & their aduersaries confounded.

The rebellion in the north, onlie through the popes meanes.

The sum of the popes bull which our Englishmen beyond the seas hold as their authoritie to rebell against hir maiestie.

Doctor Sanders his rebellion in Ireland, through whome the people were seduced to fight against their lawfull princesse.

This bull remaineth in his former force by this pope, onelie & toleration for the straitnesse to the subiects there in amended.

But

Traitors vnrelented.

Foure men whipt and set on the pillorie.

Bishop of Glocester deceassed.

The end why the said seminaries were sent ouer into England.

This

Campion desireth not to heare how these treasons toke their originall, and how from time to time they haue bene enterpised and confounded: wherefore to blind the peoples eies he maketh this counterfeit answer.

But saith Campion: What is this to vs here present? What apperteineth this to our indictment? We are here both seuerallie and all togither indicted of high treason; and for that that is obiected against vs we must answer. Let not other mens offenses be laid to our charge, that we should answer for other mens faults committed long since. Some of vs were then but nouices here in the vniuersities, and were altogither ignorant of these matters. What haue we to do with anie thing that they did? They that were offendors, let them answer to that you can lay against them. For vs that be here at this instant, you must either saie; Thou Campion didst this thing, or thou (naming some of the other) committedst this offense, and therupon bring your proofes and witnesses, otherwise you shall neuer be able to touch vs. As for these assertions, for the strength they haue against vs, I will not esteeme it worth a penniworth of pippins. And therefore to your indictment.

This answer so smoothlie deliuered, and with such coie lookes and protestation of action gested, that all the standers by gaue perfect notice of the man, both of his nature and disposition, as also of his prompt & ingenious wit, to shadow an absolute truth with a shew of great wisedome and learning. For this he knew right well, that before he came to that place, he had woone a maruellous goodlie report, to be such a man as his like was not to be found, either for life, learning, or anie other qualitie that might beautifie a man. So that by his fauorers and frends it was blowen abrode, that we had neither doctors, nor others that were worthie to enter disputation with him, he was so farre aboue them all, that they might not deale with him. Hereto do the great titles which they adorne him withall giue credit, saieng thus:

Ex libello cuiusdam famoso.

Quid? Campiano deerat doctrina perito,
Doctrinæ natus qui penetrale fuit:
Cui fuit in primis sponsata scientia cunis,
Quique puer nulli mente secundus erat:
Ingenuas iuuenis qui sedulus imbibit artes,
Virque videbatur vix habuisse parem, &c.

Now being brought vnto a publike triall, it stood him vpon to argue somewhat of the praise that had bene giuen him: wherefore in verie quaint and familiar eloquent gloses he stood vpon quirks and fine deuise of speech, thinking as he had deluded manie before, so at that present he might blind the eies of iustice, & acquite himselfe of his horrible treasons. But as truth sheweth most braue when she goeth bare & naked, and deceipt finest when he is cunninglie florished; euen so the pore habit of the one discouered the proud hart of the other, and confounded his boldnesse with hir sacred brightnesse, giuing all men to vnderstand, that *Veritas vincit omnia*. And bicause Campion would haue made such a cunning conueiance of the matter, as though it neither might or could attaint him or anie of them: it was giuen him to vnderstand, that they would not alone touch him in the sequele of the former causes, but them all, and he that thought himselfe the cléerest. Wherevpon doctor Sanders and doctor Bristow, their traitorous writings in defense of the popes bull exhibited against hir maiestie, were read vnto them, how they both allowed it, and also the rebellion in the north. Afterwards it was manifestlie proued to their faces, that Bristows booke in allowance thereof, named his Motiues, was especiallie commanded to be vsed amongest them both at Rome and at Rheimes, euerie one being expressie charged not to be without one of these bookes.

Doctor Sanders and doctor Bristows bookes were there read vnto them, wherin most traitorously they defended the rebellion against hir maiestie.

This with open mouths they altogither denied, some that they had neuer seene it, and some that they neuer heard of anie such commandement: when as John Hart one of their owne fellowes had auouched it, and therevnto subscribed. Besides, my selfe when * I came to Rheimes, saw them as common amongst them, as the litle catechisme here amongst children, the inequalitie of the number considered. Againe, at Rome they were as common likewise in the seminarie, and among the English men in the citie, for * my selfe had it, and one of doctor Allens catechismes deliuered me, with great charge to embrace it as my chiefe instruction. My companion that went with me had one likewise; the rest of the witnesses had seene how common they were, and in what reuerence and authoritie they esteemed them: yet these men would with shamelesse faces denie it; yea, and if they might haue bene credited, would haue sworne against it. This manifest reproofe they would not grant vnto, but Campion taketh vpon him to wrest it according vnto his humor, by answering that the booke was not so ill as they toke it for, nor deserued anie such iudgement of preiudice. Now he thought he could not be taken tardie, but supposed his argument to passe vnreprouable; for that in the new imprinting of this booke, such matters as did most sharplie touch them, were abridged, thinking none of the former bookes should come to light. But here Campion ouershot himselfe, for so slie an answer could not couer so foule a blemish. When they had notablie convicted them of these matters, which with obstinacie they still denied, they came to the intent of their secret comming ouer into this realme, which was for the death of hir maiestie, and ouerthrow of the whole realme, which should be by domesticall rebellion and forren hostilitie, the sum whereof in briefe is thus. This little Iland, God hauing so bountifullie bestowed his blessings vpon it, that except it proue false within it selfe, no treason whatsoeuer can preuaile against it, and the pope being hereof verie well persuaded, by reason that all his attempts haue proued of no effect: he hath found out a meane, whereby he assureth himselfe to spéed of his desire. Secret rebellion must be stirred here at home among our selues, the harts of the people must be obdurated against God and their prince; so that when a forren power shall on a sudden inuade this realme, the subiects thus seduced must ioine with these in armes, and so shall the pope atteine the sum of his wish. And all this must be wrought by certeine locusts of the popes seminaries maintened at Rome & Rheimes, arriuing in England, and dispersing themselues into such places, where they thinke themselues to be surest, some in one place, and some in another; and disguising themselues like gentlemen, seruingmen, or what apparell they may find meetest for them, haue accesse to manie and sundrie places, where hauing reconciled some, their frends must likewise be of the same stampe. And so, what from father to son, husband and wife, kinsman and acquaintance, a number are seduced & brought into their detestable dealings. For, after they haue gotten anie litle ground within them to build vpon, then do they laie vnto them, what a generall blondie daie is toward England, that the pope and other forren princes haue fullie determined to ouerrun the realme; then better it were for you (saie they) to yéeld your selues willinglie, than to see so horrible a slaughter, both of your princesse, and all that dare presume to take hir part. Your selues, yea and your frends shall abide the same hard iudgement, except you ioine with vs in this action. Thus through terrifieng, and a thousand traitorous scritches they haue; one friend bringeth another, and one kinsman another. So that, as they themselues will make their boast, in short time they doubt not to haue the most part of all England: yea and further they presume, that hir maiestie thinking hir selfe in most

* M. A.

They denied what one of their owne fellows had confessed, & subscribed to, as what euerie one of the witnesses knewe to be most certeine.

Campion answered this point subtilly, because in the last edition of the booke the chiefe matters against them selues were abridged.

The generall determination how to bring to passe their intents in this realme.

Their owne confession how they behaue themselues when they come into England.

safetie,

scribed. Besides, nes, saw them as le catechisme here f the number con- were as common ong the English- , and one of do- e, with great struction. My ne likewise; the ow common they authoritie they e- d with shameleſſe ght haue bæne ſo nſt it. This ma- t vnto, but Cam- ccoꝛding vnto his was not ſo ill as judgement of not be taken alſe vnpꝛepoſ- ng of this boke, ouch them, were ner bookes ſhould uerſhot himſelfe, uer ſo foule a ble- iced them of theſe ſtill denied, they mming ouer in- th of hir maieſ- , which ſhould hoſtilitie, the tle Iland, God s bleſſings vpon it ſelfe, no trea- f it, and the pope , by reaſon that effect: he hath ureth himſelfe to n muſt be ſtirred harts of the peo- d their pꝛince; udden inuade d muſt ioine ope atteine the be wꝛought by aries maintein- n England, and ces, where they e in one place, themſelues like parell they may to manie and d ſome, their mpe. And ſo, bife, kinſman ced & bꝛought after they haue n to build vpon, generall blondie pe and other foꝛ- to ouerrun the ie they) to yéld ſo hoꝛrible a all that dare ea and your nent, except thꝛough ter- es they haue; kinſman and es will make not to haue the urther they pꝛe- ir ſelfe in moſt ſafetie,

ſafetie, ſhall then be ſoneſt of all beguiled & deceiued. Campion coueth their cloming ouer, affirming it was for the ſafeguard of ſoules. These are the men that make themſelues ſo ſound and ſubſtantiall, that they are as true ſubiects to hir maieſtie, as the beſt of vs. Yea, ſaith Campion, neuer ſhall you pꝛoue this, that we came ouer either foꝛ this intent oꝛ purpoſe: but onelie foꝛ the ſauing of ſoules, which mære loue and conſcience compelled vs to doo, foꝛ that we did pittie the miſerable eſtate of our countrie. But where are your pꝛoofes (ſaith he) theſe are but quirkes by the waie, our liues I perceiue ſtandeth vpon points of rhetoꝛike, you haue ſhewen vs the antecedent, now let vs haue the *Ergo*. When he had no other ſhift, he fell into theſe words. With this continuall courſe of boldneſſe and impudencie, Campion and his fellowes would grant nothing, but ſtiflie denied euerie cauſe: and Campion he toke it foꝛ a cuſtome to wꝛeſt euerie thing as pleaſed him, ſaieng: that the iurie were not men learned, and therfoꝛe cauſes of conſcience ought not to be committed to them, neither was that barre appointed to define on cauſes of conſcience: wherfoꝛe, all that you doo (ſaith he) is but to bꝛing vs in *Odium* with the iurie. After this oꝛder he deluded the people, appealing ſtill to the deuoutneſſe of his conſcience: bicauſe he ſaw the matter bꝛought to the verie puſh that would generallie conuict them all, foꝛ the witneſſes were pꝛoduced and ſwoꝛne, Harts confeſſion and their owne wꝛitings befoꝛe them, ſo that they would remoue them from their oꝛdinarie illuſions.

The depoſition of G. Eliot. George Eliot, one of the oꝛdinarie yeomen of hir maieſties chamber, vpon his oth gaue foꝛth in euidence as followeth. That he, liuing here in England among certeine of that ſect, fell in acquaintance with one Paine a pꝛieſt: who gaue him to vnderſtand of a hoꝛrible treaſon intended againſt hir maieſtie and the ſtate, which he did expect ſhoꝛtlie to happen, the oꝛder how & after what manner in bꝛiefe is thus. That there ſhould be leuied a certeine companie of armed men, which on a ſudden ſhould enterpꝛiſe a moſt monſtruous attempt: a certeine companie of theſe armed men ſhould be pꝛepared againſt hir maieſtie, as manie againſt my L. of L. as manie gainſt my L. T. as manie againſt S. F. W. and diuerſe other, whoſe names he doth not well remember. The deaths of theſe noble perſonages ſhould be pꝛeſentlie fulfilled, and hir maieſtie vſed in ſuch ſoꝛt, as modeſtie noꝛ dutie will not ſuffer a ſubiect to rehearſe: but this ſhould be the generall crie euerie where, Quæne Marie, quæne Marie. It was alſo appointed and agréed vpon who ſhould haue this man of honours rome, and who ſhould haue that office, euerie thing was determined, there wanted nothing but the comming ouer of ſuch pꝛieſts and others, as were long loked foꝛ. Vpon this repoꝛt, this aforenamed George Eliot toke occaſion to queſtion with this Paine, how they could find in their hearts to attempt an act of ſo great and hoꝛrible crueltie, conſidering how high an offenſe it ſhould be to God, beſide great dangers might ariſe thereby. Whereto Paine made anſwer, that the killing hir maieſtie was no offenſe to God, noꝛ the vttermoſt crueltie they could vſe to hir, oꝛ anie that toke hir part, but that they might as lawfullie doo it as to a brute beaſt; and himſelfe would be one of the foꝛmoſt in execuring of this villanous and moſt traitoꝛous action.

By this you may perceiue, that the death of hir maieſtie and ouerthꝛow of this realme was thꝛoughlie agréed vpon, and fullie determined: there wanted nothing but oppoꝛtunitie, foꝛ pꝛieſts both then and after came ouer continuallie to further it; ſo much as in them laie. To the ſaid effect did A. M. vtter moſt odious matter, the reading whereof would make anie true Engliſh hart quake & tremble; and to wꝛite it, what loiall ſubiect is able to abide? And therefoꝛe as deriued from the diuell to his dearlings we omit the ſame; counting it moꝛe loialtie to lull ſuch deuiſes and conſultations aſleepe, than to publiſh them to the woꝛld in blacke & white: due reuerence to the pꝛincipall obiects alwaies reſerued. All which abhominable ſtuffe, circumſtances of times, places, perſons, and other particulars dulie pondered, giue euident demonſtration what affection theſe fellowes aſſoꝛd their lawfull quæne and countrie: well is he that can imagine moſt againſt hir maieſtie, and highlie is he eſteemed that beareth the moſt traitoꝛous hart to hir. Yet Campion and the reſt of his fellowes they plead ignoꝛance in all theſe cauſes, they bolſter vp one another with large pꝛoteſtations, railing woꝛds, and ſubtill ſurmiſes: affirming that they were not ſent hither foꝛ anie ſuch intent; which is as vntrue, as we know it foꝛ truth, that the Loꝛd God liueth in heauen. Campion noꝛ his fellowes will grant to anie thing, but raile and vſe bold ſpæches, whereby their guiltie conſciences were diſcouered. * M. A.

Foꝛ this ⋆ I am able to ſaie my ſelfe, that at diuerſe other times, it was whiſpered among them in the ſeminarie: that ſhoꝛtlie there ſhould be pꝛieſts apointed foꝛ England, to win the people againſt the apointed time, when as a great armie ſhould be readie to ioine with them: and Campion, who was then at Pꝛaga in Bohemia, he was ſpoken of amongſt them all, to be a rare and ſingular fellow, and therefoꝛe generallie was taken foꝛ a méet man to be ſent about ſuch a meſſage, ſo that they iudged that he ſhould be ſent foꝛ to be a chiefe man in this matter. Well (ſaith Campion) it may be they had ſuch an opinion of me, which in my ſelfe I find not to be deſerued; and it may be that I was appointed to be ſent into England, accoꝛding as thoſe other pꝛieſts were, foꝛ the ſauing of ſoules and benefit of my countrie: muſt it follow then that we are ſent to pꝛactiſe the death of the quæne, and to ſæke the ruine of our countrie? Alas, this is a hard caſe, and I deſire you of the iurie to marke it, foꝛ theſe are but ſhadowes without anie ſubſtance. This you are to note, that we which enter into that Bleſſed ſoꝛtetie of the Jeſuites: we doo as it were foꝛſake the woꝛld, bowing our ſelues to chaſtitie and ſincerittie of conſcience, to obeie our ſuperiours, and to be readie to go whither they ſhall apoint vs. If they ſend vs to the Indies, oꝛ to anie ſuch places, where the people haue not the true catholike faith: we are bound by dutie in conſcience to go whither they appoint vs. And ſhall it then be ſaid that we come foꝛ the deſtruction of the pꝛince and countrie, where we ſettle our ſelues? Alas, that were a hard caſe, foꝛ chriſtian charitie willeth vs to comfoꝛt one another, and if we can to get the ſhéepe into the fold which hath long run aſtraie. And when we heare confeſſion, we doo not perſuade them to anie diſobedience; foꝛ that is againſt the nature of confeſſion: God foꝛbid that we ſhould once thinke anie ſuch thing. Campion confeſſeth his traitoꝛous intents vnder the ſauing of ſoules. A holie kind of life were it not foꝛ the ꝛ. Note here the perfect image of hypocriſie.

Behold the ſubtill ſhifts that he found out ſtill to flie vnto, yea though the manifeſt diſpꝛoſe laie befoꝛe them, yet would he find ſome cauill oꝛ other: foꝛ not onelie the euidence of their generall determination beyond the ſeas was ſhewed them, but alſo the traitoꝛous articles were there read vnto them, which John Hart had copied out foꝛ doctoꝛ Allen (concerning the pꝛoceéding of theſe traitoꝛous cauſes, and foꝛ which he went purpoſelie to Rome to confer with the pope about) and ſubſcribed vnto, that they were certeine and true, as alſo their owne confeſſions and wꝛitings were laid open befoꝛe them, approuing them notablie guiltie of the matters aforeſaid, and yet in their lieng pamphlets ſcattered here & there in ſundꝛy hands, they haue faces of bꝛaſſe to repoꝛt, that when manifeſt pꝛoofes of their treaſons were laid befoꝛe them: they would in no wiſe grant their guiltineſſe.

Inſidiæ ſanctos implicuere viros.

Charles Sled, who ſometime ſerued maſter doctoꝛ Woꝛton in Rome, in whoſe houſe there was manie

matters determined, both by doctor Allen when he came to Rome, and diuers other doctors liuing there in the citie, as also diuerse of the seminarie: he likewise vnderstood of the prouision for the great daie, that it was generallie spoken of among the Englishmen: and to be more certeine he kept a iournall or booke of their dailie dealings, noting the daie, time, place, and persons present at their secret conferences, and verie much matter hath he iustified against them. One Cradocke a merchant, when he was in Rome, he vnderstood the aforesaid determination, and how that doctor Shelleie the English prior, who is a knight of the Rhodes, for that he somewhat spake against such crueltie to be vsed to his natiue countrie, was somewhat misliked of himselfe, and had almost beene turned out of his office. And this aforesaid Cradocke being in prison there for the space of twentie moneths and more: it was said to him, that he might account himselfe blessed of God that he was there, because he should not see the grieuous ruine of his natiue countrie. He that hath but halfe an eie may see how these matters concord and agree togither, and noting euerie thing as it lieth, may plainelie see their horrible and traitorous deuises.

Consider euerie matter and then iudge how they concord and agree togither.

And further, there was a little booke in Latine, which they themselues brought ouer with them, it was there openlie read vnto them: wherin was certeine rules and orders prescribed, how they should behaue themselues here in England, and how if they were demanded of anie thing, they should make answer indirectlie: or to take the word it selfe, according as it is mentioned in the booke, they must answer *Sophistice*, whereby is meant as thus. If they be examined as concerning their allegiance to hir maiestie, they will make their answer after this maner; She is our lawfull souereigne ladie & queene, and we obeie hir. But then obiect vnto them; Will you obeis hir, notwithstanding the popes excommunication, or anie thing that he commandeth to the contrarie? Then will they answer: We desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deepe into our consciences, we trust the pope will not command vs anie thing against hir: & a hundred such like slæueleslie answers they make, neuer agreeing to anie certeintie, but holding the pope in more reuerence than they do hir maiestie.

A booke which they vse as their instruction, how to answer to euerie question sophisticallie.

To dow their dutie is a weightie burden to their consciences, and therefore they abide in their obstinacie and blindnesse.

For this consideration they carrie with them, that if by their shew of humilitie, & their deuised order of craftie answering, they might mooue our magistrats to haue a good opinion of them; & not to deale so strictlie as law and their deserued doth worthlie merit: then they might with lesse suspect go about their holie fathers businesse, in that their sophisticall answers couered so foule an abuse. And then so manie as come after them, purposelie sent about the same affaires, seeing their passage made before them, and being schooled after the same maner: they might withdraw the hearts of a number of hir maiesties subiects, by such meanes as is before largelie expressed; so that destruction should come vpon vs, before we had discouered their trecherous dealings. But God be thanked, as all their deuises haue had their deserued successe, this sophisticall order hath sped alike with them for companie: and this let them fullie assure themselues, that what meanes soeuer they seeke against their princesse and countrie, God will reward them after their owne dealings.

Campion his owne answer as concerning his allegiance to hir maiestie.

To Campion himselfe the former questions were put forth at the barre: and this answer he made to them. She is my lawfull souereigne ladie & queene, and I do obeie hir. But when he was demanded, although the pope did expressedlie command him the contrarie: if he would neuertheles faithfullie obeie hir? Oh then! they must not so deepelie enter into his conscience, that barre was not a barre to define on causes of conscience: that question touched his conscience, wherefore he flatlie said he might not answer it. No, no, he knew full well that the traitorous affaires he came about, would not allow him such a direct answer as they had looked for, and gladlie would haue had, that of a Saule they might haue made him a Paule. Wherefore his secret and guilefull behauiour made perfect appearance of his wicked intent, which he shadowed vnder the counterfeit cloke of sauing soules, and reconciling his countriemen to the catholike faith, vnder the sweet bait of the amiable title of the societie of Iesus, to which order hauing bequeathed himselfe (and become a resolute and obstinate votarie) he thirsted after the kingdome of heauen; if we maie beleeue their owne report concerning Campion, of whome they saie:

Nominis inde tui sancto deuotus Iesu
Ille sodalitio cœlica regna sitit.

Here it can not be greatlie amisse, to rehearse vnto you the cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull, seeing this sophisticall kind of answering grew chieflie thereby. When ante of these secret messengers should be sent about their holie fathers determination here in England, to reconcile, shrine, & win hir maiesties subiects to their diuelish intent: if such misaduenture should happen to them, that their secret delings came to the eares of iustice, then they fell into the danger of law. Wherfore to shadow their subtiltie, and to prosecute the effect of their message, the pope thought good to harten them by this sophisticall addition. For well we know, & themselues likewise are not ignorant thereof, that being examined, if they should denie the queenes maiestie to be their supreme princesse and gouernesse in all causes: then they fell into condemnation by hir lawes. Against, if they denied the authoritie of the pope, as of force they must needs do, if they will esteeme themselues good subiects, and manifest a dutifull and obedient heart to hir maiestie: then they breake their vow made to the pope, and so fall into his cursse and condemnation likewise: so that this is certeinlie appointed them, to cleaue faithfullie to the one, and vtterlie to forsake the other.

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Yet that they might haue as much fauour and friendship, as the furtherance of such a cause required: this hard clause (being well scanned of diuerse our English doctors and others, both at Rome and at Rheimes) was thorough earnest sute deliuered to diuerse of the cardinals, who laieng their heads togither, and throughlie searching the bottome of euerie doubt: a toleration for that strict point was found out, which was ordeined as you haue heard before. Then in all the hast the pope was giuen to vnderstand thereof, who respecting what might be for his benefit, and what might turne to his discommoditie, authorised them this former toleration, which (God be thanked) carried as slender strength as the rest of his practises hath done. Yet all this being knowne to vs, Campion & his fellowes will grant no knowledge; but pleade still their deuout consciences. An other of their owne bookes was also there read vnto them, wherein was other orders prescribed them; how they should handle a nobleman, how a gentleman, and how a poore man: which being openlie read before them, gaue all there present to vnderstand, how assuredlie they had appointed the course for their treason. A number of inuincible proofs passing against them, they came at last to the point of their comming ouer, how suddenlie, how hastilie, & all thorough a generall appointment. Campion, he had staid a long time at Praga in Bohemia, and

Our English doctors conferring with the cardinals found out the meane for this toleration.

In other booke how to handle all manner of persons to win them to their intent.

Campion staieng for from Prage

and on a sudden he was hastilie sent for to Rome: by his owne confession he knew not wherefore, but the message was in such hast, that he must come thither with all speed.

They go with other priests appointed for England.

When he came to Rome, he staied there but fiue daies: in which time, receiuing the summe of their charge from the pope, as is their vsuall wont, and their father generall deliuering them what he hath in office: he was dispatched from thense with other preests, who had their *Viaticum* from the popes treasurie, and were all especiallie apointed for England. These preests were sent (as all other are) about the cheefe cause, for that none come from thense but onelie for that purpose. The effect of the cause before expressed, it is too manifest; that Campion and his fellowes are guiltie of the matters obiected against them. For this you are to remember, that none must staie there without they will be preests; when they receiue their preesthod, they enter into their oth, which oth conteineth the summe of the treason: so that all which come from thense (hauing taken that oth) come about the execution of the treason; in so that none but they that are especiallie sent, can haue their *Viaticum* of the pope; and then he sending them, the case is too euident.

The preists are there onelie maintained to this purpose, and none come from thense, but about this cause, which ouerth them altogither guiltie.

Let not a light iudgement passe ouer a matter of so great respect, let the popes intent of keeping them there be considered, the great malice and spite that he beareth hir maiestie and the relme, and then their oth to execute his commandements; all these laid togither, discouereth the depth of their trecherie. But what answereth maister Campion to this? He confesseth that he was quietlie setled at Praga, and little expected anie such hastie sending for: beside that, he went to Rome with great speed, tarrieng there no longer than fiue daies, as is before expressed, and that he receiued his *Viaticum* of the pope, when as he was dispatched thense with other preests, purposelie apointed for England, and that he came no otherwise than they did, nor for anie other intent than for the benefit of soules, as he still termed it: but he would not grant that he came for anie treason.

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Campion granteth, he came as the other preests did to reconcile thriue: but he will not allow that he came for anie treason.

So that to seduce hir maiesties subiects, to persuade them from their duetie and obedience, and to ioine themselues in such sort, as their princelie and countrie must be destroied thereby: this is no treason in his opinion. Howbeit, Campion and his fellowes pleaded ignorance still, they saw and would not see, they were so craftilie scholed. James Bolgraue, he was at Wilna in Polonia, and as he confessed himselfe, he vnderstood that there was preests apointed for England: vpon which report he came awaie from thense in verie great hast. And in his passage, he mentioned to one in the ship, who was sworne, and confessed the same before certeine iustices, that there was such matter towards in England, as hath beene before expressed: and thereupon he sought to haue wonne him, if his purpose could haue taken effect. Campion seeing this begun somewhat to touch the quicke, and that in truth it discouered the dealings of them all: he taketh vpon him to answer on his behalfe, for that they all reposed themselues on him.

Our English doctors conferring with the cardinals found out the meane for this toleration.

James Bolgraue, his hastie comming from Wilna, whe he heard that preests were appointed for England.

Campion frequenteth his accustomed order of subtill answering.

He saith, that if Bolgraue did heare such newes, that there were papists apointed for England, whie should they take hold vpon so small a cause? Flieng reports are not to be credited, for albeit he heard such newes, how knew he, if they were certeins or no? Againe (quoth he) the man hath beene long out of England, and he doth not speake English perfectlie: it maie be then that some word maie escape him vnawares, which you are not to build vpon, considering the defect of the man, for he maie peraduenture speake he knoweth not what. And where you saie, that such a one hath auouched before certeine iustices, that he died such and such words to him; where is the man, we are not to credit a written paper, what know we if it be true or no? Let vs heare him selfe saie so, and then we will beleeue it. See what a number of shifts he had continuallie to wall the time, and all to no purpose. The mans owne confession was there, wherto himselfe had subscribed, and foure or fiue iustices set their hands to it for the certeintie thereof; yet this was not sufficient to answer them.

Traitors will neuer beleeue anie truth, especiallie if it touch themselues.

Robert Johnson he was likewise at Auinion in France, from whense he came also in verie great hast, vpon the report he had heard of preests that were appointed for England. Now there is an other thing to be considered, that these men, setled where they were, by their owne confession they must not depart from thense without they be appointed by their superiors, then it is easie to be answered, that they came by their superiors apointment at this present: and as the generall determination was, so they came all for one cause & intent. Edward Rishton he being here in England, wrote a letter to Richardson a preest, and who is likewise condemned amongest them; which letter was there openlie read to his face. How there were foure goldsmiths of his occupation latelie come ouer, who indeed were preests, and how all things went successiuelie forwards. And Campion being in the Tower wrote a letter vnto Pownd likewise, wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that he was verie sorie, that through his frailtie he had betraied those, at whose houses he had beene so freendlie interteined; wherefore he asked God hartilie forgiuenesse, and them all whome he had so highlie offended. But (saith he) as for the cheefe matter that is as yet vnreuealed, and come racke come rope, neuer shall that be discouered. A number of matters more were brought against them, which to rehearse, would require a farre more large discourse: but to be briefe, in the end, this was the full and certeine issue. That these men, when they were beyond the seas: the generall agreement and determination amongest them, was to worke the death of our most gratious princesse, to destroie hir dominion, and to erect such as pleased them when this aforesaid date should take effect. And that their comming ouer, was to seduce hir louing subiects, to win their obedient hearts from hir, so that they should be in a readinesse to ioine with a forren power, and so they should likewise be destroiers of their princesse and countrie. And that in the meane while they themselues sought to accomplish hir maiesties death, so much as in them late.

Robert Johnson his coming from Auinion in France.

Edward Rishtons letter to Richardson one of the condemned.

Campions letter to maister Pownd in the Tower.

Campion was resolute in the cheefe matter.

This was manifestlie proued by verie large and ample euidence, credible witnesses, and their owne confessions and writings: whereon the iurie, hauing wiselie and discreetlie pondered and searched and seene into the depth of euerie cause, worthilie and deseruedlie gaue them vp all guiltie of the treasons whereof they were indicted and arreigned. Which being done, after a godlie and comfortable exhortation, persuading them patientlie to suffer and abide the death for them appointed, and to be heartilie sorie for their greeuous and hainous offenses, the sentence of death was pronounced on them; that they should depart to the places from whense they came, and from thense to be drawne on hordles to the place of execution, where they should be hanged till they were halfe dead: then to be cut downe, their priuie members to be cut off, and their entrailes taken forth, and to be burned in the fire before their eies: then their heads to be cut off, their bodies parted into foure quarters to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure, and the Lord God to receiue their soules to his mercie. Afterwards they were conueied from thense

Sentence of death denounced against Campion and his confederats.

with botes to a place of landing for them appointed, from whense they were conducted to the Tower of London, diuers of them giuing forth sundrie lewd and dishonest speeches: as Thomas Cotcham, seeing so manie people to behold them, desired that fire and brimstone might fall from heauen, to destroie both the citie and all that were in it: with diuerse other wicked words, which for modesties sake I omit here to rehearse, desiring God in mercie to giue men better grace.

On the next daie, being tuesdaie and the one and twentith daie of Nouember, there was brought to the said high barre these persons following; John Hart, Thomas Ford, William Filbie, Laurence Richardson, John Shert, Alexander Brian, and John Collington. Alexander Brian, he had shauen his crowne himselfe, & made him a crosse of a peece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openlie & praied to: which when he was rebuked for, he boldlie and stoutlie made answer; that his crowne was of his owne shauing, and he had good hope to do it againe. In breefe, they were all indicted on the selfe same treasons as they were the daie before; and John Harts traitorous sermon which he made at Rhems against hir maiestie auouched to his face, their owne writings and confessions with substantiall witnesse produced against them, so that they were found giltie of their treasons, as the other were before them, except John Collington, he was quit of the former high treason by the Iurie.

A verie holie thing, but verie meet for his deuotion.

On fridaie being the first of December, Edmund Campion Iesuit, Ralfe Sherwin, & Alexander Brian seminarie priests, being condemned for high treason against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for traitorous practises, touching the subuersion of the true & vndoubted religion here maintained, with the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of this realme of England, were drawne from the Tower of London on hurdles, to the place of execution appointed, garded with such a sufficient companie as might expresse the honor of iustice the larger in that behalfe. Being come to the place of execution, where diuerse of hir maiesties honorable councell, with manie honorable personages, and gentlemen of worship and good account, beside a multitude of people not here to be remembred attended their comming; Edmund Campion was first brought vp into the cart, where after the great rumor of so manie people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

Execution of Campion, Sherwin, and Brian.

First he began (the people then present expecting his confession) with a praise or two in Latine, when immediatlie after he fell into English in this maner. I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angelles, and of men, satisfieng my selfe to die as becommeth a true christian & catholike man. As for the treasons that haue beene laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for: I desire you all to beare witnesse with me, that thereof I am altogither innocent. Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the councell, that he might not seeme to denie th'obiections against him, hauing beene proued so manifestlie to his face, both by sufficient witnesse and euidence. Well my lord (quoth he) I am a catholike man, and a priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I do intend to die; and if you esteeme my religion treason, then of force I must grant vnto you, as for anie other treason I will not consent vnto. Then was he moued as concerning his traitorous and hainous offense to the queenes most excellent maiestie. Whereto he answered; She is my lawfull princesse and queene. There somwhat he drew in his words to himselfe, whereby was gathered, that somwhat he would haue gladlie spoken: but the great timiditie and

Campion in his confession implieth a defense of his innocencie.

vnstable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time euen to the death, would not suffer him to vtter it.

Here is with iudgement a deepe point and high matter to be considered, that this man alwaies directing the course of his life to a vaineglorious imagination, and alwaies couetous to make himselfe famous; at this instant made a perfect discourrie of himselfe. For being somewhat learned, all matters whatsoeuer (as you haue heard before) he bare away with a maiesticall countenance, the visor of vanitie aptlie fitting the face of onelie hypocrisie; what was sound he would make sophisticall, what was the infallible truth of it selfe he would carrie in his owne conceipt, and delude the people with a pleasant quirke, or some such stuffe, onlie to purchase him credit and affection. And he was not to learne to set a corragious countenance on euerie such slight reason, whereby he peruerted manie, deceiued more, and was thought such a champion, as the pope neuer had the like. But now behold the man, whom neither racke nor rope should alter, whose faith was such as he boasted inuincible: feare had caught hold on this braue boaster, and terror entred his thoughts, whereby was discouered his impudent dissimulations. Now let it with patience be moued a little, that the outward protestations of this man vrged some there present to teares, not entring into conceipt of his inward hypocrisie to make a plausible definition of this perillous deceiuer, not by coniecture, but by proofe it shall be thus answered.

Campion noted to be verie vaineglorious.

Campion described.

Edmund Campion, as it is by men of sufficient credit reported, at what time he spent his studie here in England both in the hospitall, and also at the vniuersitie of Oxford, was alwaies addicted to a maruellous suppose in himselfe of ripe iudgement, prompt audacitie, and cunning conueiance in his schole points: wherethrough he fell into a proud and vaineglorious iudgement, practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantasticall coniectures, that the ignorant he won by his smoth deuises, some other affecting his pleasant imaginations he charmed with subtiltie and choked with sophistrie. The learned, who beheld his practises and peremptorie order of life, pitieng his follie, and wishing him a more staied determination, lothed his maners; yet loued the man, because christian charitie willed them so to do. Now this glorious Thrasо hauing by his libels made himselfe famous, and vnder shew and suppose of great learning (though indeed being approued, found verie simple to the speeches giuen of him) subdued manie to affect him verie much, when he was taken he knew it stood him vpon, not to lose the credit openlie he had wone secretlie. Wherefore in his former ridiculous maner, both in prison, at his arreignment, yea and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the fondnesse of his treasons blemished euerie waie. Now indeed, as our English nation is both louing and pitifull: so manie seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through naturall kindnesse bemoned his case, wishing he had not fallen into so traitorous a cause. Then was moued to him againe his treasons and hainous offenses against the queenes maiestie, which impudentlie he still denied, seeming to vtter words on the behalfe of one Richardson, one likewise of the condemned traitors, taking on his conscience that it was not he. Which hath bin proued to the contrarie, for that it is knowne how this Richardson is he, who distributed Campions libels and bookes abrode: and when he was put to his oth, whether it was he or no, he refused to sweare on his behalfe. And because the world might be fullie resolued, that (notwithstanding

A further description of Edmund Campion.

The vnill practises of the Iesuits in Ireland.

The proceeding of iustice against Campion, &c. declared.

Campions curious care to keepe the credit he had wone in England.

Campion and his complices offense was ranke treason.

ding all the pretended & colourable meanes he could vse for his excuse and innocencie) he was to suffer death deseruedlie as a traitor, &c. There was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblie a pamphlet published by authoritie as followeth.

An aduertisement and defense for truth *against hir backebiters, and speciallie against* the whispering fauourers and colourers *of Campions and the rest of his confederats treasons.*

ALthough at the late arreignements at Westminster of Edmund Campion, & other his complices condemned there of sundrie high treasons, it was manifestlie declared and fullie prooued, how they all, vnder pretense of the names of Iesuits, seminarie priests, & other persons of like condition, had secretlie come into this realme, by sending of sundrie persons authorised by the pope, to moue the people by their secret persuasions to change their professions in the matter of religion, of long time quietlie established in this realme, and to be reconciled to the obedience of the pope, and withdrawen from their naturall allegiance due to the quænes maiestie, and by these meanes to be readie in their hearts and minds and otherwise prouided, to ioine their forces as well with such as their heads and superiors which sent them intended spedilie to procure to be sent into this relme, as with other rebellious subiects by them to be thereto also excited, of purpose to depriue hir maiestie of hir life, crowne, and dignitie; in like maner as latelie hath beene notoriouslie attempted and put in execution by doctor Sanders an arrant and detestable traitor, and whilest he liued one of the said Campions companions, and by other English and Irish Iesuits and traitors in Ireland, where they had first by their like secret meanes and persuasions, intised a great multitude of people of that land, first to change their profession of religion, and to acknowledge the popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of hir maiestie; & so departing from their allegiance, vpon the arriuall of forren forces they did enter into a manifest rebellion, against the which almightie God the iust auenger of rebels by his goodnesse hath giuen hir maiestie (through hir good ministers) power to the vanquishing, not onelie of those forren forces, but also of a great number of the rebels there. Yet it is maliciouslie, falselie, and traitorouslie by some of the secret fauourers of the said Campion, and other the said condemned traitors whispered in corners, that the offenses of these traitors were but for their secret attemptings as Iesuits, by exhorting and teaching; with shriuing, massing, and such like acts, to moue people to change their religion, & to yeld their obedience to the pope as Christs vicar (although the same be of themselues offenses verie heinous, and seeds of sedition not allowable by the laws of the realme) whereas in verie truth neuertheless it did manifestlie appere vpon their indictments, and at their arreignements, by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by manie good proofes and witnesses produced and sworne before their faces, that their facts whereof they were arreigned and condemned, were such as were in truth hie tresons committed against hir maiesties roiall person, and against the ancient lawes and statutes of this realme, which manie hundred yeres past were in force against like traitors, and not for facts of doctrine or religion, nor yet for offenses against anie late or new statutes, the same being manie conspiracies at sundrie times beyond the seas, at Rome in Italie and other places, and lastlie at Rheimes in France, where there are nourished by the popes authoritie in seminaries multitudes of English Iesuits, seminarie priests, and fugitiues, whereof their heads and gouernors vse continuallie in their sermons, and in their bookes publikelie printed, as traitors to declare their traitorous minds as far forth as they can, to the depriuation of the quænes maiestie of hir life and crowne: to which ends the said Campion and his said companions, by procurement of their said heads, came secretlie into this realme, to moue the subiects to renounce their naturall obedience; & according to a bull of the last pope Pius published to persuade all sorts with whom they durst secretlie deale, that hir maiestie by the said popes excommunication was not the lawfull quæne of the realme, nor that the subiects were bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or ministers: but that they were all free, and discharged of their obedience and allegiance, and that they might lawfullie, yea that when time might serue, they ought to take armes against hir maiestie, as in the late rebellion in the north was manifestlie by like meanes put in execution, and as now also latelie was notoriouslie attempted in Ireland, by stirring vp the people in the popes name, and vnder his standard to an open generall rebellion. And to haue brought these things to passe in this realme, was the comming into this realme of the said Campion and his complices most manifestlie tried and prooued; as if by Gods goodnes by their apprehensions, after their secret wandrings and disguisings of themselues in a great part of the shires of the realme, these traitors had not beene now staied, and by iust punishments ordered to be executed, there would haue appeared such mischiefe as is lamentable to be thought of; to the danger of hir maiesties person, and to the hazard and ruine of the whole realme by inuasion of the same with forren enimies, and by raising of inward warre within the realme; the end and euent whereof, as of warre ciuill, can not be without great greefe mentioned or imagined.

The true occasion of Campions & other of his stampe comming into England.

The cruell practises of the Iesuits in Ireland.

The proceeding of iustice against Campion, &c. defamed.

Campion and his complices offense was rank treason.

The sum and drift of pope Pius his seditious bull.

Much mischiefe preuented by the timelie attaching of Campion and his like.

And to the further reproofe and condemnation of the said Campion and other the traitours now condemned, they being all seuerallie and earnestlie required at the place of their arreignement to declare what they thought of the said popes bull (by which hir maiestie was in the popes intention depriued of the crowne) and of doctor Sanders, and of Bristowes traitorous writings in maintenance of the said bull, and allowance of the rebellion in the north, and of Sanders traitorous actions in Ireland; and being likewise demanded what they did thinke if the present pope should publish the like bull: none of them all, but one onelie named Ruthton, could be persuaded by anie their answers to shew in anie part their mislikings either of the former bull, or of doctor Sanders, or Bristowes traitorous writings or actions, or of the pope that now is, if he should now publish the like bull against hir maiestie; so as they did apparantlie shew their traitorous harts still fired to persist in their diuelish minds against their naturall allegiance: whereof God giue all good subiects, being true Englishmen borne, grace to beware, and in no sort to giue eare or succour to such pernicious traitors, howsoeuer they shall be couered with hypocrisie, & false and fained holines of Rome.

How the traitors stood optioned to the said factious bull, &c.

This aduertisement read and heard, the time by pitifull delaies began to passe awaie, in somuch that the executioner was now to fall to his charge: wherupon Campion was exhorted to praie with the people in English; naie, to doo so he was desired, howbeit he would not: but said his *Pater noster* in Latine, and desired all those of the household of faith to saie

one *Credo* for him. Manie indirect answers he made, as when he was moued to aske the queene forgiuenesse, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortlie he replied: You and I, weare not of one religion. After a few silent praiers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaie, & he committed to the merice of God. There he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords praier in English, beléeuing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saued him, and in the Holieghost that sanctified him: and according to the saieng of S. Augustine, desired Jesus, that he would be to him Jesus, as much to saie, as his sauiour and redéemer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a préest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were moued to him, he likewise did make denial thereof. He asked the queenes maiestie forgiuenesse, and desired that she might long liue and reigne ouer vs. Then was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had béene read to Campion, and after a few praiers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Brian seemed more obstinat and impious, using verie little signe of repentance and hartie humilitie: he vsed manie praiers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthie the rehearsall. Iustice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had béene before them.

Rafe Sherwins behauiour at his death.

Alexander Brians demeanour at his death.

¶ No sooner had iustice giuen the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offendors from the earth; but certeine enimies to the state politike and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falslie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent deuise, tending to the iustifieng of the malefactors innocencie, to the heinous and vnrecompensable defamation of the course of iustice and iudgement against them commensed and finished: in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitle them martyrs, saieng among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

Vna dies viuos pariter cæsósque videbat,
In cœlum missos vidit & vna dies:
Aeternisque breui gaudent pro morte coronis,
Hæc sunt martyribus dona parata pijs.
Fœlix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,
Martyrijs donans cœlica regna tribus:
Fœlix quæ sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,
*Quem cæcata odij fuderat ira * tui:*
Supremúmque manens fœlix constantia finem,
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.

Ex libello quodam famoso.

* Alludit ad Angliam.

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers brood their lieng reports, therein to the skies aduancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse; yea forging most monstruous fables, put them in print; as though God and nature had suffered violence to their vnappeaseable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinarilie sanctified, suffered so shamefull a death: in somuch that it was bruted abroad not by men, but brute beasts, that on the selfe same daie wheron Campion was executed, the riuer of Thams did neither ebb nor flow, but stood still. O miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth; this is certeine and vndoubted, that there was found a faultie about Campion a litle before his death, wherein authoritie was giuen him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirteenth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the queens maiesties subiects as heretiks, &c: and yet this man forsooth (albeit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with fowle mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.

Abr. Fl. *Ex concione apud crucem Paulinam per D. Sellar 6. Feb. 1586.*

But of this matter inough, & now to the processe of English accidents after this tragicall narration.]

Monsieur duke of Anion departeth out of England.

When the queene of England and the monsieur euen duke of Aniou vnderstood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Puyneaur (who had bene sent ouer a litle before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassador) what good will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walkeren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chiefest of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to dow him most humble seruice: and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Dhain & Junius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to see his highnes, for the present ratifieng of the former couenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was needfull that he should passe ouer with all speed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had bene declared oft afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassador to hir maiestie and his hignes: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolued by hir maiestie & his highnes, that the monsieur should depart. Whereupon the queene calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincolne was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admerals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to chose vessels meet for transporting of the monsieur & his traine, & to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was done with such diligence and speed, that the ships being readie with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the riuer of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes nere to the towne of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, & they also had left their traine in France, & some of the same lords were sent backe againe afterward by his commandement and for his seruice; the queene determined to giue him a companie & traine meet for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great & noble exploit. And therfore (as agreeing with hir highnesse hart) she commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir horses, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwike hir maiesties nere kinsman,

The queenes maiestie lodgeth at Rochester.

The queenes maiestie accompanied the monsieur to Canturburie where they & their traine parted.

——(cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
*Reginæ genetrix Henrici nobilis * vxor)*

* Nempe Anna Henrici VIII. soror, fœrentiss. reginæ Elisabethæ genetrix.

and the lord Howard the viceadmerall (of whom the first two were of hir priuie councell, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so litle time, to honour him withall: whereunto the said lords obeied verie willinglie. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windsore, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Awdleie second sonne to the late duke of Norffolke: master Philip Sidneie nephue to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Careie, and master John & Robert Careie all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; master William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Drurie, & sir George Bowser knights, and a great number of gentlemen; namelie, master Henrie Windsore brother to the lord Windsore, master

ſter Iohn Bozough bzother to the lozd Bozough, maſter Walter Ralegh, maſter Georze Carew, maſter Edward Hobbie, maſter Francis Darcie, maſter Michaell Stanhope, maſter William Knols maſter Francis Knolles, maſter Georze Digbie, maſter Thomas Vauaſor, maſter Anthonie Wildemaie, maſter Henrie Nowell, maſter Nicholas Gorges, maſter Michaell Harecourt, maſter Fulke Greuill: ſo as the whole traine that attended vpon the ſaid earle, was to the number of an hundzed gentlemen, and moze than thzee hundzed ſeruingmen. The lozd of Hunſdon had of gentlemen and others togither to the number of a hundzed and fiftie: and the lozd Howard had as manie; beſides manie moze, whereof diuerſe were hir maieſties ſeruants. The quæne determined to accompanie the monſieur to the ſea ſide, & yet neuertheleſſe commanded the ſaid lozds to kæpe their courſe, and to attend vpon his highneſſe to the ſaid place, with all maner of ſolemnities, interteinments, and feaſtings. He on the other ſide deſired and beſought hir maieſtie not to depart from London, as well for that the iournie would be painefull vnto hir; and for that he ſaw the weather faire and wind fauozable, and therefoze was loth to loſe anie occaſion of perfozming his voiage with all ſpæd. But he could not preuaile.

The queenes maieſtie lodgeth at Rochſter.

Wherevpon hir maieſtie toke hir iournie with hir whole court, the firſt daie of Febzuarie, & lodged that night at Rochester. The nert daie abiding ſtill at Rochester, hir maieſtie ſhewed him all hir great ſhips which were in that place, into moſt whereof his highneſſe and the prince and lozds of his traine entered, not without great admiration of the French lozds & gentlemen, who confeſſed that of good right the quæne of England was repozted to be ladie of the ſeas. Alſo he beheld how all thoſe ſhips were readie furniſhed and well appointed. And hir maieſtie told him that all thoſe veſſels & the furniture of them ſhould doo him ſeruice, when ſoeuer he would imploie them: for the which he moſt humblie thanked hir maieſtie, and ſo after all the great ordinance had bæne ſhot off, they returned for that daie againe to Rochester. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where dining both togither, the quæne was ſerued after the Engliſh manner by the greateſt ladies of hir court; and the monſieur after the French manner by the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentlemen dined afterwards togither. Then his highneſſe beſought hir maieſtie againe to go no further, declaring vnto hir that the faire weather paſſed awaie. But notwithſtanding his intreatance the quæne went on ſtill to Canturburie. At which place, after one daies tarriance, when ſhe had openlie feaſted all the French nobilitie, either part toke their leaue of other, not without great griefe and ſhew of verie great amitie, eſpeciallie betweene hir maieſtie and the monſieur. Which thing was perceiued alſo in the lozds and gentlemen of both nations, & likewiſe in the ladies, to all whome it was like griefe to depart after they had bæne conuerſant and had liued friendlie and bzotherlie togither by the ſpace of thzee moneths, without anie change oz alteration of good wilies. But the honoz which inforced his highneſſe, aſſwaged his griefe, and made him to prozceed on his iournie with the ſaid prince and lozds of both nations.

The queenes maieſtie accompanied the monſieur to Canturburie where they & their traine paſſed.

The firſt daie of the ſame moneth, whereas he was determined to haue taken ſhip, he was counſelled to lodge that night at Sandwich, bicauſe the wind was ſomewhat changed. Howbeit, ſome of the Engliſh gentlemen, namelie maſter Killegreie, maſter Diar and diuerſe others, to eſchew thzonging at their imbarking went to Douer, and there taking ſhip the ſame night laie a while at anchoz, and ſomwhat after midnight ſailed awaie with certeine other veſſels. The ſeuenth daie in the mozning about nine of the clocke, his highneſſe toke the ſea in thzee great ſhips of war. In the greateſt of them named the Diſcouerer, ſailed the monſieur himſelfe with the erle of Leiceſter, and the lozd Howard the viceadmerall; in the ſecond called the Sentinell went the prince Dolphin; and in the third was the countie of Louall, and the lozd of Hunſdon. Now as his highneſſe was yet at anchoz, there came a poſt from a lozd of England, who bzought him wozd that the ſtates of the low countries were reuolted, and namelie the citie of Antwerpe, and therefoze he praied him not to depart vntill he had moze certeine newes. Notwithſtanding this, his highneſſe determined to depart, and ſo ſailed awaie with fiftæne ſhips: and he had ſo faire weather (which continued euen vntill after his entering into Antwerpe, and his feaſting and ſolemne interteinement there) that the heauen, the winds, the ſea, and the earth ſæmed all to fauour his voiage, and to further the gladneſſe which the people ſhewed in receiuing him with ſo great good will.

The prince of Orange taketh order for the interteinment of the monſieur.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, ſæing the time fit, departed from Middleborough, where he had taried the monſieurs comming ſix wæks and moze, and came to Flushing to take ozder for all things that were requiſit for the honozable and commodious interteinement of ſo great a prince. At the which place, vnderſtanding by the letters of the ſaid lozds ambaſſadours and others, that the monſieur was departed from London and come to Canturburie; and therefoze thinking it would not be long yer he arriued there: he diſpatched monſieur Treſlon his viceadmerall of Zeland, with a litle pinneſſe called the Chaſe, to go befoze to mæt the monſieur: commanding him that as ſoone as he had diſcouered his flæt, he ſhould giue him a watchwozd thereof by the ſhot of two cannons. Monſieur Treſlon hauing about noonetide diſcouered the ſhips that were parted from Douer, and thinking that they had bæne the great flæt, gaue his watchwozd, which was the cauſe that a certeine veſſell went fozth to the ſea to mæt his highneſſe; but anon after perceiuing his errour, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the flæt of Douer arriued. Then monſieur Treſlon going fozth, found the monſieur and the great flæt betweene Newport and Dunkirke: where after ſalutation giuen and taken on either ſide, the monſieur ſtanding vpon the hatches of his ſhip, eſpied his owne ſecretarie named Nephue ſtanding likewiſe vpon the hatches of the Chaſe; to whome he ſent his ſhipbote, commanding him to come abozd to him, which thing he did, and there aduertiſed the monſieur that as concerning the reuolting of the ſtates there was no ſuch matter, but that all things went verie well, & that his highneſſe was waited for with great longing. That daie, by reaſon the wind was turned nozthealt, they could go no further, but were faine to caſt anchoz ouer againſt a place called Oſtend, where they paſſed that night, waiting for the tide the nert mozning. His ſhips were perceiued by them of Flushing, where after midnight arriued the lozd of S. Aldegond, who aſſured the prince of Orange, that the nert mozning the monſieur would arriue there with the tide. Wherevpon the prince of Orange and the prince of Eſpinoie with a great number of gentlemen toke the ſea the nert mozning: but bicauſe the tide was againſt them, and on the other part the monſieur hauing a ſide wind with him was conſtreined to haſt to the land. By meanes whereof the prince, being not able to come abozd to him with his ſhip, was faine to turne ſaile backe againe to Flushing, where the prince Dolphin had taken land alreadie & ſought euerie where for the prince his bzother.

Nephue the monſieurs ſecretarie.

The lord of S. Aldegond, the prince of Orange and the prince of Eſpinoie, &c.

When

the princes and lords had not their horſſes there) to go through with his ſomie on foot, and ſo entred into the citie of Middleborough in this order. Firſt went the magiſtrates of the citie with their vnder officers and miniſters of iuſtice. Next them the deputies of the ſtates of Zeland. After them followed diuerſe gentlemen of all the three nations, with the deputies of the cities of Brabant, and of the foure members of Flanders. Then marched the Swiſſers after their accuſtomed faſhion; in whoſe traine were a great ſort of noblemen and alſo gentlemen, of whome the moſt part were Engliſhmen of the retinue of the three lords ſent thither by the queene. Behind them inſued as it were in one troope togither, the prince Dolphin, the earle of Leiceſter, the prince of Eſpinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunſdon, the lord Howard, and the reſt of the lords. Then came the monſieur himſelfe, hauing on his left hand ſomewhat more than halfe a pace beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whome he alwaies aſked ſome queſtion. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange; and laſt of all the ſir enſignes that ſtood in battell raie without the citie, and ten others which had marſhalled the ſtreets vnto the market place, where all the reſt of the citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the ſtreets from the gate to the monſieurs lodging, there were railes, and at euerie tenth pace on either ſide were burning creſſets. And ſo his highneſſe and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, paſſed on, marueiled to ſee ſo goodlie a citie in ſo little an Ile, and ſo neere to three other good towns, not diſtant one from another aboue one league. But moſt of all they wondered at the beautie of the marketſted, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnes lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furniſhed, conſidering the ſmall reſpit that the inhabitants had, ſo as he was verie well and commodiouſlie lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was paſſed in feaſting, in making of bonfires in the ſtreets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and ſteeples, and in ſounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelue deputies of the foure members of Flanders ſpeaking to his highneſſe by the mouth of monſieur Taiard the recorder of Gant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had beene of the firſt that had ſent vnto him, ſo they hoped to be of the firſt that ſhould yeeld all humble ſeruice and ſubiection vnto him. Wherevnto his highneſſe anſwered verie diſcreetlie, as his cuſtome was. He paſſed the reſt of the time in plaieng at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

The thirteenth daie he had a ſolemne feaſt made him in the townehall, where his highneſſe commanded the tables to be prepared of purpoſe, that he might haue the companie of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leiceſter, the prince of Eſpinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunſdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded & honored euerie where, both in reſpect of hir maieſtie which ſent them, and alſo for the worthines of their perſons. The feaſt was excellentlie well furniſhed of all things, & ſpeciallie of paſtrie worke & other deuiſes of ſugar; inſomuch that both the Frenchmen and Engliſhmen confeſſed, that they had not beene wont to ſee ſuch manner of ſeruices in their countries. The fourteenth daie the prince of Orange would needs go ſee the putting of the ſhips in a readineſſe, which ſhould carrie the monſieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the foreland of Middleborough. Whereof the monſieur hearing would needs go with him. On thurſdaie the fifteenth of that moneth, his highneſſe went to ſee the towne of Ermwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderſtanding that the Engliſh lords were gone to ſee the towne of Vere, (called by ſtrangers Camfer by reſon of the paſſage that was ſometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he alſo toke bote and went thither, where all the companie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithſtanding that they were taken vnprouided. The fiftéenth daie his highneſſe was determined to haue taken ſhip, but there aroſe ſo great a ſtorme, that the mariners counſelled him to forbeare the ſea for that daie: by reaſon whereof his imbarking was deferred till the next morow, at which time his highneſſe with all his traine ſailed awaie. He himſelfe was caried in a ſhip painted all ouer with his owne colours beſet with a number of flags and penſils of the armes of Anion. The reſt due had their accuſtomed flags ſo greatlie feared of the Spaniards, belaied with the colours of the princes of Orange. This fleet came that daie againſt Beerland in the Ile of ſouth Beueland, where they caſt anchor and ſpent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Liſſo, after manie ſhot of ordinance from the fort and from the ſhips of warre which accompanied his highneſſe, they did caſt anchor againe. He himſelfe went aland, and laie that night in the captens lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Liſſo is builded a three leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or cauſete in the parith of Liſſo. The place is ſo commodious, that with a muſket a man may eaſilie ſhot from the one banke of the riuer Skeld to the other; and by reaſon that the ſtreame of the riuer and the tide of the ſea, which paſſeth that waie twiſe a daie, doo make it crooked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatlie hinder and annoie the ſailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduiſe and platforme laid forth by the prince of Orange, beſtowed great coſt in fortifieng that place, which hath a great tower with great bulworks rampires, and ditches, and is ſo well ſtrengthned and flanked to the purpoſe, and hath the water ſo at commandement, that as now it is not to be woone by anie force. The next daie being mondaie, the nineteenth daie of Februarie, his highneſſe departed thenſe to make his entrie into the renowmed citie of Antwerpe.

The monſieur goeth to ſee the towne of Ermwiden.

The monſieurs ſhips painted with his owne colours.

The fort of Liſſo.

The monſieur preparеth to make his entrie into Antwerpe.

The roiall interteinement of the right high and mightie prince, *Francis the French* kings onelie brother, by the grace of God *duke of Brabant, Aniou, Alanſon,* Berrie, &c, into the citie of *Antwerpe.*

IN all great and ſtatelie ſhewes and aſſemblies, they that are the authors and ſetters forth of them, indeuour to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the ſight of thoſe whome they intend to honour, and of thoſe which reſort thither from ſtrange places, to delight themſelues with the beholding of them. The antient hiſtoriographers deſcribe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and ſtatelie interteinements of emperours, kings, and great captens, and they forget not to put into their writings the great coſtlinelle and charges, and whatſoeuer elſe was ſet forth to the ſhew, to content the eies of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, ſiluer, pretious ſtones, tapiſtrie, cloth of ſilke, fine linnen, diuerſities of veſſels, nor varietie of paintings were ſpared, but all ſuch things haue inriched thoſe ſhewes: yet notwithſtanding,

English lords and their retinues.

Their waies to Middleborough.

The monſieur is met going to Middleborough.

The deputies of the ſtates of the earledome of Zeland.

The monſieur would doo as the companie did.

The monſieur Taiard recorder of Gant.

Burning tides on the ſide.

A ſolemne feaſt held in the townehall.

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the princes and lords had not their horsses there) to go through with his traine on foot, and so entred into the citie of Middleborough in this order. First went the magistrates of the citie with their vnder officers and ministers of iustice. Next them the deputies of the states of Zeland. After them followed diuerse gentlemen of all the three nations, with the deputies of the cities of Brabant, and of the foure members of Flanders. Then marched the Swissers after their accustomed fashion; in whose traine were a great sort of noblemen and also gentlemen, of whome the most part were Englishmen of the retinue of the monsieur himselfe, hauing on his left hand somewhat more than halfe a pase beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whome he alwaies asked some question. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange; and last of all the six ensigns that stood in battell raie without the citie, and ten others which had marshalled the streets vnto the market place, where all the rest of the citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the streets from the gate to the monsieurs lodging, there were railes, and at euerie tenth pase on either side were burning cressets. And so his highnesse and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, passed on, marueiled to see so goodlie a citie in so little an Ile, and so neere to three other good townes, not distant one from another aboue one league. But most of all they wondered at the beautie of the marketsted, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnes lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furnished, considering the small respit that the inhabitants had, so as he was verie well and commodiouslie lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was passed in feasting, in making of bonfires in the streets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and steeples, and in sounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelue deputies of the foure members of Flanders speaking to his highnesse by the mouth of monsieur Taiard the recorder of Gant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had beene of the first that had sent vnto him, so they hoped to be of the first that should yeeld all humble seruice and subiection vnto him. Whereunto his highnesse answered verie discretlie, as his custome was. He passed the rest of the time in plaieng at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

The thirteenth daie he had a solemne feast made him in the townehall, where his highnesse commanded the tables to be prepared of purpose, that he might haue the companie of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded & honored euerie where, both in respect of hir maiestie which sent them, and also for the worthines of their persons. The feast was excellentlie well furnished of all things, & speciallie of tailentlie well furnished of all things, & speciallie of tailpitrie worke & other deuises of sugar; insomuch that both the Frenchmen and Englishmen confessed, that they had not beene wont to see such manner of seruices in their countries. The fourteenth daie the prince of Orange would needs go see the putting of the ships in a readinesse, which should carrie the monsieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the forelland of Middleborough. Whereof the monsieur hearing would needs go with him. On thursdaie the fif-

The monsieur goeth to see the towne of Ermwiden.

teenth of that moneth, his highnesse went to see the towne of Ermwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderstanding that the English lords were gone to see the towne of Vere, (called by strangers Camfer by reason of the passage that was sometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he also toke boate and went thither, where all the companie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithstanding that they were taken vnprouided. The fifteenth daie his highnesse was determined to haue taken ship, but there arose so great a storme, that the mariners counselled him to forbeare the sea for that daie; by reason whereof his imbarking was deferred till the next morrow, at which time his highnesse with all his traine sailed awaie. He himselfe was caried in a ship painted all ouer with his owne colours beset with a number of flags and pensils of the armes of Anion. The residue had their accustomed flags so greatlie feared of the Spaniards, belaied with the colours of the princes of Orange. This fleet came that daie against Beerland in the Ile of south Beueland, where they cast ancher and spent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Lisso, after manie shot of ordinance from the fort and from the ships of warre which accompanied his highnesse, they did cast ancher againe. He himselfe went aland, and laie that night in the capteins lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Lisso is builded a three leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or causete in the parish of Lisso. The place is so commodious, that with a musket a man may easilie shot from the one banke of the riuer Skeld to the other; and by reason that the streame of the riuer and the tide of the sea, which passeth that waie twise a daie, do make it crooked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatlie hinder and annoie the sailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduise and platforme laid forth by the prince of Orange, bestowed great cost in fortifieng that place, which hath a great tower with great bulworks rampires, and ditches, and is so well strengthned and flanked to the purpose, and hath the water so at commandement, that as now it is not to be woone by anie force. The next daie being mondaie, the nineteenth daie of Februarie, his highnesse departed thense to make his entrie into the renowmed citie of Antwerpe.

The monsieur prepareth to make his entrie into Antwerpe.

The roiall interteinement of the right high and mightie prince, Francis the French kings onelie brother, by the grace of God duke of Brabant, Aniou, Alanson, Berrie, &c, into the citie of Antwerpe.

AMe all great and stately shewes and assemblies, they that are the authors and setters forth of them, indeuour to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the sight of those whome they intend to honour, and of those which resort thither from strange places, to delight themselues with the beholding of them. The ancient historiographers describe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and stately interteinements of emperours, kings, and great capteins, and they forget not to put into their writings the great costlinesse and charges, and whatsoeuer else was set forth to the shew, to content the eies of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, siluer, pretious stones, tapistrie, cloth of silke, fine linnen, diuersities of vessels, nor varietie of paintings were spared, but all such things haue inriched those shewes: yet notwithstanding,

his highnesse answered
vnto all the residue, to
ment of all that stood by.
d a while with the mon-
itie: and then taking
ces and lords of both
n to see how they fa-
y should want nothing,
the towne of Flushing
st) could extend, where
hat all were well lodged
g that aboue fiue hun-
lish lords were come a-
r none was spent in fea-
fires, in fireworks, in
u all maner of tokens
d vniuersallie for the
Also the foure mem-
by the counsell of the
present themselues vn-

English lords and their retinues.

perceiuing that the mon-
next daie to Middlebo-
were three waies, the one
kins, to enter in at the
ough by the bout of the
ittle chanell through the
t ships in a readinesse
eat sort of boates to go
ghnesse could not ior-
backe by reason of the
nelie one causeie where-
lie on foot. The monsieur
e time, for indeed it was
derstanding that the waie
league in length, vnder-
did all the rest of the prin-
as well of the same coun-
land. A great sort of the
lodged alredie at Mid-
, speciallie his gard of
A good waie out of the
iddleborough came to
t a third part of the waie,
tion to him, told him of
which all the people had of
people of Middleborough
t themselues greatlie ho-
hsafed to come to their ci-
e vnto him. His gard al-
, & then began the Swis-
der, striking vp their
orecouer, six companies
d well araied stood im-
, who kept their place till
d then they followed after

Three waies to Middleborough.

The monsieur is met going to Middleborough.

The monsieur taketh recorder of Gant.

ates of the earledome of
ning at the towne gate;
adnesse which they conce-
successe which his highnes
ace in France, and in res-
ie by his armie and in
passing into England,
n vpon him for none o-
erance of the affaires of
ie for that hauing put his
passage, he was now hap-
most humblie thanking his
what hope they had conce-
herewithall offering right
duetie required. At the en-
ght him a course of Ma-
with himselfe (seeing that
the

The deputies of the states of the earledome of Zeland.

The monsieur would do as the companie did.

The finest shew that can be made what it is.

ding, there is not anie thing that hath yelded greater grace, beautie, and contentment to such assemblies, than the multitude and brightnesse of armorie and of things perteining to martiall affaires, as engines, artillerie, and shewes of cities and castels beaten downe or taken by force from the enimies. And therefore in the Romane empire (which excelled all the other not onlie in conquests, martiall discipline, and politike order of government, but also in sumptuousnes and royaltie) although infinit numbers of publike games and exercises were exhibited by them being the greatest lords of the world, who not onelie spared not anie thing that was in their owne power, but also made the cities and countries, which were anie waie bound vnto them, to send vnto them whatsoeuer rare and exquisit things they could come by, to serue their turnes in the shewes which they exhibited to the people: yet notwithstanding their triumphes haue so borne the bell aboue all the rest, that the word triumphing which commeth thereof, hath beene applied to all high, great, and statelie doings.

The triumphs of the Romans excelled all their other shewes.

Not that in their other shewes anie thing was spared, which might content the eies euen of couetous folke, or satisfie the bloudthirstie harts of such as take no pleasure but to behold the sheading of bloud, yea oftentimes of mans bloud before their eies: but in their triumphings nothing was so glorious as the armorie and personages of the great captaines that had beene conquerors, which thing contented the beholders far more without all comparison. And therefore when men intend to betoken the exceeding huge greatnesse of Rome, they terme it the triumphant Rome, which importeth as much as the rich, wealthie, and glorious Rome, replenished with great numbers of noble capteines, and valiant souldiors. And this terme is come of the great numbers of triumphs, which were seene there in the times of the Scipios, Paules, Claudies, Metelles, Pompeis, Cesars, and others. True it is that the other shewes also were verie glorious and beautifull to behold, and did (I wote not how) tickle the harts of such as were fed with the beholding of their riches and of the infinite numbers of lions, tigres, panthers, beares, and swordplaiers incountring one another to the death: but yet the beholding of a goodlie companie of men armed in goodlie armour, marching in good order (besides the contenting of the sight, which is far better than to see riches) doth also wonderfullie rauish mens minds, and driue the beholder into an astonishment, setting him after a sort besides himselfe; and yet neuertheless filling him with a ioy and contentation surmounting all others. For as in the pleasures of the bodie, those seene greatest which do most alter the senses with their pleasantnes: so fares it also with the delights of the mind, which become so much the greater, when admiration being matched with them, doth also moreouer rauish the vnderstanding, and set a man as it were out of his wits. And therefore when great personages (who can better iudge of matters than plaine simple folke can) do make discourse of things that are beautifull and desireable to behold: they speake of gold, siluer, pretious stones, pictures, vessels, tablets, and diuers other exquisit iewels: but yet they passe ouer those things & stand not vpon them. But when they come to talke of faire armour, good horses, and such other things as belong to knighthod and chiualrie: then they make such tariance vpon them, as they hold it for a thing fullie agreed vpon & granted, that in beautie and glorie nothing is comparable to a goodlie armie.

Other shews of the Romãs verie gallant.

A comparison betweene the pleasures of the bodie and delights of the mind.

A question vndecided touching gallant

Onelie this matter remaineth still in question vndecided; namelie, whether is the pleasanter sight, to see three or foure great battels of footmen well appointed in bright armour, well flanked with small and great shot, and with their great ordinance before them: or to see as manie squadrons of horsemen, or else two or three hundred ships furnished with their flags and banners, and ranged in order as if they were readie to giue battell. But as for the rest of all goodlie things, all men are fullie agreed that they come nothing neere to anie of those three, and much lesse do them all three together, if a man might behold them all at once: as it is reported that at one instant a man might haue seene the great armie of Xerres both footmen and horsemen ranged in battell raie: and also the two fleets of the Persians and of the Grecians fighting vpon the sea by Salamine, where by the wisedome and valiantnesse of Themistocles, the Grecians got that famous victorie of the Persians. In mine opinion that is the cause why the glad receiuing and ioifull entering of Francis duke of Brabant into the citie of Antwerpe seemed so goodlie and roiall to all such as saw it: in somuch that there hath not beene anie of them which hath not confessed that he neuer saw the like. And yet were there verie manie present at it, as well of the same countrie as of strangers, which haue seene manie statelie and roiall meetings, both in the same citie and in other cities of the low countries, and also in other great cities of other countries, as Paris, London, Rome, and Lions: and yet neuertheles the common voice is, that this last hath passed all the rest. And truelie the citie had no more but six daies respit to prepare for it, as I said before: in somuch that they could not put to making anie worke of silke, nor of gold and siluer beaten or wouen, nor anie imbrodrie: no nor in so short time make anie meane apparell new, nor anie rare costlinesse of imageries, pilers, triumphall arches, or other pageants: but were constreined to make a shift with such things as they had in a readinesse afore hand of their owne store.

The nobilitie that Antwerpe had to prouide for the triumphant shew.

In other interteinments there haue in deed beene seene great plentie of riches and roialties in attires of kings and queenes, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, citizens and their wiues; but in this interteinment no such were seene: howbeit there was not anie grosenesse, nor ought that might not well beseeme the neatnesse and finenesse of that people, although it came nothing neere the sumptuousnesse of other interteinements. As touching triumphall arches, chariots, portraitures, and such other shewes; although there were manie wittie inuentions and agreeable to the time: yet haue men seene of them in other places, which might match these. And as touching the number of their people, although it was great: yet it is well knowen that Paris exceedeth them in that behalfe. But the onelie reason of this contentment commeth cheeflie of the great number of people in armour, being not fewer than twentie thousand, in so good and so faire armour: and of their order and obedience, and of the small noise which all that huge multitude made: in somuch that if it had not beene for the thundering of the canons, and the sounding of trumpets, clarions, hautboies, and other instruments, there was no more noise than is among a councell of graue men. That then was in mine opinion the onlie verie cause, which was greatlie furthered by their beholding of the monsieur of Brabant, who representing the statelinesse of old time, was clothed in a large mantell, with the bonnet of his dukedome vpon his head: so that among that great number of people (which were so well armed, that three of the best cities in christendome could not shew so manie faire armors of their owne) his highnesse resembled a pretious stone or iewell set in fine gold. And bicause that they which were the beholders thereof (for they could not be euerie where,

Paris for multitude of people passeth.

Monsieur of Brabant his attire and habit.

nor

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nor see euerie thing) will be verie glad to vnderstand of the things that so escaped them, and delight their minds now with the remembrance of the things which they saw before, as they delighted their eies and minds with the beholding of them that daie: and strange nations, to whom the fame of that so renowmed daies worke is come, will take pleasure to vnderstand the same, where of they could not be beholders. Therefore is this booke set forth, for the satisfieing of all men, and also to make it knowen to a number of men (who partlie for enimitie, partlie for enuie, and partlie for other surmises and mistrusts will not beleeue it) with what mind and affection the prince of Orange, and the other lords and noblemen of Brabant, the good cities, and the small townes, and namelie the most renowmed citie of Antwerp, haue received their new prince and soueregine lord.

The nineteenth daie of the foresaid moneth in the forenoone, the monsieur the duke of Anion departed from Lisle and sailed towards Antwerpe, hauing in his companie but twentie ships, for the rest had gotten to Antwerpe afore, as well to put themselues in a readinesse as for other affaires. And he came about eight of the clocke nigh to the new towne, and passing along by the townes side, left the foreland of Flanders on his right hand and the towne on his left, and passed beyond all the towne and the place where the castell was. By the waie he heard all the canons shot off from that part of the towne which faceth the riuer, & from a great number of ships which rode at anchor there: and he saw all the wharfes furnished with men of warre of the citie, well armed, who welcommed him with their shot, and were answered againe by the ships of warre that accompanied him, conducted by monsieur de Treslon and the viceadmerals, and diuerse capteins of Flushing. And so the first fot that he did set on land in Brabant, was at a village called Kiell, which is at the canon wharfe at Antwerpe. The states of Brabant, the magistrates of the citie, and diuers other states, comming in like order on horsebacke to the same place with their trumpets, sergeants and heralds, apparelled in cotes of the armes of Lothier, Brabant, and Limbosough, alighted there, and waited on fot at the wharfe to receiue his highnesse, and to shew him the good will and affection of the states and people. But the preasse of people was so great, which resorted thither to see the prince, whome they longed for to be their duke; and againe there were so manie impediments in his landing; that it was found better for them by the aduise of the prince of Orange to returne backe, and to tarie for his highnesse vpon a theater which was prepared for him.

This theater was set vp towards a corner of the castell, and opened towards the citie, to as his highnesse being there, might at one time view both the citie and the castell, and behold the countercastles: the deepe ditches full of faire water cleere to the verie bottome of the castell, inclosed on either side with hewne stone: the great and faire buildings, the goodlie walles, beautifull to looke on and verie thicke: and the broad rampires garnished with trees planted by hand, that it resembled a little forrest. The monsieur was brought vp to this theater accompanied with the prince Dolphin the onelie sonne of the duke of Montpansier: the earle of Leycester, and other English lords representing the queene of England: the princes of Orange and Espinoie, the countie de Lallall, the other English lords, the countie de Chateaurour, and a great nor of the barons, lords and gentlemen, besides the chiefe magistrats and maisters of the companies of the citie of Antwerpe.

The lords of the state of Brabant waiting vpon the theater, came hastilie downe to go and meet his highnesse: which thing he perceiuing, did stand still. When the prince of Orange stepped forth to take his place among the states, as one of the chiefe lords and barons of the duchie of Brabant. As soone as they had saluted his highnesse, and with great humblenesse kissed his hand, they mounted vp the steps againe with him, after whome followed the princes and lords of France and of England: and when they were come vp aboue, they ranged themselues on either side. There was set for the monsieur a chaire couered with cloth of gold, wherein he sat him downe. And vpon the theater there was likewise a trauerse of cloth of gold, and all the theater was couered with tapistrie. On the front of the theater on the highest part thereof were the armes of the marquesship of the holie empire: and a little beneath them on the right hand did stand the armes of Brabant with a wreath of fruits: and on the left hand stood the armes of the citie of Antwerpe. Also there were set vp two banners of silke azured with the armes of Anion, & in one partition were written these same verses:

O noble prince, whose footsteps faith
and gentlenesse preserue:
Receiue thou here the honour which
thy vertue doth deserue.
That these low countries maie at length
take breath by meanes of thee,
And thou a father to vs all
in name and doings bee.

After that euerie man had taken his place, and silence was made, the states of Brabant began their oration by the mouth of monsieur de Hesselles doctor of both the lawes, secretarie to the said estates, and one of their councell. The summe whereof was, that the barons, noblemen, & deputies of the chiefe cities, and of the other good townes, representing the states of the duchie and countrie of Brabant, hauing now the good hap to see among them and to behold face to face the prince, in whome next vnto God they had wholie set the hope of their deliuerance, and of the establishing of their ancient rest and libertie, did highlie thanke the almightie Lord, which had shewed them that fauour, taking it for an assured warrant, that he of his infinite goodnesse and prouidence, had not forgotten nor forsaken their full quarrell: but had chosen his highnesse to be the defender of his people and the administrer of his iustice to the end that to Gods glorie, and to his owne honour and renowme, the stormes of all troubles, & of all other things that annoied their estate, might by the beames of his princelie maiestie, wisedome, and prowesse be chased awaie; and the brightnesse of their former prosperitie heretofore knowne to all nations, be made to spring vp & shine forth againe. In respect whereof they gaue his highnesse most humble thanks for the singular loue and good will, which he of his owne onelie motion and princelie disposition had vouchsafed to continue towards them vnto that instant, notwithstanding all the crosse dealings and practises that cunning heads could skill to put forth to the hinderance of their affaires, forasmuch as they were not ignorant that for their calamities and miseries sakes, nothing could haue fallen in, which could haue made more to the fauour and furtherance of their case. Which thing they had esteemed and would esteeme for euer, as a peerelesse president of his incomparable stalednes and rare constantie: for the which, and for the great number of his other benefits and gratious dealings towards them, they were & euer should be bound to acknowledge themselues indebted to his highnesse with all faithfull obedience, and were readie that daie (by Gods grace) to submit themselues to him, as his humble vassals and subiects. And although they doubted not but that

Killing the monsieurs hand.

A chaire of estate.

Banners with the armes of Anion.

The summe of monsieur de Hesselles oration to the monsieur.

The states thankefulnes signified.

They acknowledged themselues indebted to the monsieur.

that his highnesse did well vnderstand, and was fullie satisfied, not onelie of the generall causes which had vniuersallie moued the states of the prouinces of the low countries togither, to sue to him for succour, and to put themselues into his hands: but also of the particular causes, which the states of that duchie and countrie of Brabant had to renounce their obedience to the king of Spaine: yet notwithstanding, to the intent to put his highnesse in remembrance therof, and to confirme that sacred resolution and high enterprise of his, builded therupon; and moreouer to yeeld some reason of all their doings to the princes and noblemen, and vnto the rest of that whole companie, who for the honour of his highnesse were come thither of courtesie, to further the solemnitie of his interteinment: to the intent that at this his repaire thither (which alwaies was called joifull) they might vtter the more good will and gladnesse of heart; they would saie no more but this, that as long as the dukes of Brabant (speciallie since the falling of that duchie into the hands of the dukes of Burgognie, and other the famous ancestors of his highnesse) gaue themselues vnto the gouerning of their subiects by themselues, thereby making it to appeere that they loued them, and were not careiesse of them; they reaped so great commodities and notable seruices at their hands, that their names and puissances became oftentimes renowmed, yea and sometimes dreadfull to the greatest monarchs, kings, and common-wealths of christendome, whereof their warres and conquests made proofe: howbeit that of those things, as of matters familiarlie knowne by the histories, it was not requisit to make discourse in that place and time, which were appointed to greater matters. But after that their dukes and princes either by other allurements, or being withheld in their other countrie and seignories, began to leaue them for a time, and afterward at length to forget them, abandoning them to the pleasure and will, and sometimes also to the lust and couetousnesse of their vnder officers, whereof the king of Spaine had lastlie finished and perfected vp the worke, leauing them disdainefullie as husbandelesse and fatherlesse, vtterlie destitute of his presence by the space of twentie yeares; it came to passe, that hauing altered & changed almost all the whole state of the countrie, and committed the offices to such as by the lawes and priuileges of the countrie were not capable of them, or rather to such as would giue most for them, and yet the vnsatiable couetousnesse, malice, and exceeding tyrannicall lordlinesse of the Spaniards being not contented therwith: in the end, when they had abused the whole common-wealth after their owne lust, they grew into so great pride, that they fell to snatching of the priuat goods and substance of the inhabitants, to liuing vpon the labour and sweat of the poore: yea and to rauishing the chastitie of mens wiues and daughters: and (to fill vp the measure of all abhomination and crueltie) they fell to taking away the liues, & to sucking the bloud of those which sought by all meanes to please them. Wherupon in the end the great and righteous God (who hath a care of his seruants) being offended therat, made that people (who had aforetimes beene of great valour) to call to mind their former state and libertie: and gaue them both will and courage to maintaine the same, in such sort as they had receiued from their forefathers. Which thing they said could not be better done than by the election which the said states of Brabant, vnited with the other prouinces, had made of his highnesse person to be their prince and lord, of purpose to bring all things backe to their former order; hauing first sought (howbeit in vaine) for all remedies of their mischiefes, and of the disorders of the estate, from the causes and welsprings therof. Declaring that the dukes in old time had beene of great valour, prowesse, and power; and had made manie renowmed voiages and exploits of warre, and that amongest others, they had chosen a duke of Anjou heretofore, who had beene equall with the rest in chiualrie & feats of armes, as their conquests and dominions witnessed: that they had had their princes gentle, mild, gratious, familiar, and fauourable to their subiects: and that his highnesse had in that behalfe alreadie giuen such proofes of his gentlenesse, truth, and soundnesse, that to their seeming, some ancient duke of Burgognie was raised vp againe vnto them. Insomuch that in his onelie highnesse, they firmelie beleeued themselues to haue recouered whatsoeuer good renowme the duks of Brabant, Anjou and Burgognie could haue left vnto them. Wherefore, insomuch as there remained no more, but to proceed in the performance of the chiefe worke, which it had pleased the soueregne God to put into the hands of his highnesse, and of the said states to performe that daie: they on their part were readie and resolute to doo him the homage, fealtie, dutie, and obedience, which loiall subiects and good vassals ought to doo to their rightfull princes: of which sort they trusted in God without doubting, that his highnesse was, & that he would promise by solemne oth vnto God so to continue.

Hereunto his highnesse answered in effect, that intending not to hold the states with long talke, but onelie to be mindfull of the honor and good will which they had vouchsafed to yeeld to him, in that among so manie other great princes, they had chosen him out to deliuer them from the oppression and tyrannie of the Spaniards, and to rule them according to their customes, lawes, and priuileges: he thanked them hartilie for it, assuring them that the iustnesse and equitie of their case, their honourable dealings in his behalfe, and the loue which they had shewed him, had made him to resolue with himselfe to take vpon him their protection, and the reestablishing of their ancient libertie, and to hazard therein whatsoeuer abilitie God had put into his hands, and whatsoeuer else it should please the king his lord and brother, and the queene of England, of their fauour to bestow vpon him; yea euen to the shedding of his owne bloud and the spending of his life.

This done the foresaid monsieur Hessels told his highnesse, how it was the custome there, to proclame openlie before the people in the Dutch tong the points and articles of the joifull entrance, which the dukes of Brabant are bound to promise and sweare at their admission. Herevpon, when as one held the said articles translated into French, readie to rehearse them point by point after the proclaiming of them in Dutch, forsomuch as the daie was farre spent, and communication had beene had thereof alreadie, the monsieur to win time, thought it expedient, by the aduise of the prince of Orange, that they should be read but onlie in Dutch. Which thing was done by the said monsieur Hessels, with a new preface added to the articles, conteining briefflie the reasons and causes of that dealing. After the reading of the said articles, it was demanded of his highnes whether he liked of them, and whether he were contented to be sworne to them, or whether it were his pleasure to be further satisfied of them: Wherevpon he said to the prince of Orange, that forsomuch as he had seene the articles, and conferred of them with him as they came by ship out of Zeland, he held himselfe well satisfied with them, and was well contented to sweare vnto them. Which speech of his was forthwith proclamed, and with further declaration, that for their better contentation his highnesse was

desirous

The secretarie vnto the states falleth to the point of the matter.

The king of Spaines officers full of tyrannicall lordlines and villanie.

The cause why the states of Brabant made the monsieur their prince & lord.

Two oths that the dukes of Brabant were accustomed to take.

The duke's loialtie and fealtie signified by the secretarie.

The mantle and bonnet of the dutchie of Brabant.

The monsieurs answer to the joiful oration.

The monsieur created duke of Brabant.

The monsieurs promise euen to the shedding of his bloud.

The states promise their loialtie and obedience.

The order of the marquesship of the sacred empire made to the monsieur.

The monsieur is content to sweare to the articles of good peace.

desirous to haue them all knowne, that although the said articles were read but onelie in Dutch, yet would he of his owne good mind, with aduised deliberation and certeine knowledge be sworne vnto them.

Then did the said monsieur Hessels recite vnto the people in the Dutch tong, the first oth which the dukes of Brabant were of old time accustomed and bound to take for the obseruing of the said articles. Which done, deliuering the booke wherein it was conteined to maister Thierreie de Leisfield chancellor of Brabant, he read the same openlie in French, & the monsieur spake it after him word for word. Then the monsieur Hessels taking the booke againe, told the people that the dukes of Brabant made an other second oth to the barons, noblemen, cities, boroughs, & all the inhabitants & subiects of the countrie, to be to them a good & iust prince, and not to deale with them after his owne will, nor by waie of rigor, but by law and iustice, & according to their priuileges. Which oth was likewise rehearsed in the Dutch tong, & the booke deliuered againe to the said chancellor, and the monsieur repeated the oth after him as he had done the first. Then were the mantle and bonnet of the dutchie brought vnto him, which were crimosin velvet; the mantle was trailed on the ground, and both of them were furred with powdered ermine turned vp verie brode. The prince of Orange told his highnesse, that it behoued him to be apparelled in those robes. And when he asked whether he must weare them into the citie? It was answered, yea: and that it was the solemne attire of the princes and dukes of Brabant of old time. Wherevnto when his highnesse had agreed, the prince did first put vpon him the said mantle, and fastening the button thereof, said these words; My lord, you must keepe this button fast closed, that no man may pull your mantle from you. And then he set the bonnet vpon his head, and said vnto him: Sir I praie God you may well keepe this attire, for now you may well assure your selfe that you be duke of Brabant.

Then the said Hessels told him how the custome required that the states should presentlie be sworne to him againe to yeeld him fealtie. Wherevpon he vttered to the people the forme of the oth; and then the said chancellor required it of the barons, noblemen, and deputies, and they pronounced it after him according to the maner of the former othes, reuerentlie doing againe their homage, and promising fealtie and obedience. After the taking of the othes on both sides, as well by the monsieur as by the states of Brabant, while his highnesse was yet still in his robes of estate, the magistrates of Antwerpe commanded their recorder and councellor maister Vanderwerke to come vp vpon the stage, to make him an offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire, in the name of the citie of Antwerpe, which thing he did as followeth. Most gratious lord and prince, the markegraue, amptman, borroughmasters, and skepons, the treasurors, and receiuers, the chiefe burgesses, and quartermaisters, the wardens, and ancients of the handicrafts, togither with the corpnels, wardens of guilds, and captaines of the citie, were verie glad when they vnderstood of your highnesse happie arriuall in the Ile of Walkeren, as they haue caused to be verie largelie and with all humanitie and reuerence shewed vnto you, by their deputies sent to your highnesse for the same purpose. But now, forsomuch as they se your highnesse not onelie arriued in the countrie of Brabant, but also receiued for duke, and for their prince and lord: their fore-conceiued ioie is greatlie increased and made fullie perfect, trusting that by this your comming there will once insue an end of the desolations, calamities, and miseries, whereinto the countrie hath beene brought by the vniust gouernement past, and by the more vniust and wrongfull warre which the enimies hold yet still to bring the whole countrie to destruction, with all maner of calamities and oppressions which they are able to deuise. And therfore they giue your highnesse most humble thanks for the paines & trauell which you haue vouchsafed to take to come into this countrie: yeelding infinitelie like thanks vnto God, for that he hath giuen & sent them such a prince, as not onelie is of abilitie and power, but also is verie willing, and well disposed to defend them from all enimies, & to rule and gouerne them with all good policie & iustice, according to the priuileges, lawes, and customs of the countrie. For although they be ioined in league with the rest of the states of Brabant, and generallie with all the states of the low countries, & that they haue all entred into armes iointlie togither; yet their so doing hath not beene to exempt and withdraw themselues from the iust gouernement of their lord and prince, but onlie to mainteine their ancient liberties, lawes, and priuileges, that being gouerned according to the same, they might liue with all dutifull obedience in good rest, peace, and tranquillitie. The full accomplishment of which their desires, they thinke themselues to haue most happilie obteined, sith it hath pleased God of his infinit grace & mercie to put into your highnesse heart, to take vpon you the souereigntie of these low countries, the dukedome of Brabant, the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesship of the sacred empire. For seeing that God hath stirred them vp so great a prince, the brother of a mightie king; they haue no doubt at all, but that your highnesse will (by Gods grace) soone find meanes to deliuer these countries from the wretched warres wherein they haue beene so long plunged.

The markegraue, amptman, borroughmaisters, skepons, and other members of this citie, thinke it not expedient to repeat the causes of the warre, and the equitie of the cause whereon they stand; forsomuch as it hath diuerse times heretofore beene discussed largelie enough by the generall estates: and moreouer beene notablie knowne to the world, and manie waies allowed by your highnesse. Yet againe therfore with all humble submission and reuerence, they thanke your highnesse, that it hath pleased you to agree vnto them, and to promise the maintenance of their priuileges, lawes, and customs: yea and of the articles compassed in the principall composition, and in the ioifull entrance into the dutchie of Brabant, assuring your highnesse, that the people of the citie of Antwerpe, and of the marquesship of the holie empire shall be, and continue right humble subiects to you, euen to the spending of their bodies & goods, and whatsoeuer else they be able to make for the increasing of your honour and glorie. Herevnto his highnesse answered verie gratiouslie, that he thanked those noblemen for their good will and affection towards him; and that he meant to shew them by his doings how desirous he was to gouerne and rule the countrie with good policie and iustice. And all this he did at large and with verie great grace. This done, the said Vanderwerke turning himselfe to the people cried with a lowd voice, that his highnesse, as duke of Brabant, Alanson, Anion, Berreie, &c: should be sworne to the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesship of the sacred empire, desiring them to praie vnto God, that by that so good and solemne deed Gods name might be sanctified, the safetie and prosperitie of the countrie procured, and the honour and glorie of the said duke increased.

Then was the oth, which his highnesse should take,

The oth that the dukes of Brabant were accustomed to take.

The mantle and bonnet of the dutchie of Brabant.

The monsieur created duke of Brabant.

The monsieurs prosperitie.

The states promise their loialtie and obeisance.

An offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire made to the monsieur.

The magistrates of Antwerps thankfulnesse to the monsieur signified.

The soueraigntie of what places the monsieur had vnderta-ken.

Antwerpe and the marquesship promiseth humble subiection.

The oth that the monsieur should take openlie read to the people.

read openlie to the people in the Flemmish tong by the same Vanderwercke. Which being done, monsieur the amptman read the same oth to his highnesse in French, and his highnesse made and perfourmed the same in his hands, which the burroughmaster of the towne of Antwerpe held vp, because the receiuing of the oth at his hand belonged vnto him. Also the said burroughmaster, whose name was sir Philip of Schonehouen, kneeling downe before the dukes highnesse, at the same time gaue him a gilt keie in token of subiection, and that he might dispose of the citie as of his owne: which keie was deliuered againe by his highnes to the burroughmaster, to whome he said verie gratiouslie, that he assured himselfe, that the said burroughmaster and all the burgesses and inhabitants of the citie, would keepe the citie faithfullie for him, as they had done vntill that instant.

After the finishing and accomplishment of all the said solemnities, the heralds of Brabant and Lotricke (or in the vulgar Brabant, Wallon, Lothier, that is to saie Lotharing, or the true Lorraine) cried with a lowd voice, God saue the duke of Brabant. And then sounding the trumpets, they made a largesse, casting a great sort of peeces of gold and siluer among the standers by. These peeces were of two sorts: the one sort had on the one side the image of the monsieur then duke of Brabant: the other sort had on the one side the armes of Anjou & Brabant, and about the verges was written; Francis of France duke of Brabant. On the other side of them all was a deuise of the sunne, with the monsieurs owne inscription, Cherisseth and Chaseth, which is the monsieurs ordinarie posie. Without the towne were three regiments of the citizens, to the number of a three thousand men in order of battell, who made a goodlie shew with their faire armours and their ensignes displaied. And they neuer went out of their place vntill all the ceremonies were dispatched, and that his highnesse was gone into the citie. Besides these, there was an infinit number of people in the citie, whereof manie were strangers, who maruelled greatlie at these sights, and especiallie the Frenchmen, who wondered to see their master in that apparell, and spake diuerslie of it, as is wont to be done in matters that are new and erst vnseene. But when they vnderstood how it was the dukelie apparell, and that he wore it as a representation of antiquitie, the like whereof is worne yet still by the electors of the sacred empire in their great ceremonies; they were astonished, and thought him to be a prince of more statelie countenance and maiestie than afore: in so much that it was said alowd among them, that seeing it was the mantell of the duchie, it should cost the liues of fiftie thousand Frenchmen, before it should be plucked from him againe.

A largesse cast among the standers by.

The monsieurs posie.

A shew of men in armour.

The Frenchmen maruell at the monsieurs strange habiliments, &c.

As soone as the ceremonies were ended, his highnesse came downe from the theater, and mounted vpon a white courser of Naples, couered with a cassocke of veluet richlie imbrodered with gold. And so he began to take his waie towards the right renowmed and rich citie of Antwerpe, and was conueied along by the counterscarfe, vnto the sumptuous and statelie gate, called Keisers gate or S. Georges gate, whereat he entered into the good citie of Antwerpe in this sort. First marched the two sergeants maiors or marshals of the citie, accompanied of two pursenants with the armes of the citie, after whome followed the trumpets with the armes of Brabant. The first companie was of Almane merchants commonlie called Easterlings, well mounted and well apparelled after the maner of Almane. Next them followed the English merchants in excellent good order, all apparelled in cassockes of blacke veluet all of one fashion. Then came the coronels and capteins of the citie: after whome followed a great number of gentlemen, as well of the same countrie as of other nations. Behind them went the bodie of the citie, that is to wit, the wickemasters, the wardens, the ancient magistrate, the masters of the wardes, the burroughmasters, deputies, and wardens of the halles, the vshers, the secretaries, the regisers, the receiuers and treasurers, the schepons, the amptman, & the two burroughmasters, all apparelled in clokes of blacke veluet, and all of one fashion. After them came the trumpets of the states of Brabant, Lembourgh, and Lothier, & after them the states themselues in this order. First went the deputies of the vnder cities. The deputies of the citie of Antwerpe. The deputies of Brussels. Then succéded the noblemen of Brabant, as the chancellor of Brabant, and aboue him Lamorall Egmond brother to the countie of Egmond, baron of Gasebecke. A great number of lords of the same countrie, of France, and of England well horsed and richlie apparelled. The Swissers with their drums and fifes. The monsieurs owne household, among whome were intermingled certeine lords of England. Next this came the countie de Lauall, hauing on either hand an English lord. The prince of Espinoie, hauing on his right hand the lord of Hunsdon, & on his left the lord Howard: the prince Dolphin, hauing on his right hand the earle of Leicester, & on his left the prince of Orange: the markegraue of Antwerpe bareheaded, bearing the mace of iustice: the lord Peterson baron of Merode, taking vpon him that date as marshall of Brabant, and bearing the naked sword before the dukes highnesse: then came the duke himselfe, mounted and apparelled as you haue heard afore. Next behind the duke followed countie Morice of Nassau sonne to the prince of Orange, hauing on his right hand countie Philip of Nassau nephue to the said prince, and sonne to countie Iohn of Nassau, and on his left hand the lord Sheffield. His highnes was garded by the companies of the guilds, that is to saie, by the ancient brotherhods of the archers, crossebowes, and harquebuzers in so goodlie armour, as fairer could not be found: these went afore him and about him on a clutter without order, like flowre deluces vpon a rotall robe.

Lords of England and France well horsed.

The earle of Leicester on the right hand of prince Dolphin.

The companies of the guilds.

After them followed the gard of Frenchmen on a like heape, and after them the prince of Oranges gard on foot. Then lastlie in verie good order came the twentie ensignes of citizens, which had stood in order of battell without the towne. Ouer the gate where his highnes entered, there was a compartement of Doricke worke, wherein was written this title. To Francis the sonne of Henrie the second, and onelie brother of Henrie the third king of France, called by Gods singular prouidence to the souereigne principalitie of the low countries, and to the dukedome of Brabant, and the marquesship of the sacred empire, which God grant to be most happie and luckie vnto him, as to their inuested prince whom they haue most earnestlie wished for, and who as now is happilie come into this his most seruiceable citie, his most hartie fauourers: The senate & people of Antwerpe.

An interpreted congratulatorie to the monsieur.

The order of the monsieurs entering into Antwerpe.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe could not go out of the citie for want of rome to turne in: and therefore it tarried for his highnes at the gate within the citie. This chariot was called the chariot of aliance: wherein sat a damosell apparelled in satin red and white, which are the colours of Antwerpe: who had in hir left hand a branch of baietrie, & on hir head a garland of laurell, in token of victorie against the tyrannies of the king of Spaine, and in token of the deliuerance which the people hoped for by meanes of their new prince, through his gratious godnelle,

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe described.

godnesse, faithfulnesse, victorieusnesse, and defense: to whom with hir other hand shée presented the keies of the towne, according to the verses written ouer hir head, which shall be set downe hereafter. Before hir were the armes of the marqueship of the holie empire. On hir right hand was Religion apparelled like one of the Sybils, holding in hir one hand an open booke, named the Law and the Gospell: and in hir other hand a sword; named Gods word: and on hir left hand was Iustice holding a balance and a sword in hir hand, and ouer the balance was written, Yea and Naie.

The keies of Antwerpe presented to monsieur.

Dukes.

Before the damosell sate Concord, clothed in white, yellow, and orange tawnie, bearing a target vpon hir arme, wherein was painted a crowned scepter, with two little snakes; and vnder them, two doues, all closed in with a garland of olife, betokening commendable gouernement with prouidence. Vpon hir head shée had a helmet, betokening Wisedome. In hir hand shée caried a lance, with a penon vpon it, on the one side whereof were the armes of Anion crowned with olife, and on the other side a lambe with a woolfe, and a lion with an ox, to betoken the great peacefulnesse that is loked for vnder this prince, as well in religion as in matters of state. At Concordes right hand sat Wisedome, and at hir left hand Force. In the middest of the chariot was a piller richlie made of Corinthian worke, vpon the top whereof was a Hart held betweene two armed hands, which hart had two wings, betokening Anion, Faith, and Force: and a sword with two serpents writhing about it, and holding their tailes to their eares; signifieng Discréet gouernement, and eares stopped against flatterers. At the foot of the piller was a compartement with the armes of Anion and Brabant. On the brest of the lion of Brabant, were the armes of the marqueship of the sacred empire, and of the citie of Antwerpe. Vpon the armes was written Attonement. Upon the corners of the chariot were two armed images with mozians on their heads, attired in orange white and blew. The one of them was named Faithfulnes, and the other Watchfulnes. In their hands they had ech of them a shield, wherein were painted two swords acrosse, and two doues with a sheafe of arrowes, betokening Anion. Upon one of the shields was written, Defense: and vpon the other, Offense; each of the images had a penon of azure silke: in one of the which there was a pellican killing hirselfe for hir yong birds: and in the other a hen a brooding hir chickens. Ouer the maidens head were these verses set:

Marquesdome.

Emblems of peace & tranquillitie.

Discrét gouernement.

Attonement.

Faithfulnes. Watchfulnes.

Anion.

Defense. Offense.

My rulers outrage, wickednesse,
and furious tyrannie,
Haue cast me backe these keies, which I
had giuen obedientlie,
Vpon conditions neuer kept,
ô prince of noble fame,
With better hoad of lucke and lot,
receiue thou now the same.
Thy godlines and prowesse haue
of right deserued it.
O treble happie prince to whom
these countries doo submit
Their state! ô happie Belgike, ô
most happie like to bee,
Which vnderneath so great a prince,
maist now liue safe and free.

Sir gentlemen of the citie waited at the gate with a canopie of cloth of gold frized, which they afterward vnfolded & carried it ouer the dukes head, who went vnder it into the towne in the forementioned order. All the streets from the gate to his lodging were set on either side with armed men vnder their ensignes with their fifes & drums. The officers caried gilt targets and swords in their hands: and all the rest were armed after the best and godliest maner that could be séene. His highnesse proceeded forth on to the corner of the street called Gasthouse street, that is to saie, the Spittlehouse street, neere vnto saint Georges church, where was a shew made in the likenesse of a table, verie great and high, which was made by one of the companies of their tragicall and comicall poets, commonlie called amongst them rhetoricians. The companie was called Care, or as some others terme it, the Followsun, after the name of a floure which followeth the sun, & the speech of the deuise was, Growing vp in vertue. The shew or table had three compartements or partitions. The first was the first booke of Samuell the fiftéenth chapter, where Samuell chargeth Saule with his disobedience, & hath a péece of his garment rent off by him, in token that the kingdome should be plucked from Saules house & giuen to a better. Whereby was meant, that the souereigntie of those low countries was taken from the king of Spaine for his abhominable periuries, tyrannies, & extortions. In the second compartement was set forth, how Samuell commanded Jshaie the father of Dauid to bring forth his sonnes: of whome God would make one the prince of his people, that is to wit, the yongest, which was Dauid. In the third was shewed how Dauid being annointed fought with Golias, and ouercame him. The title or superscription was a Phrygian worke, wherein were written these verses:

I shew in the likenesse of a table verie great and high, &c.

The signification of the shewes concerning the K. of Spaine and the monsieur.

As God bereauing Saule of crowne and mace,
Did dispossesse him of his kingdome quight,
And after set vp Dauid in his place:
So now likewise dispatching from our sight,
The tyrans which oppressed vs by might,
He giueth thee (ô noble duke) the reine
Of these our countries, ouer vs to reine.

The front and creft being garnished with baners, scutchions of armes, crestets and torches, caried the dukes deuise, Cherisheth and Chaseth. And at the foot of the table laie Discord closed vp in a prison of latisworke, where she was tormented with hellhounds and serpents; and there were these verses following:

Alanson whom God Cherish aie,
Doth Chase all ire and wrath awaie.

His highnesse passing forth still beyond the place called the Thrœwateleet, came to the street named Hwluetterstréet, that is to say, the chandellors street, where was an other statelie pageant with armes, torches, and crestets, made by an other companie of the rhetoricians, called painters or violers, who had for their deuise, Knit together by singlenesse. In this pageant was painted the nére aliance of Dauid and Jonathas: to betoken the firmenesse of the oth mutuallie made by his highnes & the states of Brabant; and the magistrats, members, colonels, and capteins of the citie of Antwerpe. In this table was written in a compartement of Phrygian worke:

A statelie pageant important to the present purpose.

Like as the faithfull Jonathas
did promise to defend,
Good Dauid from the harmes which Saule
against him did intend:
So keepe thou vs (ô gratious prince)
which loue to liue in rest,
Against the tyrans by whose force
we haue beene sore oppresst.

Then went he further to the end of the street, where the vpholsters shops are, which part was full of burning torches & barrels of burning pitch, and so came to the Pœrebridge. At the entering thereof stood an oliphant bearing a castell of stone with souldiers and artillerie. Before the oliphant were painted the armes of the marquesdome and of the citie, and behind, a speare with a banner of taffetie, with the

In oliphant bearing a castell of stone with soldiors and artillerie.

armes of Anion in a wreath of laurell, and foure other bannerets of crimsin tafeta, pulled out, wherin were painted the hands of Antwerpe, with this poesie: Cherisheth and Chaseth. And vpon his side of his bellie were these verses manifestlie written:

Whome light of Phebee heretofore did lead,
I now am drawne awaie,
Her brothers beames to follow in hir stead,
A farre more certeine staie.
I thinke my change right gainefull, sith I see,
These lower countries vnder him to bee.

Six enseignes with the ensigne of the youth vnder a greene standard.

Chaseth.

From the Merebridge he went along the Mere-street, vntill he came to the ward, where were foure companies ranged in order of battell. From thense he passed to the corner of Clare street, where was a stage made by a companie of rhetoricians called the Olife branch, who had for their posie, Behold grace. Upon this stage sat a damsell named Antwerpe, bearing in hir bosome a prettie daughter called The knowledge of God: who held a cofer wherin were priuileges, lawes, franchises and truth: which were kept by the Grace of God, and by Prouidence, Wisdome, Faithfulnesse, Diligence, Loialtie, Perseuerance, Vnitie, Good heed, and Order. And aloft was a compartement of Phrygian worke (verie artificiallie handled) wherein were these verses:

The monsieurs posie interpreted in a shew.

A damsell representing Antwerpe holding a cofer of priuileges, &c.

O prince, our father, hope of helpe and staie:
Dame grace, Gods impe, whom here thou seest to stand,
From top to toe faire clad in white araie,
With branch of olife in hir heauenlie hand:
Hath willed thee to harbor here within
The statelie walles of ladie Antwerpe, and
The loue of hir with endlesse fame to win,
By curing of hir griefes with law and right,
And eeke by putting of hir foes to flight.

Somewhat lower towards the midst, was Neptune with his three timed mace, riding ouer waues vpon a dolphin, & on his left hand were these verses:

Gods heauenlie grace, and soothfull skill,
reuiuing Antwerpe new,
Through chare defense of faithfull league
haue kept hir safe, as dew
To thee hir duke innobled both
by father and by brother,
Both kings of France, tone gone to God
long since, still reigning tother.
And therefore bend thou now thy wits,
by rightfull force to wreake
Hir cruell foes, which did so oft
their leagues through falshood breake.

The ornaments of the arch aloft.

He passed from Clare street thorough long New street to saint Katharins bridge, right ouer against Crosse street, where was a triumphall arch cunninglie painted and builded of white stone, which was garnished with his highnesses armes, and with torches and crellets, and with muslke of hoboies and clarions. And on the top of it was written: To the happie comming hither of Francis, onelie brother to Henrie the third, sonne to Henrie the second, grandchild to Francis the first, now inuested duke of Brabant, the prince that hath most deerelie deserued of this their countrie, as a father of the same: The senat and people of Antwerpe. Underneath this in an other compartement of Phrygian worke, was written this: At length yet hinder not this impe to bring thee wroping world, againe vnto some rest. In passing thorough the short New street, & by the market steed, he turned toward the Cupers street in the street called Cheeselane to the great market place, which was full of torches of war, and of barels of pitch vpon long poles vp to the highest windowes, which commonlie are fiue stories high. In this market place were imbattelled six enseignes, with the ensigne of the youth which was vnder a greene standard, all in the best armor that was to be seene in anie place of the world. In the middest of the citizens was the great giant the founder of the citie of Antwerpe, whose curace was azure, and his apparell tawnie white and graie. He bore banners of azure with the armes of Anion, & had these giantlike speaches coteined in these verses, written before him;

A triumphall arch diuerslie garnished.

Feerce furie, moodie rage, vnbridled ire,
Stout force, hot violence, cruell tyrannie,
Nought booted me, ne furthered my desire:
In keeping of my wished souereignetie.
The surest waie for kings to gouerne by,
Is mildnesse matched with a prudent mind,
To vice seuere, to vertue meeke and kind.
For oft the calme and quiet gouernance,
Brings things to passe which violence could not win:
Feercenesse that case will nought at all aduance,
By mildnesse shalt thou better hold folke in:
Outragious storming is not worth a pin,
By mine example therefore haue a care,
All cruell dealings vtterlie to spare.

Behind the giant were written these verses:

See you this orped giant here,
so huge of limme and bone?
Fame saies that Antwerpe was sometime
a thrall to such a one.

This giant was made by cunning to turne his face towards the duke as he passed by, and to let fall the armes of Spaine which he held in his hand, & to put vp the armes of Anion. Also there was a stage in the same market place before the towne house, full of nymphs & vertues. But forsomuch as it serued chieflie for the daie of his taking of his oth in the citie of Antwerpe, which was the 22 daie of that moneth: it shall be spoken of more at large hereafter. His highnes departing out of the market place, toke his waie towards the street called the High street, and when he came to the street called the old Cornemarket, there was a whale carieng Neptune naked with his three forked mace in his hand, which betokened the great commodities which the citie of Antwerpe receiued by the sea and by the riuer Schelt. Before this monster was an other naked man, and by him two other portraitures, the one of nauigation, and the other of merchandize, with a booke of accounts, and a purse, such as the factors do carie with them when they go to receiue monie. Before this Neptune, in a compartement, were written these verses following:

A cunning deuise of a giant turning his head.

A whale carieng Neptune & what betokened.

A monstrous fish hoyse of twentie foot high, & what it signified.

The lordship of the seas to thee
the destinies behight:
In signe whereof I Neptune yeeld
this mace as thine of right.
That Antwerpe hauing rid all lets
by thee on sea and land,
Maie once inioie hir wished fruit,
and safe from perill stand.

His highnesse kept on his waie thorough the High street, to a place where sometime was the gate called S. Johns gate, which was beaten downe the yeare before: in steed whereof there was a triumphall arch of Ionian worke. This arch was wholie applied vnto his highnesse owne posie Cherisheth and Chaseth. On high ouer it was straines a couering after the maner of a round vant, wherein was painted the sun: & vnder the sun was painted the sea with ships, and the earth clad with hir verdure. Also there appeared a cloud on both sides, so as the light of the sun did shine forth and yeld out his force to the earth. On the outside of the bowing of the arch were painted three goddesses: namelie Flora, who held hir floures in hir hand: Ceres, who had hir corne: and Pomona, who held a horne stored with abundance of all things. Likewise the earth was clad with greene trees, fruits, and fields, replenished with all fruitfulnesse: which thing came to passe by the heat and operation of the sun, which was betokened by this word Cherisheth. On the other side being the left hand,

An arch wholie applied to the monsieurs owne posie.

Cherisheth

hand, were drierie and barren fields, the aire euerie where lowring and cloudie, and the trees and plants withered: which thing was done by the three helhounds, Discord, Violence, & Tyrannie, who fled awaie at the sight of his highnes, according to the signification of his other word, Chaseth. On an other side stood the same posie againe, Cherisheth and Chaseth, by an other meane.

Six ensignes with the ensigne of the youth vnder a greene standard.

Chaseth.

At the right hand ouer the word Cherisheth was a great field well tilled, with a husbandmans house vpon it. The husbandman himselfe being apparelled after the French fashion was sowing of corne, and an other by him was spreading of mucke. At the left hand was written the word Chaseth, on which side also was painted a French capteine in armor following his allies, confederats, and souldiors: to do men to vnderstand, that by the treaties, leagues, and agreements made with the dukes highnesse, all tyrannie, violence, and discord should be chased awaie; and that by the beames of that sun, the countrie should receiue all peace, prosperitie, and abundance. Vpon the forefront were these verses painted:

The monsters posie interpreted in rime.

Like as the rising of the sun
doth chase the night awaie,
And with his kindlie heat
the ground well cherish aie:
Euen so thy comming (noble prince)
doth chase all tempests quite,
And folke with cheerefull hope
of freedome much delite.

This arch was imposed aloft with scutchions of the armes of Anion, compassed about with branches of oliue, all vpon azure. Also there were diuerse other scutchions, whose field was gules bordered with argent, and a great number of burning torches. And the said arch was furnished with diuerse instruments of musicke, and the musicians themselues were clad in the colours of the citie. His highnesse passing vnder this triumphall arch, came to a place called the Dwure, that is to saie, the banke, where were two companies imbattelled, armed like all the residue. And so passing by the ward there, he went to the place that is right ouer against the mint: before the which there was a huge and monstrous seahorsse of twentie foot high, vpon whom sat a nymph called Concord, bearing a shield wherein was painted a booke and a rod, which was named, the Rule of truth. In hir hand she bare a flag, wherein was written, Faithfull alliance. This monster of the sea was named Tyrannie, and he had a bridle in his mouth with double reines of iron chained called Law and Reason. Whereby the dukes highnesse was done to vnderstand, that he as a true Perseus was to deliuer that countrie from all tyrannie, and afterward to gouerne it by iustice and reason. Ouer against the mint gate, where the street is narrowest, were two obelisks or round spires, and betweene them a triumphall arch with his pillers of Corinthian worke, gilded and inriched with his release vnder him. Vpon the forefront were his highnesses arms, and likewise on the sides were other armes, with banners, torches, and cressets. Under the armes of his highnesse were written these verses following:

The ornaments of the arch aloft.

A monstrous sea horsse of twentie foot high, & what it signified.

Full mightie is that common weale,
and in a happie case,
And blest with all commodities
through Gods most heauenlie grace,
Where prince behaues himselfe as head,
and commons him obeie
As members, either carefullie
regarding others staie.

From this triumphall arch vnto the palace, that is to wit, all along saint Michaels street, which is a mile in length, stood on either side three score and ten pillers, with a space of two and twentie foot betweene piller and piller. Euerie piller was twelue foot high, and vpon the pillers was a continuall tarras, & on euerie ech other piller was a cressel: and on the pillers betweene were the armes of Brabant, Anion, and Antwerpe, diuided according to the spaces betweene the said pillers. And the pillers were dressed about with garlands of iuie. On the side of the street towards the palace was a pageant with banners, torches, and pyramides; vpon the vppermost part of one of the sides whereof was a crane, and vpon the other side a cocke: giuing knowledge as well to the heads as to the members, that watchfulnesse is needfull. A little spaniell betokening faithfulnesse, & a little lambe betokening peace, were painted accompanied with the Sybils; which represented wisedome, loue, faithfulnesse, obedience, vertue and honor, without the which no true peace can continue. And all these were guided by the light of the holie ghost, which was resembled by a certeine brightnesse that discouered the chiefe instruments of discord, namelie Enuie and Slander, who peered out behind, Enuie gnawing hir owne heart, and Slander hauing double heart, double tong, and double face, howbeit with small effect. For on the two sides of this pageant were two counterfets, on the one side Hercules, & on the other Dauid, as it were in copper, hauing gotten the vpper hand of Goliah, betokening strength and stowtnesse: and vnderneath was Concord, who held Discord in a chaine with collars about his necke: which Discord offering with his one hand an apple of gold, and with his other hand threatning men with his force and tyrannie, was yet neuerthelesse driuen into the dungeon of sorrow, where he is kept prisoner by Concord, who kéepeth the doore fast shut: betokening the same thing which the countrie loketh for at his highnesse hand according to his posie Cherisheth and Chaseth. Vpon the forefront of the compartement made of Phrygian worke were these verses following painted out in most liuelie forme:

Three score and ten pillers, with a space of two and twentie foot betweene each.

Proper emblems and their meanings.

Enuie and Slander.

Concord holding Discord in a chaine, &c.

O let the earth the kissings sweet
of peace and iustice see,
And let hir powre hir riches forth
in all mens bosoms free:
Let godlines and faithfulnes
go matched arme in arme,
And let the bond of endles loue
keepe all things knit from harme.

Before the duke came at saint Michaels, where the palace was prepared for his highnesse, the daie was so farre spent, that they were faine to light vp their cressets & torches, which cast so great and cléere a light through the whole towne, that the dukes highnesse, and the princes and lords which accompanied him, and likewise the souldiors with their glistering armors, were séene more cléerelie than at anie time of the daie. And as the multitude of people was verie great in the citie, so the nérer that his highnesse drew to his palace, the greater still did the number grow. So at length the duke of Brabant and Anion entred into his palace in the order afore mentioned, hauing moreouer a two or three hundred as well of offendors as of banished folke which followed him bareheaded and fettered, craning mercie. The heralds did cast péeces of gold and siluer abrode, as they had done at the métings of all the streets as they passed through them. At the entrie of the palace was an arch of twentie foot high, resting vpon three pillers of Phrygian worke; and vpon the top thereof was a compartement wherein were the three graces, that is to wit, Uertue, Glorie, and Honor, who offered vnto his highnesse an olife branch, in token of peace, a laurell bough in token of victorie, and a crowne which was sent him from heauen. And

Light with torches and cressets as cléere as the noone daie.

Three graces Uertue, Glorie, and Honor in a compartement.

vnder the compartement were written these verses:

O prince whose merits passe his praise,
whose vertues haue no peeres,
Whose mind surmounts his fortune far,
whose thewes exceed his yeeres:
Take gentlie heere this oliue branch,
this laurell bough and crowne,
Three presents giuen thee by three nymphs,
and sent from heauen downe.

¶ The oth made by Francis duke of Brabant to the members of the right renowmed citie of Antwerpe, and the oth made by them againe vnto his highnesse.

Twentie or thirtie thousand harquebusses shot off.

The duke of Brabant being come into his palace, caused a peale of a twentie or thirtie thousand harquebusses to be shot off, and then all the companies (sauing those which were to watch that night) began to withdraw themselues apase. Which thing was done in such order and with such silence, that in lesse than halfe an houre all the citie was disarmed; after which maner they had also armed themselues in lesse than an houre without anie noise in the morning. The princes also and the lords withdrew themselues to their lodgings, and then was all the great ordinance of the towne shot off twise, as it had beene at the dukes first comming to the citie, that all the towne seemed to be on fire. Tressets were lighted and fires made foorthe through all the streets and meetings, wales, and vpon the steeples, in so great number and so continuallie, that all the night resembled the daie: in so much that when they that were without the towne loked vp into the skie, they thought the element was all on fire. These bonefires continued euerie night vntill the next thursdaie; on which daie his highnesse toke his peculiar oth to the towne of Antwerpe, in doing whereof these solemnities insuing were obserued. The amptman, borroughmaisters, and skepens of Antwerpe came to the said palace of S. Michaell the next thursdaie being the two and twentith daie of the same moneth: at which place they made humble suite vnto his highnesse, that as he had vouchsafed to giue his oth to the states of Brabant and the marquesdome of the sacred empire, and likewise to receiue theirs; so it might please him to giue his oth that daie peculiarlie to the citie of Antwerpe, and likewise to take theirs at the place of old time accustomed. Wherevnto when the duke had assented, they toke their waie in the same order that had beene obserued at his entring into the towne; saning that the lord Edward de Clastro ambassador for Don Antonio king of Portugall, was that daie in the latter companie of the princes and lords. And so they marched along the said street of saint Michaell to the great market sted, where the sumptuous common house of the citie is. And bicause that on the daie of his entrance in, it was not possible for him to take a perfect view of all the shewes, by reason that the night ouertoke them, they were presented vnto his highnes againe, as well in the place before the mint, as in other places. Also there were two pageants more prepared, which were deuised both in one daie; the one was mount Parnassus wheron sat Apollo apparelled like the sun, and accompanied with the nine muses playing vpon diuerse kinds of instruments, and with sweet voice singing a certeine ditie togither written in commendation of his highnesse. This pageant was in the street called the High street, ouer against the street named Keiner street. Right ouer against this pageant was an other on the side of the street called the Flar market, which was a mossie rocke ouergrowen with drie and withered trees, wherin appeared a caue verie hideous, darke, and drierie to behold, & in the same laie lurking the three hellhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie: who feling Apollos beames, and hearing the sweetnesse and harmonie of the voices and instruments, shronke awaie and hid themselues in the deepest of the dungeon, and afterward peered out againe to harken whether that melodie and harmonie continued still or no, minding to haue come forth againe, and to haue troubled the common wealth, if the same had ceassed.

The night resembled the daie.

Solemnities vsed while the monsieur was taking his peculiar oth to Antwerpe.

Two pageants, one of mount Parnassus, and the other a mossie rocke.

His highnesse passed on, and with verie much adoo came to the great market place, by reason of the infinit multitude of people, which could not be put asunder without great paine. As soone as he was alighted from his horsse, he went vpa scaffold which had beene set vp for the same purpose, in the middest of the market place hard by the towne house; before whome went the magistrate of the citie, and a great number of princes, lords, and gentlemen. This scaffold being great and large of the heigth of fortie foot, was hanged with scarlet. Upon it was a cloth of estate, the backe whereof was cloth of gold frized, vnder the which was a chaire of the same. The daie of his first comming thither, there had beene presented vnto him on the right side, Wisedome offering him a golden scepter: on his left side, Justice offering him the sword of iustice from aboue the chaire: and behind him Clemencie offering him the cap of the dukedome. Before the chaire as it were at the foot of it, were Obedience, Faithfulnes, Loue of God, & Reuerence. And by the chaires sides there were with them, Concord, Sagenesse, Valiantnes, God will, Truth, Pitifulnesse, Perseuerance, and Reason, of whome two on either side held ech of them a torch of virgin wax, & they were all apareled like nymphes. But on this daie when his highnesse went vp to this stage, the nymphes were awaie; and in steed of them, the chaire was garnished on both sides with pillers. On the right side betweene the pillers was a lion holding a naked sword, to betoken the authoritie of the magistrate. Aboue the lion was an egle feeding hir yong, and turning hir selfe towards the shining of the sunne, as taking hir force of the prince. On the left side was an ox with a yoke on his necke, and aboue him a hen brooding hir chickens, and by hir a cocke. The ox with his yoke signified obedience: and the cocke and the hen betokened the watchfulnesse, care, and defense of the superior. The said scaffold was garnished with bannors of azure beaten with the armes of Anion, and with banners of gewles beaten with the armes of Antwerpe, and with cressets and torches. And aboue among the armes were written these verses in verie faire legable letters:

A scaffold hong with scarlet and richlie adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Beautifull emblems about the chaire of estate, & what they signified.

At length thou art come,
and ioifull we bee,
Thy presence long lookt for
here present to see.

1 Of triumphs, though statelie,
kings boast but in vaine,
Vnlesse they by iustice
vprightlie doo raine.

2 Nought booteth law, authoritie,
or sage forecast of wit,
Vnlesse to lawfull gouernement
folke doo their force submit.

3 God, God is he the harts of kings
which holdeth in his hand,
He, He it is that higheſt things
doth make to fall or stand.
When he with gratious looke beholds
a people: they inioy
A goodlie ruler, vnder whom
no troubles them annoy.

1 A little vnder, at the right hand vnder the armes of Brabant, were these verses.

2 On the left hand vnder the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 This was written somewhat lower.

But

But if misliking make him frowne,
then makes he them a preie
To tyrants, vnder whom they tast
of sorrow euerie daie.

From this scaffold he might behold before him an infinit number of people, readie to be sworne vnto him: and also three companies of banished and condemned men in fetters, and bareheaded, crauing mercie at his hand, which was granted vnto them. Moreouer all the houses about the market stead had crestets burning on high before them. Now that, after that rome and silence was made, their councellor and recorder Vanderwerke propounded the matter as followeth. Right gratious lord and prince, the markegraue, the amptman, the borough maisters, the skepens, the treasurors, the receiuers, the old deputies, the chiefe burgesses, the quarter maisters, the wardens, the ancients of the handicrafts, the colonels, the wardens of the guilds, and the captaines of the citie, your highnesses most humble and obedient subiects, are exceeding glad to see that you, whome they haue alreadie receiued for duke of Brabant, and for their souereigne lord and prince, are readie to make your oth vnto this citie, and to receiue it at the hand of the magistrats, burgesses and citizens thereof, in respect of the citie it selfe, and of the marquesdome of the sacred empire: assuring themselues that your highnesse will be vnto them a good, righteous, and lawfull prince, to gouerne them according to their franchises, lawes, and customes: and promising mutuallie on their behalfe to your highnesse, to be good, loiall and faithfull subiects vnto you, to spend all their goods, yea and their liues in your seruice, and in the maintenance of your dignities, rights and preheminences. And like as God hath put into your highnes mind, to take vpon you, first the protection and defense, and secondlie the whole souereingtie of the low countries and prouinces, which haue entered into league with you, vpon hope that the same God will of his gratious goodnesse and mercie so bless and prosper your dealings and enterprises: as that they shall out of hand see the effect of that communication in the hiest degree, to the accomplishment of your roiall and heroicall desires, both in the generall, and also in the particular deliuerance of the countrie from the calamities and miseries of war: whereby they shall haue the better cause to acknowlege the great good turnes and benefits receiued at your highnesse hand, and to honor, loue, and serue you, as the verie protector of the land and father of their countrie.

When Vanderwerke had made an end, and the dukes highnesse had answered him conformablie to that which he had spoken without the towne, the said Vanderwerke told the people alowd, that the duke was readie to take and receiue his oth, at the hand of the magistrate, and of all the people and inhabiters of the citie of Antwerpe: and that God had vouchsafed to send them a prince of so rare and heroicall vertues, of so great puissance, and the onelie brother of so great a king; that they might well hope, that the same God would inable him to rid these countries within a while from the great number of calamities and miseries wherwith they were oppressed. And for somuch as his highnesse had bene receiued with solemne deliberation of the states confederate, yea and with solemne resolution of all the members of that citie, and God had commanded men to loue, honor and obeie their princes: he exhorted the people to yeld him all humble obedience according to Gods commandement. To which intent, the oth as well which his highnesse should make to the people, as which the people should make to his highnesse, should be read vnto them; praieng God to giue such grace vnto his highnes, as he following the same, might well rule and gouerne; and vnto the burgesses and citizens of Antwerpe, as they might performe their obedience, like good, loiall, and faithfull subiects: that Gods name might be sanctified, to the benefit, prosperitie and safegard of the citie, and to the great increase of the dukes puissance, honour, and glorie. Then the same Vanderwerke read the oth which was to be made by the duke, with the stile of the duke of Brabant, and all his other titles. Which oth was read to his highnes in French, and receiued by sir Philip Schonehouen, lord of Waneroe, borroughmaster without the citie.

Which being done, the said Vanderwerke read the oth which the magistrate and people were to make, which was repeated word for word by the magistrats and a great number of people which were within the hearing of it. And this oth was exacted of the magistrate and people of Antwerpe by the amptman in the name and by the commandement of the duke.

Vpon the finishing of these solemnities, the duke himselfe did cast two or three handfuls of gold and siluer among them, & then the heralds cried Alarges, and the trumpets and drunts were sounded euerie where, and manie instruments of muslke were plaied vpon, as had bene done afore at his first arriuall. When he was come downe from the scaffold, he went to the townehouse with all the princes, lords, and gentlemen, which were verie manie: where he was receiued by the worshipfull of the citie, and dined openlie at a verie sumptuous and roiall feast prepared for him: and so that daie passed in great ioy, contentation and admiration, as well of his highnes & his companie, as of all the rest of the people. Towards night were shot off two peales of great ordinance againe, and the fires of ioy were continued much greater, and more in number than afore.

Thus ended the ioifull and roiall interteinement of the right noble prince Francis, sonne and brother to the king of France, by the grace of God duke of Brabant. The rest of the weeke and the daies following, the lords of the priuie councell, the officers of the aides, of the exchekers, of the chambers of the accounts, and of the other corporations, colleges, and communalties came to visit his highnes, and to offer him their humble seruice, promising all faithfulnes and obedience: all whome he receiued verie gratiouslie to their contentation, answering them so aduisedlie, with so good grace & fitnesse, without omitting anie point of that which he had purposed: that all men not onelie wondered at him, but also were inforced to honour and loue him, and to set forth his praises among the people. Finallie the deputies of the reformed churches of both the languages, being presented vnto him by the prince of Orange, were gentlie heard, and they spake to him as followeth.

Sir, we be sent vnto your highnes by the reformed churches of this citie, as well of the language of low Dutchland, as of the French, to shew vnto you with all humilitie, reuerence and subiection, that we haue thanked and still do thanke God with all our hart, for vouchsafing to bring your highnesse so happilie hither. And this our ioie is matched with the ioie of all other folks, as we hope your highnesse hath vnderstood by the glad and ioifull receiuing and interteining of you. Also sir we hope, that as the great honour and felicitie which these countries haue atteined vnto (wherein few countries are able to match them) haue bene purchased vnder the soueraignetie and gouernement of the right renowmed princes, the dukes of Burgognie, which issued out of the most noble house of France: so vnder your guiding and gouernement being of the same house, the ancient renowme of the same dignitie shall be recouered

Banished and condemned men in fetters crauing mercie pardoned.

The monsieurs oth red in French.

The monsieur casteth largesse of gold & siluer among the people.

Two peales of great ordinance with other signes of ioy.

What was done by the waie of courteous duetie when all the triumphs were ended.

Dukes of Burgognie issued out of the house of France.

The monsieur is readie to take his oth of the magistrate & people of Antwerpe.

God succesfe wished to the mutuall othtakers.

All promises kept on the monsieurs part, they could do no lesse.

A scaffold hung with scarlet and richlie adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Beautifull emblems about the chaire of estate, & what they signified.

1 A little vnder, at the right hand vnder the armes of Brabant, were these verses.

2 On the left hand vnder the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 This was written some what lower.

uered by your prowesse, and mainteined by your wisdome. It is little more than three hundred yeres ago, that these countries being gouerned by sundrie dukes, earles, and lords, had not atteined the renowme which other nations haue since that time so much wondered at. The first that began to giue increase to it was Philip duke of Burgognie, surnamed the hardie, who was brother to king Charles the fift, the sonne of king John, and grand sonne of king Philip of Valois: of which kings your highnes is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne. For the first duke of Orleance, of whome your highnesse is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne, was the sonne of king Charles the fift; and as now there be no more heires males of the said duke of Orleance, but onelie your highnes and the king your brother. Whereby it falleth out, that the dukes of Burgognie are great vncles to your highnes by the fathers side. And therefore we doubt not but you will follow the footsteps of their vertues, in restoring the state of the countrie to hir ancient renowme and dignitie: and also mainteine and increase the honour whereunto it hath been aduanced, by those noble princes your vncles.

Under whom the state hath been aduanced.

Philip duke of Burgognie surnamed the hardie.

The second duke vnder whom this state hath been greatlie aduanced, was John the second: neuertheles it came not to full perfection, vntill the time of Philip the second. In which perfection it was maintained by Charls the last duke of Burgognie so long as he liued. The said Philip the second, to whom the honour of stablishing that state most peculiarlie belongeth, was one of the most knightlie and valiant princes of his time. He wan the victorie in nine foughten fields, in most of the which he was put to the triall and hazard of his person, by fighting with his owne hands. He was a verie sage prince, and such a one as had to deale with the greatest princes in christendome: of whome some were his aduersaries, and yet he behaued himselfe so wiselie, that he atchiued all things to his honour whatsoeuer he toke in hand. Also he was verie rich: insomuch that for all his warres which lasted aboue thirtie yeares, he left behind him more substance and readie monie, than anie other prince of his time, as the writers of the histories of that age do witnes vnto vs. And yet notwithstanding, for all these great vertues & qualities of his, he was vet named Philip the sage, nor Philip the valiant, nor Philip the rich, but Philip the good. So well do all folke by generall consent vnderstand, which is the vertue that best becometh and becommeth a great prince, & is best liked of his people: namelie, that a prince be good and louing to his subiects. Surelie sir, all men hope that your highnes will follow the example of that good prince, the first bringer of the state of this countrie to perfection, a right noble and renowmed prince of the house of France. And we praise God, for that as manie as haue had the honour to come into your highnes presence, yeeld record that you haue verie great likelihoods of these vertues, which we praie God so to accomplish and make perfect in you, as all his people may to your great honor receiue the perfect and ripe fruits of them. And this do all the rest of the people desire as well as we.

Duke John the second, and Philip the second, aduancers of the state.

Philip the second a verie rich prince, surnamed Philip the good.

He directeth his speech to the monsieur.

Holbeit, we haue a most humble sute to make peculiarlie to your highnes, which we most humblie beseech you to grant. The thing that induceth vs to do it, is that you beare the name of Francis. For as oft as we heare that name named: the remembrance of that great king Francis your highnesse grandfather commeth to our mind. He was a right valiant, couragious, noble and godlie prince: and yet notwithstanding all the nations of the earth did by one common consent surname him the father of learning. For of a truth, since that emperour and great king of France, called Charles the great, there was neuer anie king of France that so highlie fauoured learning, as this great king Francis. And as the said king Charles was the founder of the famous vniuersitie of Paris, so was king Francis the restorer therof againe: and both of them to their great costs & charges called men of excellent knowledge thither out of strange countries, to teach the languages & all kinds of arts & sciences. The house of this great king Francis was as an vniuersitie, and his table was a place of conference concerning all maner of learning. And like as other great princes of his time following his example, inriched their dominions and kingdomes with learned men and learning: so we most humblie beseech your highnes to follow the example of this great king your grandfather in doing the like, and to make singular account of learning, and to take the professours therof vnder your protection. True it is sir, that through the malice of men, warre is commonlie the ouerthrower of learning. But if a great prince set himselfe against the mischiefe, he may easilie stop it. Our desire is not that your highnesse should neglect the exercise of chiualrie, for to giue your selfe to studie: but to follow so the one, as the other be not left off and forgotten. For as we haue seene manie commonweales florish so long as they professed chiualrie and learning together: and yet haue fallen into the hands of their enimies, euen in the chiefe flowre of their skill in sciences, by reason of their discontinuing of their former trade of armes, after which maner it fell to the Athenians to come into subiection to the kings of Macedonie: so the people which haue professed armes alone without learning, haue alwaies become barbarous, cruell, and vtterlie destitute of all humanitie, as we see at this daie by the Tartars and Moscouits. And therefore to our seeming, a man may well saie, that chiualrie is the fundation and sinewes of a commonweale: and that learning garnisheth and beautifieth the bodie therof with liuelie and fresh colours, seruing it for inrichments and ornaments. In respect wherof, as we meant not to desire your highnesse to forget thos which make profession of chiualrie, whome you ought to embrace as your strength: so we most humblie beseech you to vouchsafe to succour learning, and to mainteine learned men with your gratious fauour.

A good sute to the monsieur, & the like of all princes and great men to be preferred and granted.

Learning and chiualrie must go together.

A sute moued to ỹ monsieur.

Sir, verie needfull causes moue vs to make this humble petition to your highnesse: for that we being professors of learning, ought to haue learning in singular estimation, and to procure (if it be possible for vs) that the frute of the things which we haue inioied for a time, may be conueied to our posteritie: and secondlie for the oths sake which we haue taken at the time of our proceeding in our degrees, which is, to mainteine and further the schooles and learning of the vniuersitie, in what degree soeuer we come vnto. And therefore we hope that your highnesse will do vs the honour to take this most humble request of ours in good part. As touching our owne persons, we promise your highnesse all obedience, faithfulnesse, and subiection: and that according to our small abilitie, we will do our indeuor towards such as we may haue accesse vnto, that they also may yeeld obedience to your highnesse, and to the magistrates whome it shall please you to set ouer the people. And here to make an end, we hartilie praie God to preserue your highnes a long time in happie estate among this people, and to giue you the grace to rule and gouerne them iustlie and vprightlie, to rid them out of the hands of their enimies, to mainteine them long in most happie peace, and

Causes that moued the making of this sute.

He speaketh in the behalfe of all the rest of like profession and faculte.

Francis the monsieurs grandfather commended.

and to restore this state againe to the ancient dignitie, greatnesse, renowme, and felicitie: that after your decease you maie leaue a most blessed and famous remembrance among all nations. And for the bringing hereof to passe, we yet againe beseech the king of kings and great prince of princes, to make you as valiant as Dauid, as wise as Salomon, and as zelous of his glorie as Ezechias.

The moniter speaketh well what soeuer his meaning was.

Hereunto the duke answered, that he was verie glad to see such a consent of all the people in the receiuing of him: and that he hoped so to rule and gouerne them, as they should not be disappointed of the hope which they had conceiued of his gouernement, which he would fashion out after the paterne of his predecessors and great vncles, who had gouerned these countries so happilie. And he thanked them for their good will & loue, praieng them to continue the same, and promising to take them into his protection togither with the rest of the people in generall: & that as he had heretofore a singular regard of learned men, so would he be willing to continue the same hereafter.

A good state to the mōsieur, & the like of all princes and great men to be preferred and granted.

A good beginning in prince and people.

After this maner began this great prince to gouerne that people with great authoritie and modestie; and the people to yeld vnto him verie willing and honorable obedience: and all men hope both generallie and particularlie, that God will giue him the grace so to hold on in that so holie and commendable gouernement, as that by his example he shall shew to all princes and to all others that come after him, how greatlie the iust and lawfull gouernement auaileth: and that the people on their side shall shew what maner of obedience, loue, and constancie is due to good princes: in which vertues there was neuer yet anie people that could skill to surmount them, neither shall anie hereafter, by the helpe of the great God, and euerlasting father of our saviour Jesus Christ, to whome with the vnitie of the holie spirit be all glorie for euer and euer, Amen.]

Learning and chiualrie must go togither.

John Paine priest being indicted of high treason for words by him spoken, was arreigned and condemned at Chelmsford on the last daie of March, and was there executed on the second daie of Aprill, according to the qualitie of his offense, and as law had awarded. In the moneth of Maie, namelie, on the fifteenth daie at night, about ten of the clocke, a blasing starre appeared, descending in the northwest, the beard whereof streamed into the southeast.

John Paine executed at Chelmsford.

Blasing starre.

On mondaie being the eight & twentith of Maie, Thomas Ford, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests, hauing bene before indicted, arreigned, and as well by their owne testimonie, as also sufficient witnesses produced to their faces, found giltie, and condemned for high treason intended, practised, and appointed against hir maiesties most rotall person, as also for the vtter ruine, ouerthrow, and subuersion of hir peaceable and well gouerned realme, themselues being sent as instruments, to deale for and in the behalfe of the pope, in this disloiall and traitorous cause; according as iustice had before determined, were drawne vpon hurdles from the Tower of London to the place appointed for execution; hauing bēn so long time spared, by hir maiesties most rotall and princelie regard of mercie, to trie if either the feare of God would take place in them, consideration and respect of their owne duties moue them, or the mere loue and accustomed clemencie of hir maiestie might win them, to acknowledge hir to be their lawfull souereigne, and themselues hir subiects bound to serue hir, notwithstanding any pretense or authoritie to the contrarie, & not for matter of their popish superstition. All this notwithstanding they remained giuen ouer to their owne wickednes, and swallowed vp in the gulfe of their vndutifull affection, which caused iustice to step before mercie, committing them to the reward of their lewd and vnnaturall dealing.

Execution of Thomas Ford, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests of the popes order.

Causes that moued the making of this sute.

To persuere in wickednes is no constancie but obstinate.

All the waie as they were drawne, they were accompanied with diuers zealous and godlie men, who in mild & louing speeches made knowne vnto them, how iustlie God repaieth the reprobat, how fatherlie againe he receiueth the obedient, how he ouerthroweth the vngodlie in their owne deuises, and protecteth his chosen in all stormes and afflictions. In remembrance of all these, to bethinke themselues of their wickednesses passed, and to shew such hartie and zealous repentance for the same, that albeit they had so grieuouslie trespassed, yet in contrite and humble sorrowing they might be gratiouslie receiued into his heauenlie fauour, whome they had moued and stirred by their vnreuerent regard, to smite and chasten with the rod of his furie. Among which godlie persuasions, maister shiriffe himselfe, both learnedlie and ernestlie labored vnto them, moouing all good occasions he might deuise to change the obstinacie he perceiued in them, into a christianlike humilitie and repentance; but these good indeuors toke no wished effect, their owne euill disposition so blinded them, that there was no waie for grace to enter.

Consolation ministred to them as they went to their deaths.

The shiriffe himselfe trieth what he can do to conuert them.

When they were come beyond saint Giles in the field, there approched vnto the hurdle one of their owne sect, and a priest (as himselfe had confessed) who in this maner spake vnto the prisoners: O gentlemen be ioifull in the bloud of Jesus Christ, for this is the daie of your triumph and ioie. Being asked whie he vsed such words, he said vnto the prisoners again; I pronounce vnto you; yea, I pronounce a full remission and pardon vnto your soules. Using these and other traitorous speeches, hold was laid on him. When as maister shiriffe demanded what he was, he answered; He was the voice of a crier in the wildernesse, and that he was sent to prepare the Lords waie. And notwithstanding such meanes of resistance as himselfe vsed, he was deliuered vnto Thomas Norris pursuant, who brought him vnto Newgate, where he confessed vnto him that he was a priest, and that he had so long dissembled, as he would now leaue off and do so no more.

He was the eccho of a false and antichristian voice.

Being come to the place of execution Thomas Ford was first brought vp into the cart, when as he began in this maner. Whereas I am come hither to die, for matters laid vnto my charge of treason, which should be conspired against the queene, within these two yeares or somewhat more: I giue you to vnderstand, that of ante such matter I am innocent & free, for that I can proue my comming into England to be fiue yeares since. Whereupon maister shiriffe spake vnto him and said; Ford, haue mind on God, and aske him and hir maiestie heartilie forgiuenesse, whome thou hast so highlie offended; thou dost but delude the people, for it is manifestlie known how thou art guiltie of the matters laid to thy charge, here be thine owne answers to shew, affirmed vnder thine owne hand, and other witnesses to reproue thee. Whereupon * I my selfe was called forth, who iustified the causes to his face, that at his arreignement was laid to his charge, and he euidentlie and plainelie found guiltie thereof. Then were his answers whereto he had subscribed read vnto him, which is in the booke latelie set forth by authoritie. Whereupon he toke occasion to tell a long circumstance of a certeine question moued at Oxford, as concerning taking armes against hir maiestie, which horrible treason he seemed to approue thereby.

Thomas Ford his words touching his innocencie.

* The writer of this pamphlet, who seemed to be acquainted with all their dealings.

Then maister shiriffe willed him to aske hir maiestie forgiuenesse, offering him to stand his friend

in

in atteining hir graces mercie, if he would change his former traitorous mind, to become a true and faithfull subiect, acknowledging hir to be his lawfull souereigne ladie, notwithstanding anie thing that anie pope could saie or doo to the contrarie. Where to he answered; I haue not offended hir maiestie, but if I haue, I aske hir forgiuenesse and all the world; and in no other treson haue I offended than my religion, which is the catholike faith, wherein I will liue and die. And as for the quænes maiestie, I doo acknowledge hir supremasie in all things temporall, but as concerning ecclesiasticall causes, I denie hir; that onelie belongeth to the vicar of Christ, the pope. In briefe, he granted to nothing, but shewed himselfe an impious and obstinat traitor, and so he remained to the death, refusing to praie in the English tong, mumbling a few Latine praiers, desiring those that were *Ex domo Dei* to praie with him, & so he died. In the meane time that he hanged, which was till he was dead, so great is the mercie of our gratious princesse, John Shert was brought from off the hurdle to the gallowes, where seeing Ford hanging, he began with holding vp his hands, as the papists are wont to doo before their images; O swæt Tom, O happie Tom, O blessed Tom. When being staied, Ford was cut downe & caried to the place where his bodie should be quartered. In which time Shert was brought vp into the cart, where looking towards the dead bodie of Ford, he fell downe on his knées, and held vp his hands vnto it, saieng againe: O happie Tom, O blessed Tom, thy swæt soule praie for me; O deare Tom, thy blessed soule praie for me. For which words being rebuked, the executioner lifted him vp on his fæt, when as he prepared him to his confession, saieng; I am brought hither to this place, to die a death which is both shamefull & ignominious, for which I thanke thée my Lord God, who framing me to thine owne similitude and likenesse, hast blessed me to this good end. There being staied, because he sæmed to prolong the time to small purpose, the shiriffe willed him to remember himselfe, for what cause he was come thither, how he had offended the quænes maiestie, and that he was now to aske hir forgiuenesse. Besides, he might receiue hir princelie mercie; whereto with an hypocriticall outward boldnesse, but an inward fainting feare (as afterward euerie one plainelie beheld) he gaue this answer: What (maister shiriffe) shall I saue this fraile and vile carcasse, and damne mine owne soule? No, no, I am a catholike, in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I die, and here shall my bloud seale it.

Then maister shiriffe spake vnto him, saieng; By the waie as we came you swore an oth, for which you willed me to beare witnesse that you were heartilie sorie: now I praie you let me be a witnesse, that you are heartilie sorie for offending the quæns maiestie. Whie sir (quoth he) I haue not offended hir, without it be in my religion; and if I haue offended hir, then I aske hir forgiuenesse. Maister shiriffe vpon this said vnto him; Is this the fruit of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellow, and to desire his soule to praie for thée? Alas, what can it either profit or hinder thée? Praie thou to God, and he will helpe thée. Maister shiriffe (quoth Shert) this is the true catholike religion, and whosoeuer is not of it is damned. I desire his soule to praie for me, the most glorious virgin Marie to praie for me, and all the holie companie of heauen to praie for me. At which words the people cried; Awaie with the traitor, hang him, hang him. O Shert (quoth maister shiriffe) forsake that whore of Rome, that wicked Antichrist, with all his abhominable blasphemies and treacheries, and put thy whole confidence in Jesus Christ. Whereto he answered; O maister shiriffe, you little remember the daie when as you & I shall stand both at one barre, and I come as witnesse against you, that you called that holie and blessed vicar of Christ the whore of Rome. At which words the people cried againe; Hang him, hang him, awaie with him. Then he beganne his *Pater noster* in Latine, and before he had fullie ended two petitions of it he fell into the Creed, and then to the *Pater noster* againe, afterward he said the *Aue Maria*, which done, knocking himselfe on the breast, saieng, *Iesus esto mihi Iesus*, the cart was drawen awaie, and he committed to the mercie of God. But then, to manifest that his former boldnesse was but mere dissembling and hypocrisie, he lifted vp his hands, and caught hold on the halter: so that euerie one perceiued his faire outward shew, and his foule inward disfigured nature, also how loth he was and vnwilling to die. Whereby he shewed that he was not indued with the audacitie and stout resolution of the heathen, who for morall vertues sake cast themselues into dangers, manie times deadlie; holding opinion, that he beareth but a counterfeit shew of vertue that shrinketh at anie torment, at anie hazard, at anie death, & therefore said:

——*virtus*
Per scopulos durum fortis anhelat iter.

Robert Johnson being brought vp into the cart, maister shiriffe, according as he had before, both declared vnto him hir maiesties mercie if he would repent; and also willed him to be sorie for his offenses against hir: whereof he sæmed to make small estimation, denieng the treasons according as the others had done, and appealing likewise vpon his religion. Then was the * writer hereof called forth, who gaue him to vnderstand, how notablie he was approued guiltie at his arreignment, & euerie matter sufficientlie handled, how according as the rest were, he was confounded to his face. Wherevnto he would make no other answer, but said; Well well, (quoth he) calling the partie by his name, God forgiue the. Then were his answers read vnto him, as they had bæn before to the other two, he not yælding denisall, but said he spake them & would doo it againe. Then was Athanasius Creed moued to him, which he granted to be the catholike faith, whereof the pope was vicar, and that there was no other catholike faith, but onelie his. Whie (quoth the preacher) the pope is not named in it. I know not that (quoth he againe) I haue not read it. Then maister shiriffe desired him to saie his praiers in English, and he with all the companie would praie with him: which he refusing to doo, in his Latine praiers the cart was drawne awaie, and he committed to Gods mercie. And thus was iustice ministred, and that execution to Gods glorie, & the ease of the common wealths greefe dispatched.

On the wednesdaie following, which was the thirtith daie of Maie, in the same maner as I haue before expressed, Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Cotcham, & Laurence Richardson, were committed from the tower of London, to the place of execution; and as the other were on the mondaie before associated and accompanied with diuerse learned and godlie preachers; euen so were these, as to saie, master Clarke, maister Herne, and diuerse others, who all the waie applied such godlie and christian persuasions vnto them (as had not the child of perdition so maruellouslie blinded them) were of force to haue wone them into grace and mercie. The speeches they vsed to them by the waie were needfull here to set downe, for that they did especiallie concerne causes to root out that wicked opinion in them, and to establish a sound and perfect faith in place thereof; but euen as it was in the other, so it did agree in them. But Luke Kirbie seemed to challenge

A shamefull negatiue voice to a manifest charge of offense, and euident conuiction.

John Shert his vaine speeches at the sight of Tom Fords dead bodie dismembred.

Sherts oration to the people iustifieng the forme of a godlie martyres death.

Note Sherts obstinacie.

Shert is peremptorie in his speech to iustifie his religion.

Hudling vp praiers mangled and reuersed together after the papisticall maner.

* who semed acquainted with all their practises.

Executions of Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Cotcham, and Laurence Richardson priests of the popes order.

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hudling vp of praiers mangled and pecked together after the popiſh maner.

Execution of Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Cotcham, and Laurence Richardſon prieſts of the popes order.

*who was an obſeruer (as he pretended) of all their doings.

lenge the * writer hereof as ſufficient to proue nothing againſt him, which he did bicauſe it was ſuppoſed he was not there preſent: but what paſſed betweene him & the ſaid writer, you ſhall heare hereafter. They being come to the place of execution, William Filbie was brought vp into the cart, where conforming himſelfe vnto the death, his wicked treſons were mooued vnto him, which obſtinatelie and impudentlie he denied. Then was he demanded if he would acknowledge the quéenes maieſtie his ſouereigne princeſſe, and ſupreme head vnder Chriſt of the church of England? No (quoth he) I will acknowledge no other head of the church than the pope onlie. Wherevpon his anſwers were read vnto him, and he not denieng them in anie point, euen as they were wicked and impious, euen ſo he remained in them, ſtill appealing that it was for his religion that he died, and not for anie treaſon. But the contrarie was proued vnto his face, as well by ſufficient proofes, as alſo by the traitorous anſwers, whereto he had ſubſcribed with his owne hand. At laſt, as he was deſired, he praied for the quéenes maieſtie, that God might bleſſe hir, and incline hir heart to mercie toward the catholikes, of which ſocietie he was one. Then they opening his boſome, found there two croſſes, which being taken from him were held vp, and ſhewed to all the people, beſide his crowne was ſhauen. So after a few ſilent Latine praiers to himſelfe, the cart was drawne awaie.

Hoſt manifeſted and vnwrapped to the eies of a reſolute votaries of the pope his natiuall.

The next was Luke Kirbie, who being brought vp into the cart, offered long circumſtance of ſpéech, as concerning that he was come thither to die, hoping to be ſaued in the bloud of Chriſt: and much matter, which were néedleſſe here to rehearſe. Afterward, he began to ſaie, that there were none could approue him to be a traitor: neither had he at anie time attempted anie thing preiudiciall to hir maieſtie, and that his aduerſaries, naming them by ſpeciall name, could not vpbraid him with anie thing. Wherevpon maſter ſhiriffe told him that one of them was there, and aſked him if he would haue him called to him. I ſée him (quoth he) yonder, and let him ſaie what he can againſt me. Then was the * partie bidden come ſomewhat nére him, to whom he began in vehement ſort to ſaie, Conſider with thy ſelfe how vntrulie thou haſt charged me, with that which I neuer ſaid nor thought. Beſides, thou knoweſt that when thou cameſt to the Tower to me, before maſter lieutenant, & an other who was there preſent then, thou waſt demanded what thou thoughteſt of me, and what thou couldeſt ſaie againſt me? When as thou madeſt anſwer, thou knewest no harme by me, neither couldeſt thou at anie time ſaie otherwiſe of me than well: wherevpon thou waſt aſked, wherefore thou reportedſt otherwiſe at my arreignement? Then the ſhiriffe ſaid vnto him; Who can beare thée witnes of this? Quoth he againe; He ſpake it before maſter lieutenant, and an other was by then. Then was he demanded what other he was that was preſent? Which (after long trifling) he ſaid was a keeper, & named him. Whereto the ſaid writer made anſwer as followeth. Maſter Kirbie, I wiſh and deſire you, in the feare of God, to remember your ſelfe: for this is not a place to report an vntruth, neither to ſlander anie man otherwiſe than you are able to proue. When as I came vnto the Tower, & made knowne to maſter lieutenant for what cauſe I was ſent to ſpeake with you, you were brought into a chamber by your keeper: and what I then mooued, your ſelfe verie well knoweth, as concerning my allowance being the popes ſcholer: where what anſwer you made, I haue trulie, and accordingly as you anſwered, alreadie ſet downe in print. Maſter lieutenant neither mooued anie ſuch words to me, as here you reported, and I call God to my witneſſe, that not a motion of anie ſuch matter was once offered to me by maſter lieutenant, or by your keeper. Your ſelfe then vttered, that at ſundrie times in the ſeminarie there were diuerſe lewd words ſpoken, which might better haue bene ſpared; and denied that you were not in my chamber, when as I lieng ſicke in my bed, the traitorous ſpeeches were mooued by them, which were then preſent, whereof your ſelfe was one; with diuerſe other matters which you ſpake vnto me, which maſter lieutenant himſelfe heard, and your keeper being preſent. But if this be true which you ſaie, that it may be proued there were either ſuch words mooued vnto me, or anie ſuch anſwer made by me, I offer to ſuſteine what puniſhment the law ſhall afford me. Then falling to an other matter, for that this redounded to his owne confuſion (as maſter lieutenant can well witneſſe) he began to talke of my being at Rome, what friendſhip he had ſhewed vnto me, and had done the like vnto a number of Engliſhmen, whome he well knew not to be of that religion, both by his owne purſe, as alſo by frending them to ſome of the popes chamber, he made conueiance for them thenſe ſometime going forth miles with them: when (quoth he) had my dealings bin knowne, I ſhould hardlie haue bin well thought of: and I knew well inough that you were neuer bent to that religion, albeit they thought the contrarie. Yea I knew well inough when you departed thenſe, that your diſpoſition was contrarie to ours, and concealed it to my ſelfe.

Repetitio beneficij eſt exprobratio.

*who ſéemed acquainted with all their practiſes.

*Prodigious writer of their plots and deuiſes, as he pretended.

O Kirbie (quoth maſter ſhiriffe) this is verie vnlike, that you could afford ſuch fauour to anie, who were contrarie to that religion that you profeſſed. No, no, if you knew anie ſuch there, you would rather helpe to perſecute them than pitie them, as it is the nature of you all. M. Kirbie (quoth this writer) it is verie vnlike that you had anie ſuch ſecret knowledge of me, either of my religion, or how I was ſecretlie bent as you ſéeme here to profeſſe: for had I béene ſuch a one as you would perſuade theſe here you knew me to be, would you haue deliuered me thoſe ſilken pictures hallowed by the pope which you did: and moreouer, make knowen vnto me ſundrie of your friends here in England, to whome I ſhould conueie them? O ſir (quoth he) I confeſſe indéed I deliuered to thée ſuch pictures, but thou knoweſt I gaue thée two Julies to go buy them with, I did it bicauſe I knew thée to be ſuch a one, and therfore I did miſdoubt thée, for I would not credit thée with my hallowed pictures. M. Kirbie (quoth the other) to denie your owne doings is maruellous impudencie: did not you in your chamber deliuer me certeine ſilken pictures, which you told me at Stukleis being there, were hallowed by the pope, and what indulgences were alowed them? One of them, which was a crucifix, you gaue me; the other you willed me deliuer to your frends at Rheimes and in England. And bicauſe they were to few (as in déed I thinke they were no more but fiue) you gaue me two Julies, to go into the citie to bute more, which I did: and hauing brought them to you, thée or foure of the faireſt you toke from me, promiſing to get them hallowed at the next benediction: the other in déed you gaue me, and I toke them with me. How ſaie you now Kirbie (quoth maſter ſhiriffe) would you haue credited him with ſuch matters, had you not ſuppoſed him to be one of your owne ſect? Maſter ſhiriffe (quoth he) what I haue ſaid, I know verie well. And after he was gone from Rome I ſent fiftéene ſhillings to Rheimes to be deliuered to him, but he was departed thenſe towards England, before it came.

Maſter ſhiriffes words vttered by the waie of interception.

This was great & verie mercifull forbearance to let all this talke paſſe to and fro at the place of execution.

Then maſter ſhiriffe ſaid to him againe; You ſtand vpon theſe points verie much, which there is none that

One of theſe two muſt nedes be in a fowle errour: for both holding contrarie, could not ſpeake truth.

When indéed vſe to repoſe their truſt in ſuch, whom they ſuppoſe to be like themſelues.

that are here, but will iudge to be vntrue: thou hearest what he hath said vnto thée, and we haue heard that thou deniedst euerie thing. What saiest thou to thy treasons, wherefore thou art come hither to die? Wilt thou be sorie for them? aske God and his maiestie forgiuenesse, for he is mercifull, and we will carrie thee backe againe if we shall perceiue in thée anie such motion, that thou wilt forsake thy former wickednesse, and become a good and faithfull subiect. At these words the people among themselues almost generallie said: O exceeding mercie and fauour! what a gratious princesse haue we, who affordeth such mercie vnto those that haue so ill deserued? Can there be a princesse of greater pitie, of more clemencie or tendernesse to be found in all the world? No.

Mercie offered to Kirbie notwithstanding his conuiction of treason.

Principe nil iſta mitius orbis habet.

Then Field the preacher in the booke read his answers to him, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand: Whether the pope might lawfullie depose hir maiestie, or had anie authoritie to take the title of hir crowne and dignitie awaie from hir? Wherto Kirbie answered: This is a matter disputable in schooles, and therefore I may not iudge of it. I thinke this with my selfe, that if anie prince fall by infidelitie into turcisme, atheisme, paganisme, or anie such like, that the pope hath authoritie to depose such a prince. And being asked, if hir maiestie were in anie such? He said, he knew his owne conscience. An other preacher being by said vnto him, that the prince receiued his authoritie from God, and that he was to be suppressed by none, but onelie by God. Againe, that Salomon said: By me (meaning by God) kings reigne, and princes decrée iustice. By me princes rule, and the nobles and all the iudges of the earth. Againe, S. Paule saith: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God. Whosoeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, & they that resist, shall receiue to themselues iudgement. For princes are not to be feared for good works but for euill. Wilt thou then be without feare of the power? do well, so shalt thou purchase praise of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do euill, feare, for he beareth a sword not for naught, for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doth euill. If then the pope be a soule, he is to be obedient to the higher powers. And being a subiect vnto God, as all other princes be, he must not take vpon him what belongeth to God. As for the authoritie that hir maiestie hath, she hath receiued it from God; neither is the pope, or anie earthlie prince to depriue hir thereof, but onelie God. Againe, when Iesus was brought before Pilat, Pilat said vnto him; Knowest thou not that I haue power to crucifie thée, and haue power to loose thée? To the which Iesus answered: Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thée from aboue. Thus maie you sée, that what prince soeuer ruleth vpon earth, hath his power and authoritie onelie from God: and not that anie mortall man can vse the authoritie of a prince at his pleasure. How saie you to this? Wherto he would make no answer, but séemed to demand of them, if they would denie, that if a prince were in paganisme, atheisme, or gouerned by infidelitie: that such a prince might not lawfullie be deposed? Which the learned preachers answered in learned sort, approuing that as the power was of God, so princes were not to be deposed by anie, but onelie by God.

To such as are proditorioustie minded it is a matter disputable: but to a good subiect a matter determinable.

Prou. 8. 15, 16.

Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4.

This counsell of the apostle they had not the grace to follow.

John. 19. 10, 11.

This demand implieth a kind of suspicion or secret charge that hir maiestie is such a one.

No (quoth Kirbie againe) hath it not béene disputed in schooles for these fiue hundred yeares, and will you denie it? O maister Crowleie, maister Crowleie; and there paused: as if that maister Crowleie had agreed with him in such a monstrous error. But maister Crowleie himselfe gaue one to vnderstand, that at such time as he conferred with the said Kirbie in the tower, about the same argument, that his answer was vnto him: If anie prince fell into anie such kind of error, that prince were corrigible, but of whome? Not of anie earthlie prince, but of that heauenlie prince, who gaue him his authoritie, and séeing him abuse it anie waie, correcteth him in his iustice. For by his attributing to the pope this authoritie, he witnessed him to be antichrist, in that he will depose princes at his pleasure, and exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God, and forgiue men their sinnes at his pleasure likewise. All this was not sufficient to mollifie the obstinate mind of Kirbie, but he would persist still in this diuelish imagination. Maister shirifte and the preachers, séeing him wauering, and not able to yeld anie reason for his arrogant opinion, laboured as much as in them laie to change it: when all would not serue, they desired him in hartie and humble maner to praie vnto God, to aske hir maiestie forgiuenesse, for the treasons wherein he had offended hir. Whereunto he answered, that he had not offended in anie treason, to his knowledge. Whereupon they shewed him his treasons, which were adiudged by the people worthie of greater punishment, than he was at that time to suffer; yet would not he acknowledge them, but praied to God for hir maiestie, that she might long rule in hir authoritie, to confound all hir enimies: and that his hart was free from anie treason to hir maiestie. When preparing himselfe vnto his praiers, the preachers desired him to praie in English with them, and to saie a praier after them; wherein, if he could find anie fault, he should be resolued thereof. O (quoth he againe) you and I were not one in faith, therefore I thinke I should offend God, if I should praie with you: at which words, the people began to crie, Awaie with him: so he saieng his *Pater noster* in Latine, ended his life.

Not of the pope then, we like, who is not to pen into other princes pulpits, &c.

Vox populi Dei, vox ſeruis ſit Dei.

Then was Laurence Richardson brought vp into the cart, & to him Thomas Cotebam to be executed togither. But Cotebam séemed to vtter such words as though there had béene hope he would haue forsaken his wickednesse, so that the halter was vntied, and he brought downe out of the cart againe. In which time Laurence Richardson prepared him to death, confessing himselfe a catholike, and that he would beléeue in all things as the catholike church of Rome did, vnto the pope he allowed the onelie supremasie. In which traitorous opinion, after certeine Latine praiers, he was committed to God. Then was Cotebam brought vp to the cart againe, & the good opinion had of him before changed into that obstinat nature that was in them all, saieng to maister shirifte, that before he came into England, he was armed for India, and thither if he might be suffered he would passe with as much conuenient spéd as might be. Then loking to the bodie of Laurence Richardson, whereon the executioner was vsing his office, he lifted vp his hands and said; O blessed Laurence praie for me, thy blessed soule Laurence praie for me: for which words both the preachers and the people rebuked him, telling him that he ought to praie to none, but to God onelie; all helpe of man was but in vaine. Whereto he answered, he was assured that he could praie for him. In bréefe, his treasons being moued to him, he denied all, albeit his owne hand writing was there to affirme it. He praied for hir maiestie, and said his *Pater noster* & *Aue Maria*: and as the cart was drawing away he said; *In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum*, and then he died. Thus did the bromme of iustice sweepe awaie these noisome cobwebs, noisome both to church and common

Laurence Richardson and Thomas Cotebam their gesture and speech at their deaths.

For he was not so furnished for England as to vse seruices so odious to papistrie.

He should haue said Domine.

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at which woꝛds,
with him: so he
ed his life.
bꝛought vp into
n to be executed
otter such woꝛds
uld haue foꝛsa-
was vntied,
gaine. In
pared him to
, and that he
holike church of
he onelie supꝛe-
, after certeine
to God. Then
t againe, & the
ed into that ob-
ateng to maker
land, he was
t be suffered
ent speed as
Laurence Ri-
as vsing his of-
O blessed Lau-
Laurence pꝛaie
achers and the
at he ought to
helpe of man
pered, he was
In breefe, his
ed all, albeit
ꝛime it. He
noster & Aue
oay he said: In
neum, and then
e sweepe awaie
h to church and
common

Not of the pope then, but like, who⟨m⟩ not to pꝛeꝛ into other pꝛinces pꝛo⟨u⟩inces, &c.

Vox populi Dei vox ferme ipsa Dei.

Laurence Richardson and Thom⟨as⟩ Cotesham their gesture and speeches at their deaths.

For he was not so furnished for England as to winnowles so easilie to papistrie.

He should haue said Dyman.

common wealth, as being of the diuels hatching, but nurssed and fostered of poperie, to insnare and trap fælie soules, as the spider doth the flie: from whome the Lord God deliuer euerie member of his church.

Philip Peter hanged in Fléetstreet for killing of a sergeant.

On the second daie of June, Philip Peise was hanged in Fléetstréet for killing one of the shiriffes sergeants that had arrested him. This man at his death, as in wardlie touched with sorrow for the offense which he had committed and died, gaue such apparant tokens and notes of a repentant mind; that partlie with his speéches which were pathetical, and partlie with his teares which were plentifull, as also with his vehement sighs and greéuous groans, ioined with diuerse other gestures (great signes of inward grace) he so moued the beholders, that manie which beheld him, pitied his wofull end, much lea in maner all (whereof some were such as a man would haue thought had neuer a teare to shed at such a sight, hauing viewed diuerse the like and more lamentable spectacles) with wet eies beheld him, and yet in heart reioised that he died reconciled to God. On the eight and twentith of June, Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Eresbie appointed ambassador to Frederike the second king of Denmarke with the garter, whereunto he had béene elected & chosen a long time before, toke his leaue of the quéenes maiestie at Gréenewich; with whome sir Gilbert Dethicke *alias* Garter principall king of armes was ioined in commission, for the inuesting of the said king into the order; and Robert Glouer *alias* Summerset herald was also present, and gaue his attendance in the same voiage, as likewise did a competent number of gentlemen and yeomen, in all to the number of six and fiftie persons, besides mariners, &c. The said lord ambassador prepared himselfe towards Kingstone vpon Hull, where he imbarked with his whole traine on the fourtéenth daie of Julie, and prosperouslie arriued at Elsemore in Denmarke on the one and twentith daie of the same moneth, where he was honorablie interteined.

Lord Willoughbie ambassador sent into Denmarke.

On the thirtéenth daie of August he présented himselfe before the king in his castell of Cronebourgh, and made his first spéech vnto him in Latine; which spéech being ended, the lord Willoughbie deliuered vnto the king hir maiesties letters, and withall the commission for the kings inuesture into that honorable order of the garter. Which letters the king opened, and deliuered them to Henrie Ranelis his chancellor for Germanie to read, whom he commanded to answer my lords former oration. From the king my lord was conueied to the quéenes présence, vnto whome also he deliuered hir maiesties letters with salutations. The next daie being thursdaie the fourtéenth of August, the king roiallie prepared, receiued the robes of the order with his owne hands, and with great contentment accepted and ware the garter, the collar, and the George, when as my lord concluded the whole dedication with sundrie welwishings. In the end whereof he put the king in mind of the oth and thankefull acceptation of the order to be testified by a publike instrument, as was before promised, whereunto the king answered by his chancellor Nicholas Kaas with manie effectuall words: and immediatlie in signe of ioie, a great volée was discharged of all the great shot in his castell, and the lord ambassador with all his traine was roiallie feasted & rewarded. On thursdaie the sixtéenth daie of August, the king toke my lord ambassador forth on hunting two leagues from Elsemore, and there in the dinner time vttered manie louing spéeches. And after, to wit, on the one and twentith of September the lord ambassador with all his traine imbarked at Emden, and arriued at Bronenelure in Norfolke

The lord ambassador oration in Latine to the king of Denmarke, &c.

The king of Denmarke inuested into the right honorable order with garter.

on thursdaie the seauen and twentith daie of September.

Pitifull ruine by gunpowder.

On the nineténth daie of Julie certeine ferkins of gunpowder to the number of seauen, and as manie or more ferkins of sturgeon laden in a car vpon Galléie kéie néere vnto the Tower of London, some small portion of the same powder being shed on the ground, the horsse in the said carre stroke fire with his hot, and fired all togither, wherethrough the sturgeon was blowen awaie, some into the Thames, some elsewhere: one ferkin was driuen through a lome wall that was bowded ouer, but all was spoiled and lost, the carre on the wharfe with the houses next adioining shattered, manie men and horsses sore blasted; the three men and seauen horsses died thereof. On the twelfe daie of August there arose a great tempest of lightening, thunder, whirlewind, and raine, with hailestones fashioned like to the rowels of spurs two or three inches about in the countie of Norfolke, betweene the market townes of north Walsham and Worsted (the towne wherein the making of worsteds commonlie called Norwich worsted was first practised and toke their beginning) which tempest beat the corne that vnto the ground, rent vp manie great trees, and shiuered them in peeces, or wound them like withies. At Hening more than a mile from Worsted, the west doore of the church, weieng more than three hundred pound weight, was lifted off the hookes, and throwne ouer the font, within one yard of the chancell doore; the top of the church was riuen vp, and the lead as it were blowen awaie; fiue webs of lead were ruffled vp togither, like as they had béene cloths of linnen cloth, and blowen into the field without the churchyard. Also at east Ruscen were manie barnes blowen downe, and houses vncouered.

Strange tempest in Norfolke.

This yeare Michaelmasse terme was returned from the vtas thereof, vntill the fourth returne of the same called *Mense Michaelis*, and from the said returne vntill the returne commonlie called *Crastino animarum* next insuing, & then returned from Westminster to the castell of Hertford in Hertfordshire, there to begin in the said *Crastino animarum*, and to be continued till the end of the same terme, which was done accordinglie, where was plentie of good viands to be had for monie, but lodging hard and scant; besides the long and plaine waie that manie had vnto their hosts, and then peraduenture sléepe in the chimneie corner, or vpon the hard boords with a pillow vnder their heads. Was not this a good amends?

Anno reg. 25.

Terme kept at Hertford.

This yeare Peter Morris frée denison, hauing made an engine for that purpose, conueied Thames water in pipes of lead ouer the steéple of saint Magnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diuerse mens houses in Thames stréet, new Fish stréet, and Gratious stréet, vp vnto the northwest corner of Leaden hall (the highest ground of the citie of London) where the waste of the first maine pipe ran first this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and two on Christmasse éeuen: which maine pipe being since at the charges of the citie brought vp into a standard there made for that purpose, and diuided into foure seuerall spouts ran foure waies, plentifullie seruing to the vse of the inhabitants néere adioining that will fetch the same into their houses, and also cleansed the chanels of the stréets, north towards Bishopsgate, east towards Aldgate, south towards the Bridge, and west towards the Stocks market. No doubt a great commoditie to that part of the citie, and would be farre greater, if the said water were mainteined to run continuallie, or at the least, at euerie tide some reasonable quantitie, as at the first it did; but since is much slaked, through whose default I know not, sith the engine is

Thames water conueied ouer saint Magnus steéple.

sufficient to conueie water plentifullie: which being well considered by Barnard Randolph esquier, common sergeant of the citie of London: he being aliue, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the fishmongers in London a round sum to be imploied toward the conducting of Thames water for the good seruice of the commonwealth in conuenient order. Other legacies verie liberallie and bountifullie he gaue by his testament to be laid out in workes of charitie, as I haue noted more at large hereafter in due place, vpon occasion of recording the date of his death. The publication of whose acts, as also of diuerse others, if they may moue the rich of this world to part with some small portion of their store to the like christian vses, I shall be glad, and thinke my paines worth the printing: otherwise I saie with one that persuading this age to walke worthie of their calling, and doubting his words should be but wind, concluded with this interrogatine distichon:

Justice Randolph his charitie.

Sed quid verba miser non profacit ventis perdo?
Quid iuuat in vacuos missa loquela notos?

This yeare 1582 was there instituted, and first founded a publike lecture or lesson in surgerie, to begin to be read in the college of physicians in London, in Anno 1584, the first daie of Maie, against that time new edified in a part of the house that doctor Linacre gaue by testament to them, by John Lumleie lord Lumleie, and Richard Caldwell doctor in physicke, to the honour of God, the common profit of his maiesties subiects, and good fame, with increase of estimation and credit of all the surgians of this realme. The reader whereof to be a doctor of physicke, and of good practise and knowledge, and to haue an honest stipend, no lesse than those of the vniuersities erected by king Henrie the eight, namelie of law, diuinitie, and physicke, and lands assured to the said college for the maintenance of the publike lesson; whereunto such statutes be annexed as be for the great commoditie of those which shall giue and incline themselues to be diligent hearers for the obteining of knowledge in surgerie, as whether he be learned or vnlearned that shall become an auditor or hearer of the lecture, he may find himselfe not to repent the time so imploied. First twise a weeke thorough out the yeare; to wit, on wednesdaies and fridaies, at ten of the clocke till eleuen, shall the reader read three quarters of an houre in Latine, and the other quarter in English, wherein that shall be plainlie declared for those that vnderstand not Latine, what was said in Latine. And the first yeare to read Horatius Morus tables, an epitome or briefe handling of all the whole art of surgerie, that is, of swellings or apostems, wounds, vlcers, bonesetting, and healing of bones broken, termed commonlie fractions, and to read Dribasius of knots and Galen of bands, such workes as haue beene long hid, and are scarselie now a daies among the learned knowen, and yet are (as the anatomies) to the first enterers in surgerie and nouices in physicke; but amongst the ancient writers and Grecians well knowne. At the end of the yeare in winter to dissect openlie in the reading place all the bodie of man especiallie the inward parts for fiue daies togither, as well before as after dinner; if the bodies may so last without annoie.

Publike lecture of surgerie founded in London, & presentlie red (as also in the life of the founder) by doctor Frosler, to his high praise & credit.

What exercises are to be followed in the said colledge by the will of the founder.

The first yeares exercises.

The second yeare to read Tagaultius institutions of surgerie, and onelie of swellings or apostems, and in the winter to dissect the trunke onelie of the bodie, namelie from the head to the lowest part where the members are, and to handle the muscles especiallie. The third yeare to read of wounds onelie of Tagaultius, and in winter to make publike dissection of the head onelie. The fourth yeare to read of vlcers onlie the same author, and to anatomize or dissect a leg and an arme for the knowledge of muscles, sinewes, arteries, veines, grissles, ligaments, and tendons. The fift yeare to read the first booke of Paulus Ægineta, and in winter to make anatomie of a skeleton, & therwithall to shew & declare the vse of certeine instruments; as Scamnum Hippocratis, and other instruments for setting in of bones. The first yeare to read Holerius of the matter of surgerie; as of medicines for surgians to vse. And the seuenth yeare to begin againe, and continue still.

The second yeares exercises.

The third yeares, and fourth yeares exercises.

The fift and first yeares exercises, ioined to continue with Rosses principles.

A godlie and charitable erection doubtlesse, such as was the more needfull, as hitherto hath beene the want and lacke so hurtfull: sith that onelie in eth vniuersities by the foundation of the ordinarie and publike lessons, there is one of physicke, but none of surgerie; and this onelie of surgerie and not of physicke; I meane so as physicke is now taken separatelie from surgerie, and that part which onelie vseth the hand as it is seuered from the apothecarie. So that now England may reioise for those happie benefactors & singular welwillers to their countrie, who furnish her so in all respects, that now she may as compare for the knowledge of physicke so by means to come to it, with France, Italie, and Spaine, and in no case behind them but for a lecture in simples, which God at his pleasure may procure, in moouing some hereafter in like motion and instinct to be as carefull and beneficiall as these were to the helpe and furtherance of their countrie. ¶ At the publication of this foundation, which was celebrated with a goodlie assemblie of doctors collegiats and licentiats, as also some maisters of surgerie, with other students, some whereof had beene academicall; doctor Caldwell so aged that his number of yeeres with his white head adding double reuerence to his person (whereof I may well saie no lesse than is left written of a doctor of the same facultie verie famous while he liued,

Ab. Fl. Spet. for Gandium.

Consiciendæ ætas, sed & ars prouectior annis,
Famáque Pæonio non renuenda choro)

euen he, notwithstanding his age and impotencie, made an oration in Latine to the auditorie, the same by occasion of his manifold debilities vnfinished at the direction specialle of the president, who (after a few words, shortlie and sweetlie vttered) gaue occasion and opportunitie to D. Forster, then and yet the appointed lecturer, to deliuer his matter, which he discharged in such methodicall maner, that eth one present indued with iudgement, conceiued such hope of the doctor, touching the performance of all actions incident vnto him by that place, as some of them continues his auditors in all weathers, and still hold out; whose diligence he requiteth with the imparting of further knowledge than the said publike lecture doth afford. When the assemblie was dissolued, and the founder accompanied home, diligent care was taken for the due preferring of this established exercise: insomuch that D. Caldwell, and D. Forster, to furnish the auditors with such bookes as he was to read, caused to be printed the epitome of Horatius Morus first in Latine: then in English, which was translated by the said doctor Caldwell. But before it was halfe perfected, the good old doctor fell sicke, and as a candle goeth out of it selfe, or a ripe apple falling from the tree, so departed he out of this world at the doctors commons, where his vsuall lodging was; & was verie worshipfullie buried. But of his death hereafter, in the yeare 1584: where the date of his decease being mentioned, matter worth the reading shall be remembred.]

Doctor Gibbon president of the college of physicians.

Francis of Valois, duke of Louthier, Brabant, Limbourgh, Gelders, Anion, Alanson, &c: earle of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, &c: marquesse of the sacred empire, lord of Friseland, &c: hauing now indifferentlie well (with his

Francis of Valois attempteth the warre against the Hollanders, the issue whereof fell out to his misfortune.

his good successe had in the battelling, and remouing the seege of Cambreie and Lochem, and winning the townes of Alast and Endonan) gotten the harts of the people, and by that meanes placed his Frenchmen in Dunkirke, Wimerburgh, Dixmide, Dermond, Wilnord, and other places, thought now (vsing yong & euill counsell) to make himselfe a more absolute prince, as though it were too base a thing for his highnesse to rule with the aduise of the estates of the countries. Wherfore hauing come to him out of France the marshall Biron, with great troops of Swissers and Frenchmen, he now causeth them all at one time; to wit, on the seuenth of Januarie, to inuade so manie townes as they could make themselues maisters of; which with them tooke effect in the aboue named townes, but at Bruges they were put out. And at Antwerpe on the said seuenth daie, vnder the pretense to muster his armie without the towne, vpon the verie none time of the daie, when the citizens were at dinner, he causeth two gates (as vncertaine by which he would go) to be opened for him, and the chaines ouerthwart the streets to be vnchained, which (for some suspicion had of the Frenchmen without) were locked: then he issued out with all his court and a great number of gentlemen, verie braue, mounted on great horsses aboue two hundred, manie of them being secretlie armed vnder their garments, and comming to saint Iames gate. At the bridge without met him certeine of his companies of horssemen and footmen, who staied themselues on both sides the waie, making as it were a lane for the duke to passe by with a few of his: who being past them, made a token to them with his cap, to inuade the citie: whereupon his men killed the watch, with the coronell Vierendell, that stood bare headed to see their prince passe. Then entred the gate seuentæne ensignes of footmen, and foure coronels of horssemen, the Swissers following, & the duke crieng to them, March, march, La ville est gagnee, mais me pillon point. Being thus stronglie entred they cried, Ville gagnee viue la messe, and tooke in on both sides the bulworks, turned the ordinance towards the citie, & came by diuers streets almost to the midst of the citie. The citizens at dinner hearing the alarum, verie furiouslie issued out, with such weapons as first came to their hands, and set vpon them, first, by the bylanes, other some chained vp the streets, and so barred them from going anie further. They turne all against the soldiors that were entred the citie with most violent shot. In the meane space the citizens nere and about the gate with their harquebusiers bestow their small shot as thicke as haile out of windowes vpon the gate, where first they killed a horsse, and then diuers men entring, which troubled the other following, that a great number was euen in the verie gate killed, and so heaped one vpon another that the gate was stopped; wherby all that were entred within the citie, in lesse than in one houres space were killed or taken prisoners. Wherein the citizens behaued themselues so valiantlie, & so manlie, that manie for lacke of leaden pellets, tooke their monie out of their purses, bowed it with their teeth, and put it in stead of pellets in their harquebusiers:

Sic sese & sobolem charam, cum vxore mariti
Defendunt, Gallis ne præda voracibus essent.

In this skirmish of so litle space were slaine aboue 1530 Frenchmen horssemen and footmen, told at the burieng, and more than two thousand prisoners taken, amongst the which were the earle Fernangus, the bishop of Constance, and manie other notable personages. And amongst the dead were the earle of saint Agnan and his sonne, the earle of Chasteauroulse, the sonne of the marshall of France Biron; monsieur de Saisonall gouernor of Wilnord, the sonne of the lord Mirambeau, and others. A marueilous act of citizens in their defense without anie soldiors, against old soldiors and tried men of armes, and number of so great nobilitie. A maruellous continencie & clemencie of rough citizens against their enimies, in keeping their hands from the killing of prisoners whome they had in their power, and surelie a wonderfull worke of God.

The prince of Orange with others had refused to go forth, and his danger was not small; with other gentlemen more, and lords of the religion. The prince Dolphin, the earle Lamall and others were with the duke lokers on, and intercessors for their friends whom they reckoned dead. After that fact, the duke with his campe was forced for lacke of vittels and necessaries, to retire him with his armie toward Machlin, and from thense with great difficultie passing great waters, with losse of manie a man got to Dermond, where he was kept in by the generall Norris, with three and twentie ensignes Englishmen and Scots, so that he lacked vittels and necessaries, whereby he was forced, as also to haue his prisoners restored, to enter into a treatie with the estates, to surrender all the townes by his men possessed, and to retire him to Dunkirke: where further with the estates, by intercession of princes was hoped a reconcilement to be made. But he seeing the countrie vnwilling, and finding himselfe sicke (as it was thought) of melancholie, he retired from Dunkirke toward France. And so as he was retired, the prince of Parma for king Philip, caused Dunkirke to be besieged, few Frenchmen left within it. And as the states Generall and the prince of Orange would haue sent thither to rescue the towne, the marshall Biron with his Frenchmen and Swissers, the Flemings cheeflie they of Gaunt, partlie for hatred of the French, and partlie that manie now were become Spanish, whereby Dunkirke was forced to surrender: and this losse being imputed to the duke, increased his sickenesse, so that he died at Chasteau Thierie the tenth of Iulie 1583, & was royallie buried at saint Diones by Paris.

Francis duke of Anion and Alanson retireth.

Generall Norris with 23. ensignes.

Francis duke of Alanson and of Anion sickeneth.

¶ But before we passe the absolute cõmemoration of the monsieur, sith in some remembrances we haue atteined to a perfection, it shall not be amisse here to anner the manner of his sickenesse, as also the verie speeches which he vttered, as they are reported by James Berson Parisien, preacher to the French king, and to the said monsieur, in a discourse by him published, vnder the title of A funerall complaint, &c. Wherein whatsoeuer is spoken, deserueth the greater credit, for that the said Berson was vpon his owne certeine knowledge able to giue out the truth, and therfore intimateth to the readers of his treatise, that they are not to loke for either flatteries, or hautie, proud, and lieng arguments: he being the man who assuredlie was able to answer and beare witnes of the pietie, religion, and departure of monsieur, a sonne of France, and the kings onelie brother in the fauor of God, as the same vpon whome he reposed himselfe concerning his conscience, soule and saluation; and hauing from the beginning of his sickenes administred vnto him the holie sacrament, and did assist him to the end. You are therfore to vnderstand, that after * my said lords crosse haps and danger of life in the low countries, and his returne into his duchie of Castle Thierie, his naturall & brotherlie resolution taken to go alone to Paris, there to yeeld him selfe to his maiesties armes, a deed to be accounted and taken as a strong bulworke against whatsoeuer the popular and enuious slanders: after his returne home he conceiued an extreame contentation in dailie hearing of sermons, yea not satisfied with the

Abr. Fl. ex lib. cui tit. *Regret funebre, contenant le discours de la mort de Monseigneur fils de France, frere vnicque, du roy.*

* Meaning Berson the monsieurs preacher and the writer of this discourse.

onelie hearing of them, he greatlie delited to talke of the same, also to haue the same repeated vnto him. Thus did our Lord in conuenient time dispose his soule, which he purposed shortlie to dilit in his next sickenelle, and that was an ague that continued without equalitie vntill the thirteenth of March, and then he fell into so strange a iudgement, that all euen the physicians began to doubt of him. For a flux of blood issued so continuallie out of his nose and mouth, that they were still forced to hold him a basen, whereinto he voided the pure and cleere blood. When all men were as it were astonied thereat, himselfe began with a perfect mind and vnderstanding to saie; My friends, helpe me, will you suffer a christian prince thus to die? Now is the time come that God will call me to account: cause monsieur Werson to come hither.

The maner of the monsieurs sickenelle.

When I came, ha monsieur Werson (said this good prince) I am dead, I must acknowledge my God; my frend flatter me not, I will reconcile my selfe. Alas I am a great sinner, will not God haue mercie on me? Will not he forgiue me? I answered, There is no dout my lord but vpon humbling your selfe before his holie maiestie with contrition, you shall obteine remission of your sinnes. My lord, you are verie sicke, I will not flatter with you, but your whole life and your selfe resteth in the hands of God. Sickenes is naturall, or sent by God for a warning; if your disease be naturall there is hope: we will vse all means for remedie. On the one side the physicians are here readie, who shall implote themselues. On the other side, all the world is in praier & deuotion for your health. If it procedeth from God, it is a warning to you for the rest of your life, to the end to draw you neerer to him, either else to aduertise you of your naturall condition: that is, that you are mortall & must once paie this debt, and reskore your soule to God who lent it to you, at whatsoeuer time he shall call for it. Now my lord, sith we can not certeinlie discerne the one from the other, is it not best for you to conforme your will to Gods will. Also in case God granteth you to ouerliue this sickenelle, are you not resolued to better your life, and to line more in his feare than before? Againe, if he be determined to call you out of this world, are not you content to go into Abrahams bosome, and there to rest vnder the protection of his mercie? Resolue your selfe my lord, you haue a goodlie soule.

Werson his words of comfort to the monsieur, whether his disease were naturall, or proceeding from God.

I am (said this good prince) fullie resolued in the will of my God, let him do with me whatsoeuer shall please him: onelie that he will vouchsafe to haue mercie on me. I wold reconcile me but I shall hardlie speake: and in truth the bloud still belched out into the basen which * I held with one hand, whilest with a handkercher in the other I wiped from his face and brest a great cold sweat that euen smelt of death: as also I perceiued his nostrils to be closed vp, his eies sinke, and heard the rattling and bloud that stopped him vp. Euerie bodie being gone forth I said vnto him, My lord straine not your selfe to speake much, onelie begin with the chiefest matters, and those that most trouble your conscience, and for the rest I will instruct you. Then ioining his hands and lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, he began to sigh, mourne, and sob with extreame contrition and griefe, which when I perceiued, I still indeuored to assure him in talking to him of God and of the merits of the bloud of Iesus Christ, wherein the greater delight that he conceiued, the more did he detest himselfe as a most miserable sinner: then might you haue seene among much sweat which as pearles ran downe his haire and beard, the great teares trickeling downe his eies, whiles with great paine he accused himselfe.

The monsieur his resolute to die.

* Namelie Werson.

After this, diuerse speeches passed with certeine actions betweene the monsieur and Werson, which to omit is lesse offensiue than to publish. To proceed then, the monsieur lieng in his agonie, bethought him (amongest other things) of his familie, and said; Alas I mone none but my poore seruants, withall, that I shall die without celebration of mine Easter: will not the Lord grant me that grace? Then I promised him that God would heare so iust a petition, and therefore willed him a while to haue patience, it should not be the first miracle that euer our Lord had wrought. Hauing thus spoken, certeine ceremonies were solemnlie commensed and finished, not without manie speeches interchanged betweene the monsieur and Werson; insomuch that (saith he) I can not rehearse all that he said vnto me; but this I dare assure you, that if his health had continued, I was thereby in hope of most profitable effects to all christendome, and to the estate and quietnesse of our France. But we were not worthie, our sinnes crieng for vengeance to God, who as he punisheth nations by giuing them wicked princes, so doth he also chastise them by taking from them the good, euen at such time as they are readie to releeue vs, and afterward we haue cause to lament and mourne.

Werson who was then busie about certeine ceremonies incident to the time and his office.

Great hope conceiued of the monsieurs if he had not beene preuented with death.

His health after this first fit continued a while, but by reason of a crum of bread that sticke in the vuula, and thereby procured a violent cough with spitting of blood, he fell into it againe, and from thense forth kept his bed, sometimes well and sometimes ill, yet eating his meat reasonablie well, howbeit gathering no force to the substance of his bodie. Finallie, the same daie that the physicians (after the view of the operation of a medicine) had conceiued a better opinion of him than before; being saturdaie the ninth of June about eight of the clocke at night, he was taken with a marueilous shortnesse of wind, and a paine in one of his sides: and seeing himselfe so taken before ante man spake to him, he sent for me, saieng; Now is the time that I must die, you haue greatlie abused me; howbeit they vsed all diligence. But about midnight, when there was no further hope, they sent for me. When I was come I found the good prince laid in his estate, of whome trulie I had no other opinion but that death was at hand, and therefore was verie importunat to speake vnto him, fearing least he should haue died without the sacrament, which so greatlie he had longed for.

The monsieur falleth into an extremitie of his maladie, and past hope of recouerie.

One commendable matter I noted in the noble men there present, which was; that there was not one but did importunatlie vrge to speake vnto him of God: for mine owne part I was verie impatient, & euerie one was in feare to speake first. One there was that willed me to change mine apparell, & to put on a blacke garment, least he should conceiue anie mistrust. How (said I) can I so do? He hath sent for me, and knoweth my clothing: if by my speech he should know me, and then find my clothing changed, he will enter a greater apprehension of death than before: therefore consider of it, if anie thing fall out amisse, it will be a perpetuall reproch to vs all. In the end monsieur Fougier his steward a verie wise man so ordered the matter, and with such discretion, that he brake with him of it. At that time was he ouercome with a drowsie sleepe, and still holden with a short wind, accompanied with continuall sweats, and sometime would aske; Do men die thus? On the tenth daie of June which was sundaie, after diuers ceremoniall actions dispatched, and speaches to and fro vttered, with pitifull sighs on all sides of inward setled sorow; the monsieur desired that he might sleepe a while: but his sleepe was not long yer he awaked, when betwixt him and Werson (all the rest being gone) something was said and done, which

Do men die thus? saith the monsieur drawing to his end.

which (belike) was not for euerie eare ꝫ eie to heare or see. In the end, Berson perceiuing by manifest indications, that death preased vpon him, vsed these words to the monsieur, Louis (as I take it) being then within the hearing. My lord, in the beginning of your sickenesse, you ꝫ I made a ioint promise vnto God, wherwith I am burdened: now therefore I desire vnburden my selfe thereof, vnlesse you will helpe to burden me againe. We are witnesses that you haue loued God: now is the time that you must acknowledge him, you are verie sicke, but your soule is sound in your bodie. If it please God to grant you life, he graunteth it to the end you should amend; so should your selfe be happie, and we content that you should liue. If he vouchsafe to call you vnto paradise, how blessed shall you be? where may you be better? So that whatsoeuer happen, be it life, be it death, still shall you be content and happie. Resolue your selfe therefore wholie in the will of God. All we here are your faithfull seruants, and those who euermore haue desired to be so fortunate as to be honored with your commandements; whose eies and eares haue alwaies beene open to heare and obeie you, and to fulfill your will; neuer did you command anie thing, but you were immediatlie obeied. Now know you, that your selfe are Gods seruant; him you must obeie, and to his will must you wholie resolue your selfe: whether it be his will you should liue, or is his pleasure you should die, still saie: His will be done.

Then with a forced speech this good prince said: His will be done. Take no care my lord said I, for anie worldlie matters. Greatnesse, riches, and renowme do perish, Paradise is to be found and possessed. It is a great matter to be a kings sonne, but it is much greater to be the child of God. You are now as a child new borne, you want nothing but the food of the children of God: you haue no more to do, but to communicat in the pretious bodie of our Lord: it is here readie, would you not gladlie haue it? I will cause you easilie to vse it. He answered yes. Then taking the holie sacrament I began to saie vnto him: My Lord Jesus the heauenlie word and euerlasting sonne of God, in old time inuisible, did in the end visiblie manifest himselfe to the world in humane flesh, by taking vpon him our visible and passible nature: but because he was not perpetuallie to remaine in this humane vale, reuiuing and ascending into heauen, we had him no longer to touch and handle carnallie and visiblie. And therefore to the end not to faile of his promise, that he would be still with vs vntill the consummation of the world; he hath giuen vs inuisiblie his pretious bodie ꝫ bloud vnder these holie signes and sacraments, that by the communion in such and so pretious a gift, we might be strengthened in his loue, ꝫ through his grace be defended against all temptations ꝫ stumbling blocks of our saluation: like as Elias, who in the strength of the food for him miraculoulie ordeined, after his sleepe trauelled long iournies, euen vntill he did see God. Receiue therefore this signe and testimonie of the remission of your sinnes, and when you shall be presented before the maiestie of God, it shall be vnto you a badge and token that you belong vnto him.

Then lifting vp his eies and loking all about him, this good prince opened his mouth, which presentlie I moistened with his drinke, ꝫ so gaue him the holie sacrament, and againe powred in some of his drinke to swallow it withall, which he did both deuoutlie and couragioustie; insomuch that afterward he did eat ꝫ speake better than he had done all the night ꝫ morning before, to the great contentation of all the companie: in whose presence I did againe exhort him saieng: Now my lord, behold you are armed with the chase of all your desire, I beseech you comfort your selfe in the Lord. It is a great fauour that he hath shewed you, in making you (as it appeareth) inheritor vnto the faith, pietie, and christianitie of the kings of France, whose faith and descent you do hold.

Let your soule now reioise, yea although you should now die. Thinke what a contentation vnto you it shall be, to be discharged from so manie worldlie affaires, what a pleasure to exchange this mortall life for an immortall, glorious and perdurable life; feare no lets: the waie is alreadie beaten, alreadie are they passed the same, whose greatnesse of faith you do imbrace. The patriarchs do tarie for you, the prophets do call you: the apostles do stretch forth their armes vnto you: the martyrs do inuite you: the confessors do solicit you: the virgins do giue you place: all the saincts do waite for you. We haue discharged all the duties of faithfull seruants, and such as loue you hartilie: And hauing this speech, with a demand or two made, and their answers added: Berson, being the mouth of the residue, said of the monsieur drawing on; that they (meaning himselfe and the companie present) waited but for the houre of his death: yet had he one houre and a halfe to liue. So soone as we were gone, he desired to haue his head laid lower: his chamberleine immediatlie called to vs for helpe, ꝫ suddenlie he gaue vp the ghost: my selfe James Berson, at the dissolution of his sweet soule from his louelie bodie, vsing these words: Go and passe on christian soule, and returne to him that hath created thee, &c.

He went awaie so sweetlie that it could hardlie be perceiued, insomuch that some who could not be persuaded that he was dead (for his eies were open and cleere, and his countenance no whit changed) held a loking glasse to his mouth, but there was no signe of life: others feeling his pulses, imagined they did beat, but that was because they were strained euen to the nailes ends. At this word, He is gone, oh what pitie! oh God what tears! what sighes! what sobs! all was dissolued into howling and cries: those that in armor were forward, were now readiest in teares, sundrie swooned in the chamber, at the sound hereof the towne quaked, the castell sounded most lamentable voices: yea my selfe hauing lost all courage was forced to open the poole of my head, and to vnstop the gate of my hart, to the end with teares and lamentations to discharge that affection which I bare vnto him.

About foure of the clocke, when all were departed I toke the linnen wherein he was lapped from about the bodie of this good prince, then did I laie and order it honestlie and with reuerence handled it, some of vs also had so good hap as to kisse his hands ꝫ head. Oh my good lord and maister, neuer durst I haue beene so bold, had it not beene for the confidence you reposed in me: alas why was it so late before I did know you, to serue you so small a time? Infinitlie am I forced to print you in my remembrance, ingraue you in my soule, and to burie you in my hart, for that you vouchsafed to make mine eares gardians of that which rested in your conscience. Mourne, mourne with me my masters, and all ye the officers of his house: we haue lost the best master in the world, for euer shall the tenth date of June beare witnesse of our mishap: hereafter shall we neuer vpon that date haue occasion to hold merie feast betweene twelue and one of the clocke, the houre of the decease of so desired a prince. The yeare 1584 is indeed a yeare of reuolution. France, France, quarter thine armes, ꝫ in lieu of lions sow in teares: for the Lord taketh from vs all our noble ꝫ honorable,

Persons said to the monsieur in the hearing of manie gentlemen present.

Berson who was then busie about certeine ceremonies incident to the time and his office.

Great hope conceiued of the monsieur if he had not beene preuented with death.

The monsieur falleth into an extremitie of his maladie, and past hope of recouerie.

His will (meaning Gods) be done, saith the monsieur both a forced speech on his death bed.

The institution and vse of the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ.

Do men die thus? saith the monsieur drawing to his end.

Berson exhortatorie speeches to the monsieur, preparing and setting himselfe to Godward.

The monsieurs departure out of this world like a lamp, whose light faileth for want of oile.

Instructions signes of inward loue ꝫ reuerend affectiō towards the monsieur departed.

These be verie Stemmata & Lachrymarum fontes indeed.

and taketh the good to depriue vs of them, for my part I will beare thee companie. Moreouer for his trespasses I do giue him flowres, and for his bodie in ashes the lamentations of Flanders, at the least I inherit in his right an example of vertue, accounting my selfe infinitlie bounden vnto their maiesties, who gaue me to do the seruice apperteining to my ministerie, vnto a prince that loued me so much, and in whose house all men honored me, whose oare for I do most deuoutlie rest, desiring them to haue patience, though for recompense they haue no more but my selfe. *Requiescat in pace.* This is all that we purposed to saie touching the monsieur, hauing omitted much that is not communicable, & now will we turne our pen vpon passage to England, noting occurrents of our owne.]

For he was preacher, ect to the mounsieur and lost dimidium animæ suæ by his death.

Ground remoued.

The thirteenth daie of Januarie, in the parish of Ermitage in a place called Blacke moze in Dorsetshire, a peece of ground conteining three acres remoued from the place where it was first planted, and was carted cleane ouer an other close, where alder and willow trees grew, the space of fortie goad (euerie goad conteining fifteene foot) and hath stopped vp an high waie that directed towards the market towne of Cerne; and yet notwithstanding the hedges wherewith it was inclosed, inuiron it still, and the trees stand thereon bolt vpright, sauing one oke tree, that is well nigh twentie goads remoued: the place whereas the ground had his being at the first is left like vnto a great hollow pit. The same thirteenth daie of Januarie, being sundaie, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffolds round about the beare garden, commonlie called Paris garden, on the southside the Thames, ouer against the citie of London, ouercharged with people fell suddenlie downe, whereby to the number of eight persons men and women were slaine, and manie other sore hurt and bruised. A friendlie warning to all such as more delight themselues in the crueltie of beasts, to see them rent one an other, than in the works of mercie, which are the fruits of a true professed faith, and ought to be the sabboth daies exercise: and not onelie a warning to works of mercie, but a watchword to put vs in mind how we violate the sabboth daie, the Lords owne daie, which he sanctified himselfe, that we by his example might sanctifie the same, and not prophane it with such gentilisme as we do, as though God would not call vs to a reckoning for abusing his holie ordinances, and falsifieng the glorious title of christians in our odious actions: for the which God will seuerelie expostulat with vs, and with indignation demand of vs why we take his lawes in our mouths, & renounce them in our minds; why we let them swim in our lips, and slip from our liues, as the vaine Iewes did, vnto whome God said in displeasure as followeth:

Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the beare garden, a warning to prophaners of the sabboth daie.

Quid de lege mea declamas ore profano?
Non hoc officij debuit esse tui:
Cùm tamen & mores & leges oderis æquas,
Et verbi officium neglegis omne mei.

Rob. Hess. in Psal. 50.

William Bruster and Marie Breame smothered to death.

On the third of Februarie being sundaie, William Brustar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the southwest porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Brustar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue beene the burning of old shoes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppresse the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening prayer, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Brustars chamber, and there vpon made hast to the doore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had tipped vp the lead and rose of the chamber to let out the smothering stench: which being done, they found Brustar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell, and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small mas of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir breast, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Brustar sat. Of this lamentable accident people talked diuerslie, and pamphlets were published to make the same more knowne: howbeit, to leaue the certeine meanes of the event to his knowledge that vnderstandeth and seeth all things, let it be a warning to all ages so to liue, as that an honest report may attend their death, & shame flie from them as a cloud before the wind:

Sic sapient, sic non insipientes erunt.

1583

A man and a woman hanged at Shoe lane end.

On the sixteenth of Aprill about six of the clocke in the morning, Thomas Wroth & Alice Shepheard, were hanged on a gibbet at Shoelane end in Fleetstreet, for killing of a prentice in the same Shoelane. Also on the same daie about eight of the clocke in the morning, a gunpowder house, called the signe of the gun in Fetterlane neere vnto Fléetstréet, and diuerse other houses neere adioining, were blowne vp, with the spoile of fiftie hundred weight of powder: two men and one woman were slaine, & diuerse other persons, as well men as women and children were sore hurt, some blasted with the flame, some bruised with the fall of timber vpon them, &c.

The gunpowder house in Fetterlane blowne vp.

Palatine of Stradia in Poland came into England.

Albertus Alasco, sr̃ baron of Lasco, Vaiuode, or palatine of Stradia in Poland, arriued at Harwich in Essex, and on the last of Aprill came by water to Winchester house in Southwarke, where he remained for the most part of his abode here: of whome more hereafter at his returne into his owne countrie. Elias Thacker tailor was hanged at saint Edmunds burie in Suffolke on the fourth of June, and John Coping shoomaker on the first of the same moneth, for spreading and maintening certeine bookes seditiouslie penned by one Robert Brawne against the received booke of English common praier, established by the lawes of this realme their bookes (so manie as could be found) were burned before them. This yeare on the ninth of June deceased Thomas Ratclife earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine to hir maiestie, and knight of the garter, at Barmundsey in the borough of Southwarke besides London, and was on the eight of Julie next following conueied through the same citie of London toward Newhall in Essex, there to be buried in forme following. First went on foot before him fortie and fiue poore men in blacke gownes, then an horsebacke one hundred and twentie seruingmen in blacke coats, then ninetie and fiue gentlemen in blacke gownes or cloakes, besides the heralds at armes and other, which bare his helme, creast, sword, coat of armes, and banners of armes, &c. Then the deceased earle, couered with a pall of blacke veluet, in a chariot likewise couered with blacke veluet, drawne with foure goodlie geldings; next after was led the earles steed couered with blacke veluet, then sir Henrie Ratclife the succeeding erle chiefe mourner, and eight other lords all in blacke, then the lord maior and his brethren the aldermen of London riding in murrate gownes, then on foot the gentlemen of Greis in, and last of all the worshipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London in their liueries,

Elias Thacker, and John Coping hanged at Bery.

Thomas Ratclife earle of Sussex deceased.

Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

Dr Hartie R.L.

Justice Wanbalke his charitie of one thousand nine hundred pounds.

Searchers apprehended and executed.

uerties, for that the said earle was a brother of their companie, as manie noble men, and famous princes, kings of this realme before him had béene; as more at large is declared in * the summarie of the chronicles of England, in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth. The maior and aldermen, the gentlemen of Greis in, and the merchant tailors accompanied the corps to the barres without Aldgate, and returned. This was the end of that noble man, who (whiles he liued) aduentured him and life against the enimies of the English commonwelth, and therefore in respect of his excellent seruices, deserued no lesse remembrance than is alreadie extant of him in print, whereof this following is a parcell:

1 Stow.

Satrapa præclarus, fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui fecerunt carpere cœli
Et fidus custos, fidi fremens ædibus ante
Quodlibet, immicto ad cuncti pectora compos
Cui virtus persæpe terebam parrexit Hibernus,
Quem pugnis fulgens miræ victoria pariæ
Sanguineis, sed laus huic maxima iudicis æqui.

Edmund Grindall doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturie deceassed at Croidon in Surrie on the first daie of Julie, & was there buried. This good man in his life time was so studious, that his booke was his bride, and his studie his bridechamber, wherupon he spent both his eiesight, his strength, and his health, and therefore might verie well be actuelie but passiuelie be named as (he was) Grindall: for he grond himselfe euen to his graue by mortification. Of whome much might be spoken for others imitation (sith the vse of the historie, is to instruct succéeding ages) but this shall suffice, that as his learning & vertue were inseparable companions; so the reward of both is the good name which he hath left behind him as a monument perpetuall, because vertue was the founder of the same: according to the true saieng of the late poet importing no lesse:

Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturie deceassed.

virtutis merces eadem & labor, illa tropheum est,
Solaque dat nigræ vincere mortis iter:
Nam nisi virtutis quæratur gloria factis,
Omnis in extremos est abitura rogos.

Mr Martin R.L.

Barnard Randolfe esquier, common sargeant to the citie of London, deceassed on the seauenth of August. This man in his life time, somewhat before his death, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the Fishmongers in London the summe of nine hundred pounds, of good and lawfull monie of England to be imploied towards the conducting of Thames water, cesterning the same in lead, and casselling with stone in the parishes of saint Marie Magdalene, and saint Nicholas cold abbeie, néere vnto old Fishstréet, seauen hundred pounds. The other two hundred pounds, to paie for euer yearelie the summe of ten pounds, that is, towards the maintenance of a poore scholar in the vniuersitie of Oxenford yearelie foure pounds. Towards the mending of the high waies in the parish of Tisehurst, in the countie of Sussex, where the said Barnard was borne, euerie yeare foure pounds. And to the poore people of the parishes of saint Nicholas Olaue in Wedstréet and saint Marie Magdalene néere to old Fishstréet fortie shillings, to wit, twentie shillings to either parish for euer. More he willed and bequeathed by his last will and testament to be bestowed in land or annuities, to the releefe of the poore inhabiting in the wards of Queenehithe, and castell Bainard in the citie of London, and in the aforesaid parish of Tisehurst in the countie of Sussex, the summe of one thousand pounds.

Justice Wanlesse his chance of one thousand nine hundred pounds.

This yeare in the moneth of June, were sent to the seas, a ship called the barke Talbot, and a small barke, both manned with a hundred men, vnder the charge of William Borough esquier, clerke of hir maiesties nauie, for the apprehending of certeine outragious searouers, who for that they were manie in number, and well appointed (contemning the small strength that was set out against them) so boldlie behaued themselues, as that shortlie after it was confidentlie bruted, that they had vanquished in fight the said ship and barke. But within few daies after, beyond all expectation, they were by the said William Borough and his companie discomfited and taken, to the number of ten saile (whereof three were pates) & some of the chiefe pirats, namelie Thomas Walton *alias* Purser, Clinton Atkinson, William Ellis, William Valentine *alias* Bagh, Thomas Beuen and foure more, on the thirtith of August were hanged at Wapping in the ooze beside London. Walton as he went to the gallowes rent his venetian breeches of crimsin taffata, and distributed the same péecemeale, to such his old acquaintance as stood neere about him: but Atkinson had before giuen his murrie veluet dublet with great gold buttons, and the like coloured veluet venetians laid with great gold lace (apparell too sumptuous for searouers) which he had worne at the seas, & wherein he was brought vp prisoner from Cosse castell in the Ile of Wosbeke to London, vnto such his frends as pleased him, before he went to Wapping.

Seamen repriued but executed.

Elias Thaxter, and John Coping hanged at Berrie.

Thomas Ratcliffe earle of Sussex deceased.

A briefe description of Clinton Atkinson and his parentage.

¶ This Clinton Atkinson (a personable fellow, tall of stature and well proportioned, of acceptable behauiour when he kept shop for himselfe, being a free man of London, and like enough to doo well if he had taken good waies) had his name of the late earle of Lincolne now deceassed, who christened him being an infant, & by whose speciall meanes (being growne a proper man) he was not long before saued from the like death, and yet thorough want of grace making relapse, fell within danger of law. He descended of honest parents, his father specially being a man of verie honest name, one that loued the truth, for the testimonie whereof he forsooke his owne native countrie, leading a hard life with his familie beyond the seas in quæne Maries daies: & returning to England at the inthronization of our gratious quæne Elisabeth in the seat royall, was made minister, in which vocation he died in Gods fauour, and the good opinion of his neighbors, leuing behind him (among other sonnes) this his eldest, sorted (as you see) to the shame, which malefactors of that qualitie, and so conuinced, can not auoid. This anoweth he that knew the man as well as the right hand from the left. Where (to conclude) we are to marke that it is not alwaies true, that good parents haue good children: for here is an example of degeneration, procured not by euill education (for this Clinton wanted no good bringing vp) but by bad companie and libertie, the verie spoile of many a one that otherwise might liue & thriue. Wherin by the way we are to wonder at the counsels of God, who suffreth children so much to varie from their parents in qualitie, as if they had not receiued their birthright, but were bastards & changlings: but to end with the prophet Dauids saieng:

Companie & libertie bring manie to miserie.

Intima consilij non penetranda Dei.

An heretike John Lewes burned at Norwich. See pag. 1299.

On the eighteenth daie of September, John Lewes, who named himselfe Abdoit, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Matthew Hamont) was burned at Norwich. On the two and twentith of September Albertus de Lasco, palatine of Stradia in Poland, before spoken of, now when he had well viewed the order of our English court and nobilitie; with other places of this realme, especiallie the vniuersitie of Oxenford, &c: taking leaue of hir maiestie, and of the nobilitie, he departed towards Poland. But before we make entrance into further occurrents, it shall not be amisse

Palatine of Stradia in Poland returned.

Palatine of Stradia in Poland came into England.

Elias Thaxter, and John Coping hanged at Berrie.

Thomas Ratcliffe earle of Sussex deceased.

A man and a woman hanged at Shoreditch end.

The gunpowder house in Fetterlane blowne vp.

1583

Palatine of Stradia in Poland came into England.

Elias Thaxter, and John Coping hanged at Berrie.

Thomas Ratcliffe earle of Sussex deceased,

amisse to touch some necessarie circumstances of remembrance.

A description of Albertus his person, apparell, &c.

This Albertus in the eies of the most, whereof some knew him, that might hardlie commend him, esteemed him a man for making well proportioned, of an indifferent tall stature, of countenance amiable, and complexion English like, having a white beard of such length and breadth, as that lieng in his bed, and parting it with his hands, the same ouerspred all his brest and shoulders, himselfe greatlie delighting therein, and reputing it an ornament: as for his qualities (apparant vnto the world) they were generous, his vtterance swæt, his wit plausible, in the knowledge of tongs well seene: his ordinarie attire scarlet, but when he presented himselfe to hir maiestie, a robe or gowne of purple velvet, with other habiliments and furniture agreeable; his shoes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not altogither vnlike Chaucers. Finallie, a gallant fellow he was, & (as might be gathered by some words spoken by him in *open audience) more Martiall than Mercuriall; verie active in respect of his age, and also studious in diverse faculties, &c.

* At Oxenford, where he termed the Latine that he spake *Militare Latium*, that is, souldiers Latine.

Touching the interteinement which he had at Oxenford, and how the vniversitie did congratulate his comming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In the moneth of June, the said Albertus de Lasco, comming from the marriage of the lord Morris his daughter, with sir A. Paulets eldest sonne at Ricot,

The lord Morris his daughter maried to sir A. Paulet his eldest sonne.

he put himselfe on the waie to Oxenford, whereof the vniversitie (doctor Houenden then vicechancellor, & maister Leison with maister Edes proctors) hauing intelligence, prouided for his conuenient receiuing: insomuch that in the waie to Oxenford, there met him doctor Westfailing, who greeted him with a pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his brethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the towne clerke a worshipfull maister of art, pronounced his short and sententious speech in Latine, not without some gratulatorie gift from that corporation. On the east gate wherat he entered, stood a consort of musicians, who for a long space made verie swæt harmonie, which could not but moue & delight:

Inscia plebs populiſque arrectis auribus astat,
Dulciferumque rudi suscipit aure melos.

All vp the high street vnto saint Maries church, on either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled scholers in their gownes & caps, batchelors and maisters in their habits and hoods. At saint Maries the orator of the vniversitie (notable in his facultie) presented him a boke, in which were closelie couched verie rich and gorgeous gloues. From thense he marched to Christs church, where he was whilest he abode in the vniversitie most honourablie interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall passimes, strange fire works were shewed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a number such maner of deuises. On the second daie, his first dinner was made him at Alsoules college, where (besides dutifull receiuing of him) he was solemnelie satisfied with scholerlie exercises and courtlie fare. This night & the night insuing, after sumptuous suppers in his lodging, he personaly was present with his traine in the hall, first at the plaieng of a pleasant comedie intituled *Riuales*; then at the setting out of a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*, wherein the quænes banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was liuelie described in a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and sneu an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, marvellous, & abundant.

The welcomming of Albertus to the vniversitie of Oxenford, with a partile description of his interteinment.

Rosine of rosewater, and baile of sugar confects, &c.

Most of the actors were of the same house, sir or seauen of them were of saint Johns, & three or foure of other colleges & hals. His second dinner the third daie was at Magdalen college, with oratorie welcomming & bountifull feasting. His third dinner the fourth daie at New college. The eloquent speech in Greeke Latine and Dutch with his owne vnstudied answer thervnto, & all other before rehersed, are not to be omitted; nor the publike philosophie, physike, and diuinitie disputations, in all which those learned opponents, respondents, & moderators, quited themselues like themselues, sharplie and soundlie, besides all other solemne sermons & lectures. At afternoone the fourth & last daie, he went towards Woodstocke manour, and without the north gate by the waie he was inuited vnto a banket at saint Johns college, where the gates & outward wals ouercouered with thousands of verses, & other emblematicall poetries then offered him, argued their hartie goodwils: but his hasting to his iournies end caused him not to tarie the delicat banket; yet onelie staieng the deliuerie of a swæt oration and his owne quicke wittie replie there vnto, he departed immediatlie, accompanied for a mile or two with the most of those reuerend doctors and heads of houses all on horsebacke, where the orator againe gaue him an orators fare well. And this is the summe of his interteinement; not deliuered in such sort as the dignitie of the same requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remembrance.

On the three & twentith daie of September, John Whitegift doctor of diuinitie, sometimes maister of Trinitie colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Worcester, was at Lambhith translated to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, where he at his comming to Lambehith (as also elsewhere he alwaies did) gaue euident testimonies both of mindfulnesse and thankefulnesse for his aduancements: as by the three tables hanging at the vpper end of his great chamber appeareth: their position in this sort. In the midst hir maiesties armes rotall artificiallie wrought, with as much cunning as the painter by his pencill could describe them: and vnder them this distichon of thankesgiuing, and welwishing:

Doctor Whitegift archbishop of Canturburie.

Nestoreos fælix regat Elisabetha per annos,
*Quæ mihi munificè * Candida dona dedit.*

Allusio, ad D. archiep. nomen.

On the right side, the armes of the see of Canturburie of azure, a pall siluer garnished with crosses forme fiche sable ouer a crosse portatile gold: to the lower end whereof this distichon is fairelie fixed:

En leue multiplici premeretur cuspide corpus,
Ni baculus Christi grande leuaret onus.

Ab Hart. quondam Cant. & Trinitarius.

On the left side are placed the ancient armes of the see of Worcester, from the which he was translated, which are of siluer, ten torteaux, foure, three, two, one: with this distichon thervnto annexed:

Qui crucis ærumnas patitur, post fata triumphat,
Lilia sic spondent fulua coniuncta talentis.]

Ouer & aboue the arms of both the said sees is his graces posie, *Vincit qui patitur*: a deserued posie, and iustified by his actions. The tenth of October at Easter, a towne in Norfolke neere the sea coast, about two miles from Yarmouth, there was a fish of wonderfull length, by force of the wind (being then easterlie) driuen a shore, the length whereof was from the necke vnto the taile seuentæne yards and one foote, hauing a big head; for the chap of the iaw was three yards and a quarter in length, with teeth of three quarters of a yard compas, great eies, and two great holes ouer them to spout out water, hir taile was fourtæne foot broad, &c: she laie in the sands, and was sonken therein a yard and a halfe

A monstrous fish taken in Norfolke.

deepe,

déepe, and yet was the aboue the sands so high, that a lather of fourtéene staues would but reach to the top of hir backe; so that in thicknesse from the backe to the bellie, the was foure yards and a halfe. John Slade, sometime a scholemaister, and John Bodie a maister of art of Oxford, being both indicted and condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged, and quartered: Slade at Winchester on the thirtith daie of October, and Bodie at Andouar on the second daie of Nouember.

Slade and Bodie executed.

About this time, one named Ditch a notable horsestealer, was apprehended at the sessions holden for the goale deliuerie at Newgat, on the fourth of December, ninetéene times indicted, whereof he confessed eightéene: who also betwéene the time of his apprehension and the said sessions, appeached manie for stealing of horses, whereof (diuerse being apprehended) ten of them were condemned, and hanged in Smithfield on the first daie of December, being Fridaie, and horse market there. He also holpe diuerse more to their horses againe which had béene stolne from them, taking of euerie one of them ten shillings the péece or more that so recouered their horses: wherby he made fiftéene pounds of currant monie towards his charges. James earle of Desmond in Ireland, secretlie wandering without anie succour as a miserable begger, being taken in his cabbin by one of the Irishrie, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where the same (as the head of an archrebell) was set vpon London bridge on the thirtéenth daie of December. Looke for the manner of his rebellion and his death more at large set downe in the histories of Ireland.

An Reg. 26. Horsestealers hanged, ten at once in Smithfield.

Desmonds head set on London bridge.

The tenth daie of December, through negligence of vndiscréet persons, brewing in the towne of Nantwich, in a place called Waterlode; the fire being carelesse left, toke hold (as should séeme) vpon some straw, or such light matter, & so burst forth to the roofes of the house, and in short time so increased, that from the west end of the towne (the wind at southwest) the flame was dispersed so furiouslie into the towne on the southside, that in short space a great part of the said southside and some of the eastside was burned downe to the ground. Which fire beginning at six of the clocke in the euening, and continuing till six of the clocke in the morning following, neuer ceased burning, till it had consumed aboue the number of two hundred houses, besides brew houses, barnes, stables, &c: in all about six hundred houses, so that by estimation of manie, the losse of houses and goods amounted to aboue thirtie thousand pounds, as more at large appeared by a particular booke printed of that matter. About this time, John Someruile a furious yong man of Edstow in Warwikeshire, of late discouered and taken in his waie comming with full intent to kill the quéenes maiestie (whom God long prosper to reigne ouer vs) confessed the treason, and that he was moued therevnto in his wicked spirit, by certeine traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading of certeine seditious bookes latelie published, for the which the said Someruile, Edward Arden a squire of Parkehall in Warwikeshire, Marie Arden his wife (father and mother in law to the said Someruile) and Hugh Hall priest, being with other before indicted at Warwike, were on the sixtéenth of December arreigned in the Guildhall of London, where they were found guiltie and condemned of high treason. On the nintéenth of December, John Someruile, and Edward Arden, being brought from the tower of London to Newgate of the same citie, and there shut vp in seuerall places: within two houres after, Someruile was found (desperatlie) to haue strangled himselfe. And on the morrow being the twentith of December, Edward Arden was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered: whose head with Somerviles was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie; but the bodie of Somerville was buried in the Moorefields, néere vnto the windmils without Moregate. A dreadfull example of Gods heauie iudgement vpon those two offendors; but spectallie against the last, whome God deliuered to a reprobat mind, in somuch that his owne hands became his hangman, preuenting the office of the common executioner, who should haue performed that last action vpon him: whereof the iustice of God in vengeance made himselfe the finisher and fulfiller. Thus much by the waie of terror, that the remembrance hereof, by the reading & reporting of the same, maie make men euill minded, amazed at the rigorous reuenge-ment which God taketh (when he séeth his due time) vpon the wicked: after his long sufferance and patience most wickedlie abused; wherof the poet saith:

Nantwich in Cheshire burnt.

Somerville, Arden, and others arreigned.

Arden executed.

Vltio procedit (fateor) diuina gradatim,
Nec quoties peccant fulmina vibrat eis:
Supplicij verò iusta grauitate rependit
Turpia, quæ longo tempore facta tulit.

This booke for the time that it was in request, set peoples tongues on worke, and filled their minds with strange conceipts.

In this yeare 1583 (which should haue béene noted in the fore part of the yeare) by the meanes of a certeine astrologicall discourse, vpon the great and notable coniunction of the two superior planets, Saturne and Jupiter, prognosticated to be the eight and twentith of April; the common sort of people, yea and no small multitude of such as thinke scorne to be called fooles, or counted beggers, whilest they were in expectation of this coniunction, were in no small imaginations, supposing that no lesse would haue béene effectuated, than by the said discourse was prophesied. Into these fansies not void of feare and mistrust they were drawne with the more facilitie, for that they had read, and heard, & pondered, and suspected, and in part beléeued the predictions of such euents as should insue by influence of that coniunction. For it was termed the great and notable coniunction, which should be manifested to the ignorant sort, by manie fierce and boisterous winds then suddenlie breaking out. It was called the greatest and most soueregne coniunction among the seuen planets: why so? Because lawes, and empires, and regions are ruled by the same: which foretelleth the comming of a prophet, & the destruction of certeine climats and parts of the earth, and new found heresies, and a new founded kingdome, and damages through the pestilence, and abundant showers: which doth prognosticat the destinie of a great and mightie king, much sorrow & heauinesse to men, losses to rich and noble men, yea and those to which are accounted and reputed like to prophets, and a multitude of locusts: which doth foreshew, that weightie and wonderfull things shall come into the world: which doth threaten continuall ouerflowes of waters, and particular deluges in some countries: finallie, which menaceth much mischiefe. The publication, off reading, and talking of this coniunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherin it should be, made manie (when the date foretold was come) to looke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rife in euerie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of amongst astrologers, who haue as it were, *vnanimi consensu*, prognosticated, that either a maruellous fearfull & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, segniories and estates, togither likewise with other most wonderfull, and verie extraordinarie accidents,

Why it was called the great coniunction.

Touching the yeare of wonders, gathered to be 1588.

dents,

dents, as extreame hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an vtter and finall ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue: which prophesie is conteined in these verses following:

Leouitius Regiomontanus.

Post mille expletos à partu Virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:
Octogesimus octauus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, is secum tristia fata feret.
Si non hoc anno totus malus occidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra, fretúmque ruet:
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque retrorsum,
Imperia, & luctus vndique grandis erit.

So that by this prophesie, either a finall dissolution, or a wonderfull horrible alteration of the world is then to be expected. All these considerations laid togither, as well the prediction of the coniunction in expectation, as also the dreadfull euents, which were to insue therevpon: and vpon the necke of these, the great yeare of 1588 in euerie mans mouth, the more frequent and common by occasion of a booke extant vnder the title of the end of the world, and the second comming of Christ, made diuerse diuerslie affected; insomuch that some conuersing and conferring, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and talking verie religiouslie, seemed as though they would become sanctified people: howbeit, the day of the coniunction being past, with a certeine counterchecke against the said astrologicall discourse in some points defectiue, and no such euents palpablie perceiued as were prognosticated; people fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreame madnesse and follie: whereof no more but this, *Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicum præter ignorantem.*

The great yeare of 1588 is more talked of than feared.

When people saw nothing in the aire (as they looked for) they fell to derision.

1584

On the tenth of Januarie in the yeare 1584 at a sessions holden in the iustice hall in the old bailie of London for goale deliuerie of Newgate, William Cartar of the citie of London was there indicted, arreigned, and condemned of high treason, for printing a seditious and traitorous booke in English, intituled A treatise of schisme: and was for the same (according to sentence pronounced against him) on the nert morrow, which was the eleuenth of Januarie, drawne from Newgate to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And forthwith against slanderous reports, spread abroad in seditious bookes, letters and libels, thereby to inflame the hearts of our countriemen, and hir maiesties subiects: a booke was published, intituled, A declaration of the fauorable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, &c. Which booke I haue thought good in this place to set downe (for the better instruction of the reader) euen as the same was printed and published, and thus it followeth.

Tartar executed for printing a traitorous booke.

A declaration of the fauorable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, for the examining of traitors.

A declaration of the fauourable dealing of *hir maiesties commissioners appointed for* the examination of certeine traitors, and of tortures vniustlie *reported to be done vpon them* for matters of religion.

To the reader.

GOod reader, although hir maiesties most mild and gratious gouernement be sufficient to defend it selfe against those most slanderous reports of heathenish and vnnaturall tyrannie and cruell tortures, pretended to haue beene executed vpon certeine traitors, who latelie suffered for their treason, and others, as well spread abroad by rungates, Iesuits, and seminarie men in their seditious bookes, letters, and libels, in forren countries and princes courts, as also insinuated into the hearts of some of our owne countriemen and hir maiesties subiects: yet for thy better satisfaction I haue conferred with a verie honest gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and sufficient meanes to deliuer the truth against such forgers of lies and shameless slanders in that behalfe, which he and other that do know and haue affirmed the same will at all times iustifie. And for thy further assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set downe to the vew of all men these necessarie notes following.

Touching the racke and torments vsed to such traitors as pretended themselues to be catholikes, vpon whom the same haue beene exercised, it is affirmed for truth, and is offered vpon due examination so to be proued, to be as followeth. First, that the formes of torture in their seueritie or rigour of execution, haue not beene such and in such maner performed, as the slanderers and seditious libellers haue slanderouslie & maliciouslie published. And that euen the principall offendor Campion himselfe, who was sent & came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, hauing secretlie wandered in the greatest part of the shires of England in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons; and to that end and for furtherance of those his labours, sent ouer for more helpe and assistance, and cunninglie and traitorouslie at Rome before he came from thense, procured toleration for such prepared rebels to keepe themselues couert vnder pretense of temporarie and permissiue obedience to hir maiestie the state standing as it doth; but so soone as there were sufficient force thereby the bull of hir maiesties deprivation might be publikelie executed, they should then ioine all togither with that force vpon paine of curse and damnation: that verie Campion, I saie, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherin he was charitablie vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presentlie able to walke, and to write, and did presentlie write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may euidentlie appeare.

The slanderous report concerning the extreame vse of racke conuicted.

Campion and Bziant were fauourablie vsed: and far vnder the proportion of their treasonable offenses.

A horrible matter is also made of the starning of one Alexander Bziant, how he should eat clate out of the wals, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie: where the truth is this, that what soeuer Bziant suffered in want of food, he suffered the same wilfullie & of extreame impudent obstinacie, against the mind and liking of those that dealt with him. For certeine traitorous writings being found about him, it was thought conuenient by conference of hands to vnderstand whose writing they were, and therevpon he being in hir maiesties name commanded to write, which he could verie well do, and being permitted to him to write what he would himselfe, in these termes, that if he liked not to write one thing, he might write another, or what he listed (which to do being charged in hir maiesties name was his dutie, and to refuse was disloiall and vndutifull) yet the man would by no meanes be induced to write anie thing at all. Then was it commanded to his keeper to giue vnto him such meat, drinke, and other conuenient necessaries as he would write for, and to forbeare to giue him anie thing for which he would not write.

But Bziant being thereof aduertised and oft mooued to write, persisting so in his errit heart by almost two daies and two nights, made choise rather to lacke food, than to write for the sustenance which he might readilie haue had for writing, & which he had indeed readilie and plentifullie so soone as he wrote. And as it is said of these two, so is it to be said of other; with this, that there was a perpetuall

The errit & stubborne part of Bziant.

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care had, & the quēnes seruants the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer by those that attended the examinations specially charged, to vse it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be.

Secondlie it is said, and likewise offered to be iustified, that neuer anie of these seminaries, or such other pretended catholikes, which at anie time in hir maiesties reigne haue bēne put to the racke, were vpon the racke or in other torture demanded anie question of their supposed conscience; as what they beleeued in anie point of doctrine or faith, as the masse, transubstantiation, or such like: but onelie with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plats, practises and conferences they had dealt about attempts against hir maiesties estate or person, or to alter the lawes of the realme for matters of religion, by treason or by force, and how they were persuaded themselues, and did persuade other touching the popes bull and pretense of authoritie, to depose kings and princes; and namelie, for deprivation of hir maiestie, and to discharge subiects from their allegiance, expressing herein alwaie the kinglie powers and estates, and the subiects allegiance ciuilie, without mentioning or meaning therein anie right that the quēne as in right of the crowne hath ouer persons ecclesiasticall being hir subiects. In all which cases, Campion and the rest neuer answered plainelie, but sophisticallie, deceitfullie and traitorouslie, restraining their confession of allegiance onelie to the permissiue forme of the popes toleration. As for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge themselues the quēnes subiects and would obeie hir, they would saie, Yea: for so they had leaue for a time to do. But adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they would so acknowledge & obeie hir anie longer than the pope would so permit them; or notwithstanding such commandement as the pope would or might giue to the contrarie: then they either refused so to obeie, or denied to answer; or said, that they could not answer to those questions without danger. Which verie answer without more saieng, was a plaine answer to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they would no longer be subiects, nor persuade other to be subiects, than the pope gaue licence. And at their verie arreignement, when they laboured to leaue in the minds of the people and standers by, an opinion that they were to die, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the seruice of God, without anie attempt or purpose against hir maiestie, they cried out that they were true subiects, and did and would obeie and serue hir maiestie. Immediatlie, to proue whether that hypocriticall and sophisticall speach extended to a perpetuitie of their obedience, or to so long time as the pope so permitted, or no; they were openlie in place of iudgement asked by the quēnes learned councell, whether they would so obeie and be true subiects, if the pope commanded the contrarie: They plainlie disclosed themselues in answer, saieng by the mouth of Campion: This place (meaning the court of hir maiesties Bench) hath no power to inquire or iudge of the holie fathers authoritie: and other answer they would not make.

Thirdlie, that none of them haue bēne put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason or such like, but where it was first knowen and euidentlie probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was giltie, and did know, and could deliuer truth of the things wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at anie time tormented, and the racke was neuer vsed to wring out confessions at aduenture vpon vncertenties, in which doing it might be possible that an innocent in that case might haue bin racked.

Fourthlie, that none of them hath bēne racked or tortured, vnlesse he had first said expressie, or amounting to almuch, that he will not tell the truth, though the quēne command him. And if anie of them being examined did saie he could not tell, or did not remember, if he would so affirme in such maner as christians among christians are beleeued; such his answer was accepted, if there were not apparant euidence to proue that he wilfullie said vntrulie. But if he said that his answer in deliuering truth, should hurt a catholike, & so be an offense against the charitie, which they said to be sinne, & that the quēne could not command them to sin, & therfore how soeuer the quēne commanded, they would not tell the truth, which they were knowen to know, or to such effect; they were then put to the torture, or else not.

Fiftlie, that the proceeding to torture was alwaie so slowlie, so vnwillinglie, & with so manie preparations of persuasions to spare themselues, and so manie meanes to let them know that the truth was by them to be vttered, both in dutie to hir maiestie, and in wisedome for themselues, as whosoeuer was present at those actions, must needes acknowledge in hir maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the example of hir owne most gratious disposition; whome God long preserue.

Thus it appeareth, that albeit by the more generall lawes of nations torture hath bēne, and is lawfullie iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in that per maner for inquisition of truth in crimes not so nere extending to publike danger, as these vngratious persons haue committed, whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behoue to haue disclosed: yet euen in that necessarie vse of such proceeding, inforced by the offendors notorious obstinacie, is neuertheless to be acknowledged the sweet temperature of hir maiesties mild and gratious clemencie, and their slanderous lewdnesse to be the more condemned, that haue in fauour of hainous malefactors, and stubborne traitors, spred vntrue rumors and slanders, to make hir mercifull gouernement disliked, vnder false pretense and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whom nothing can be cruell, and yet vpon whom nothing hath bēne done but gentle and mercifull.

Ergo it is false which the infamous libeller hath said abrode, *Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.*

This is consonant to the report set downe before in the discourse of Campion. pag. 1325.

What allegiance these fellows meant to hir maiestie may appeere by their words of Campion, being the mouth of the rest.

The execution of iustice in England *for maintenance of publike and christian peace*, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to *the traitors and enimies of the realme, without anie persecution of them for questions of religion*, as is falslie reported and published by the fautors and fosterers of their treasons.

All offendors couer their faults with contrarie causes.

IT hath bēne in all ages and in all countries a common vsage of all offendors, for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and vnlawfull facts by vntruths, and by colouring and couering their deeds (were they neuer so vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects: to the intent not onelie to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, vphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bēne the vse of all offendors, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawfull princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort of late yeares are specially to be noted certeine persons naturallie borne subiects in the realme of England and Ireland, who hauing for some good time

Rebels do most dangerouslie couer their faults.

profes-

professed outwardlie their obedience to their soueraigne ladie quéene Elisabeth, haue neuertheless afterward bæne stirred vp and seduced by wicked spirits, first in England sundrie yeares past, and secondlie and of later time in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking armes and comming into the field against hir maiestie and hir lieutenants, with their forces vnder banners displaied, inducing by notable vntruths manie simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions.

Rebellion in England and Ireland.

And though it is verie well knowen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to haue deposed the quéenes maiestie from hir crowne, and to haue traitorouslie set in hir place some other whome they liked, whereby if they had not bæne spedilie resisted, they would haue committed great bloudsheds and slaughters of hir maiesties faithfull subiects, and ruined their natiue countrie: yet by Gods power giuen vnto hir maiestie, they were so spedilie vanquished, as some few of them

The rebels vanquished by the quéens power.

Some of the rebels fled into forreine countries.

suffered by order of law according to their deserts, manie & the greatest part vpon confession of their faults were pardoned, the rest (but they not manie) of the principall escaped into forren countries, & there, bicause in none or few places rebels and traitors to their naturall princes and countries dare for their treasons challenge at their first muster open comfort or succour, these notable traitors and rebels haue fallelie informed manie kings, princes and states, and specially the bishop of Rome, commonlie called the pope (from whom they all had secretlie their first comfort to rebell), that the cause of their fleing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenance of the said popes authoritie: whereas diuerse of them before their rebellion liued so notoriouslie, the most part of their lines, out of all good rule, either for honest maners, or for anie sense in religion, as they might haue bæne rather familiar with Catiline, or fauourers to Sardanapalus, than accounted good subiects vnder anie christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Neuill earle of Westmerland, a person vtterlie wasted by lasciuiousnesse of life, and by Gods punishment euen in the time of his rebellion bereaued of his children that should haue succéeded him in the earledome, and his bodie now eaten with vlcers of leiud causes (as his companions do saie), that no surgion he hath can with him a viler punishment: a pitifull losse to the realme of so noble a house, neuer before in anie age attainted for disloialtie. And out of Ireland ran awaie one Thomas Stukelele, a defamed person almost thorough all christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable pirasies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels, the one for England, the other for Ireland.

Ringleaders of rebels. Charles Neuill earle of Westmerland, and Thomas Stukelele.

But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wicked liues of these & others their confederats, void of all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offenses, as themselues openlie pretend to do, for auoiding of common shame of the world: but flatlie to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawfull quéene, to inuade hir realme with forren forces, to pursue all hir good subiects & their natiue countries with fire and sword: for maintenance whereof there had some yeares before, at sundrie times, proceéded in a thundering sort, buls, excommunications, and other publike writings, denouncing hir maiestie being the lawfull quéene, and Gods anointed seruant not to be the quéene of the realme, charging and vp-

The effect of the popes bull against the quéene of England.

on paines of excommunication commanding all hir subiects to depart from their naturall allegiances, whereto by birth and by oth they were bound: pronouncing also and authorizing all persons of all degrees within both the realmes to rebell. And vpon this antichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, & nothing agreeable to a pastorall officer, not onelie all the rable of the foresaid traitors that were before fled; but also all other persons that had forsaken their natiue countries, being of diuerse conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthilie in vniuersities and other places, some bankerupt merchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obeie the laws of the land, haue manie yeares running vp and downe, from countrie to countrie, practised some in one corner, some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces and monie for forces, some with instigation of princes by vntruths, to make warre vpon their naturall countrie, some with inward practises to murther the greatest, some with seditious writings, and verie manie of late with publike infamous libels, full of despitefull vile termes and poisoned lies, altogither to vphold the foresaid antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the popes bull.

The practises of the traitors rebels, and their gifts to execute the bull.

And yet also by some other meanes, to further these inuentions, bicause they could not readilie preuaile by waie of force, finding forren princes of better consideration & not readilie inclined to their wicked purposes, it was deuised to erect vp certeine schooles which they called seminaries, to nourish and bring vp persons disposed naturallie to sedition, to continue their race & trade, and to become séedmen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretlie into these the quéenes maiesties realmes of England & Ireland vnder secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferiour orders, with titles of seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Iesuits for the stagers and ranker sort and such like, but yet so warilie they crept into the land, as none brought the markes of their priesthood with them. But in diuers corners of hir maiesties dominions these seminaries or séedmen and Iesuits, bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed wax, their *Agnus Dei*, their graines, and manie kind of beads, and such like, haue as tillagemen laboured secretlie to persuade the people to allow of the popes foresaid buls and warrants, & of his absolute authoritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking manie with pricks of conscience to obeie the same; whereby in proceesse of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traitorous, & craftie course had not bæne by Gods goodnesse espied and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible vproes in the realmes, and a manifest bloudie destruction of great multitudes of christians.

Seminaries erected to nurse sedicious fugitiues.

The seminarie fugitiues come secretlie into the realme to intrude the people to obeie the popes bull.

For it can not be denied but that so manie as should haue bæne induced & thoroughlie persuaded to haue obeied that wicked warrant of the popes, and the contents thereof, should haue bæne forthwith in their harts and consciences secret traitors, and for to be in déed errant and open traitors: there should haue wanted nothing but opportunitie to féele their strength & to assemble themselues in such numbers with armour and weapons, as they might haue presumed to haue bæne the greater part, and so by open ciuill warre to haue come to their wicked purposes. But Gods goodnesse, by whome kings do rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonlie wasted and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to hir maiestie as to his handmaid and deare seruant, ruling vnder him, the spirit of wisedome and power, where-

by

by the hath caused some of these seditious seedmen and sowers of rebellion, to be discouered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason, not being dealt withall vpon questions of religion, but suffrie by order of lawes, openlie condemned as traitors.

Sowers of treason taken, commanded, & executed after. Anno.

At which times, notwithstanding all maner gentle waies of persuasions vsed, to moue them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions with offer of mercie; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so deepelie entered and grauen into the harts of manie of them, as they would not be remoued from their traitorous determinations. And therefore as manifest traitors in mainteining and adhering to the capitall enimie of hir maiestie & hir crowne (who hath not onelie beene the cause of two rebellions alreadie pasted in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestlie wage and mainteine his owne people, capteins, and souldiers vnder the banner of Rome, against hir maiestie, so as no enimie could do more) these I saie haue iustlie suffered death not by force or forme of anie new lawes established, either for religion or against the popes supremasie, as the slanderous libellers would haue it seene to be; but by the ancient temporall lawes of the realme, and namelie by the laws of parlement made in king Edward the third his time, about the yeare of our Lord 1330, which is aboue two hundred yeares and more past, when the bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to haue their authoritie ecclesiasticall in this realme, as they had in manie other countries. But yet of this kind of offendors, as manie of them, as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions; so manie were spared from execution, & do liue still at this date: such was the vnwillingnes in hir maiestie to haue anie bloud spilt, without this verie vrgent, iust, and necessarie cause proceeding from themselues.

The practises of the traitors rebels, and fugitiues to execute the bull.

The seditious traitors condemned by the ancient lawes of the realme, made two hundred yeres past.

Seminaries erected to nurtle seditious fugitiues.

Persons condemned, spared from execution, vpon reuocall of their treasonable opinions.

And yet neuertheles, such of the rest of the traitors as remaine in forren parts, continuing still their rebellious minds, and craftilie keeping themselues aloofe off from dangers, ceasse not to prouoke sundrie other inferiour seditious persons, newlie to steale secretlie into the realme, to vrsue the former seditious practises, to the execution of the popes foresaid bull against hir maiestie and the realme, pretending when they are apprehended, that they came onelie into the realme by the commandement of their superiors, the heads of the Iesuits, to whome they are bound (as they saie) by oth against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens consciences from errors in some points of religion, as they thinke meet. But yet in verie truth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestlie proued, to be secretlie to win all people, with whom they dare deale; so to allow of the popes said buls, and of his authoritie without exception, as in obeieng thereof, they take themselues fullie discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawfull prince and countrie: yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against hir maiestie, when they shall be thereunto called; and to be readie secretlie to ioine with any forren force that can be procured to inuade the realme, whereof also they haue a long time giuen, and yet do for their aduantage, no small comfort of successe. And so consequentlie the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onelie into a dangerous warre against the forces of strangers (from which it hath beene free aboue three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, a case verie memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like) but into a warre domesticall and ciuill, wherein no bloud is vsuallie spared, nor mercie yeelded, and wherein neither the vanquished nor the vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

The forren natiues commaunde sending ouer persons to moue sedition in the realme.

The seminarie fugitiues come secretlie into the realme to intrance the people to obeie the popes bull.

The seditious fugitiues labour to bring the realme into a warre externall and domesticall.

And forsomuch as these are the most euident perils that necessarilie should follow, if these kind of vermine were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spred their poison within the same, howsoeuer when they are taken, like hypocrits, they colour and counterfeit the same with profession of deuotion in religion: it is of all persons to be yeelded in reason, that hir maiestie and all hir gouernours and magistrats of iustice, hauing care to mainteine the peace of the realme (which God hath giuen in hir time, to continue longer than euer in anie time of hir progenitors) ought of dutie to almightie God the author of peace, and according to the naturall loue and charge due to their countrie, and for auoiding of the flouds of bloud, which in ciuill warres are seene to run and flow, by all lawfull meanes possible, as well by the sword as by law, in their seuerall seasons to impeach and repell these so manifest and dangerous colourable practises, and workes of sedition and rebellion.

The dutie of the queene and all hir gouernors to God and their countrie, is to repell practises of rebellion.

And though there are manie subiects knowne in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England and that do also not forbeare to profesle the same: yet in that they do also profesle loialtie and obedience to hir maiestie, and offer readilie to hir maiesties defense, to impugne & resist anie forreine force, though it should come or be procured from the pope himselfe: none of these sort are for their contrarie opinions in religion prosecuted or charged with anie crimes or paines of treason, nor yet willinglie searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that sauour not of treason. And of these sorts, there haue beene and are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those which of late haue beene executed, as in particular, some by name are well knowne, and not vnfit to be remembred. The first and chiefest by office was doctor Heth, that was archbishop of Yorke, and lord chancellor of England in queene Maries time; who at the first comming of hir maiestie to the crowne, shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subiect, continued in both the said offices, though in religion then manifestlie differing; and yet was he not restreined of his libertie, nor deprined of his proper lands and goods, but leauing willinglie both his offices, liued in his owne house verie discreetlie, and inioied all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, vntill by verie age he departed this world, and then left his house and liuing to his friends. An example of gentlenesse neuer matched in queene Maries time.

None charged with capitall crimes, being of a contrarie religion, and profesling to withstand forreine forces.

The like did one doctor Pole that had beene bishop of Peterborough, an ancient graue person, and a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that had beene bishops and in great estimation, as doctor Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great reputation, and also whilest he liued of verie quiet behauiour. There were also other, as doctor White & doctor Ozlethorpe, the one of Winchester, the other of Carlill, bishops, persons of courteous natures, and he of Carlill so inclined to dutifulnes to the queenes maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir maiestie in the church of Westminster: and doctor Thurlebie, & doctor Watson yet liuing, one of Elie, the other of Lincolne, bishops: the one of nature affable, the other altogither sowre, and yet liuing. Whereto may be added the bishop then of Exceter, Turberuile, an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop, who liued at his owne libertie to the end of his life: and none of all these prelled with anie capitall paine, though they mainteined the popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme. And some abbats, as maister Feckenam yet liuing,

Names of diuerse ecclesiasticall persons profesling contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crimes.

a person also of quiet and courteous behauiour, for a great time. Some also were deanes, as doctor Worall deane of Windsore, a person of great modestie, learning and knowledge: doctor Cole deane of Paules, a person more earnest than discréet: doctor Reinolds deane of Excester, not vnlearned, and manie such others, hauing borne office & dignities in the church, & that had made profession against the pope, which they onelie began in quéene Maries time to change: yet were these neuer to this daie burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet deprined of anie their goods or proper liuelods; but onelie remoued from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, & manie other of their sort for a great time were deteined in bishops houses in verie ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselues or their friends, vntill the time that the pope began by his buls & messages, to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion. About which time onlie, some of these aforenamed, being found busier in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was méete for the common quiet of the realme, were remoued to other more priuat places, where such other wanderers as were men knowne to moue sedition, might be restreined from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt: and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by anie inquisition to bring them into danger of anie capitall law: so as no one was called to anie capitall or bloudie question vpon matters of religion, but haue all inioied their life as the course of nature would: and such of them as yet remaine, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) inioie the time that God and nature shall yeld them without danger of life or member.

The late fauorers of the popes authoritie were the chiefe aduersaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

And yet it is worthie to be well marked, that the chiefest of all these and the most of them, had in time of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the pope: for which purpose they had many times giuen their othes publikelie, against the popes authoritie, and had also yéelded to both the said kings the title of supreame hed of the church of England next vnder Christ, which title the aduersaries do most falselie write and affirme, that the quéenes maiestie now vseth: a manifest lie & vntruth, to be séene by the verie acts of parlement, and at the beginning of hir reigne omitted in hir stile. And for proofe that these foresaid bishops and learned men had so long time disauowed the popes authoritie, manie of their books and sermons against the popes authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin to be séene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe to change so often, but specially in persecuting such as themselues had taught and stablished to hold the contrarie. A sin, nere the sin against the holie ghost.

A great number of late persons of liuelod being of a contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crime.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being late men of good possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, manifestlie of late time seduced to hold contrarie opinions in religion for the popes authoritie: and yet none of them haue béene sought hitherto to be impeached in anie point or quarell of treason, or of losse of life, member or inheritance. So as it may plainelie appeare, that it is not, nor hath béene for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries do boldlie and falslie publish, that anie persons haue suffered death since hir maiesties reigne. And yet some of these sort are well knowne to hold opinon, that the pope ought by authoritie of Gods word to be supreame and onelie head of the catholike church through the whole world, and onelie to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the quéenes maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer anie hir subiects in hir realme being persons ecclesiasticall: which opinions are neuertheless in some part by the lawes of the realme punishable in their degrées. And yet for none of these points haue anie persons béene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life.

No person charged with capitall crime for the onelie maintenance of the popes supremasie.

And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is trulie to be answered as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinatlie mainteine the contents of the popes bull afore mentioned; which do import, that hir maiestie is not the lawfull quéene of England, the first and highest point of treason: and that all hir subiects are discharged of their oths and obedience; a second high point of treason: and all warranted to disobeie hir and hir lawes; a third and a verie large point of treason. And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the popes hostile procéedings in open warres against hir maiestie in hir realme of Ireland, where one of their companie doctor Sanders, a lewd scholer and subiect of England, a fugitiue and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the popes speciall cõmission a commander, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a burser or paimaster for those wars. Which doctor Sanders in his booke of his church monarchie, did afore his passing into Ireland openlie by writing, gloriouslie auow the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus* against hir maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth that by vertue thereof one doctor Morton, an old English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre vp the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Neuill the late earle of Westmerland was a head capteine.

Foure points of treason. Such cõdemned onelie for treason, as mainteine the effects of the popes bull against hir maiestie and the realme.

Doctor Sanders maintenance of the popes bull.

And thereby it may manifestlie appéere to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were iustlie condemned of treason, and lawfullie executed by the ancient lawes temporall of the realme, without charging them for anie other matter than for their practises and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the quéene and the realme; and for the mainteining of the popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue hir maiestie of hir crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of hir subiects from their naturall allegiance due to hir maiestie and to their countrie, and for moouing them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged & conuinced of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still in their answers colourablie pretend their actions to haue béene for religion: but in déed and truth they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against hir maiestie and hir realme.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason & not for religion.

The diuersitie betwixt truth and falshod.

And herein is now the manifest diuersitie to be séene and well considered betwixt the truth of hir maiesties actions, & the falshod of the blasphemous aduersaries: that where the factious partie of the pope the principall author of the inuasions of hir maiesties dominions, do falselie allege that a number of persons, whom they terme as martyrs, haue died for defense of the catholike religion; the same in verie truth may manifestlie appere to haue died (if they so will haue it) as martyrs for the pope, but yet as traitors

tors against their soueraigne and quéene in adhering to him, being the notable and onelie open hostile enimie in all actions of warre against hir maiestie, hir kingdomes and people: and that this is the meaning of all these that haue so obstinatlie mainteined the authoritie and contents of this bull, the verie words of the bull do declare in this sort, as doctor Sanders reporteth them.

A bull prooue that the maintainers of the bull are guiltie of treason.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declarauit Elisabetham prætenso regni iure, necnon omne & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegióque priuatam: itémque proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuò absolutos: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolike power, declared Elisabeth to be bereaued or depriued of hir pretended right of hir kingdome, and also of all and whatsoeuer dominion, dignitie and priuilege: and also the nobles, subiects and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had sworne to hir anie maner of waies, to be absolued for euer from such oth, and from all debt or dutie of fealtie, &c: with manie threatning cursings, to all that durst obeie hir or hir lawes. As for execution hereof, to proue, that the effect of the popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same doctor Sanders the popes firebrand in Ireland also writeth in his visible church monarchie, which is thus.

No person charged with capitall crime for the onelie maintenance of the popes supremasie.

Foure points of treason.

Such condemned onelie for treason, as mainteine the effects of the popes bulla against hir maiestie and the realme.

Persons and Campion are offendors as doctor Sanders is, for allowance of the bull.

Doctor Morton's secret ambassage from Rome to stir the rebellion in the north.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, Anno Domini 1569 reuerendum presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, vt certis illustribus viris authoritate apostolica denuntiaret, Elisabetham quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse: ob eámque causam, omni dominio & potestate excidisse, impunéque ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeare of our Lord 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolike authoritie to certeine noblemen, Elisabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike: & for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obeie hir lawes or commandements, &c. Thus you see an ambassage of rebellion from the popes holinesse, the ambassador an old doting English priest, a fugitiue and conspirator, sent (as he saith) to some noble men, and these were the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion. And after this, he followeth to declare the successe therof, which I dare saie he was sorie it was so euill, with these words.

Doctor Sanders maintenance of the popes bull.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason & not for religion.

Qua denuntiatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, vt de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem catholicos omnes summis viribus affuturos esse: verùm etsi aliter quàm illi expectabant res euenit, quia catholici omnes nondum probè cognouerant, Elisabetham hæreticam esse declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is: By which denuntiation, manie noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certeinlie that all the catholikes would haue assisted them with all their strength: but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholikes knew not that Elisabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noblemen were to be praised. A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels verie smoothlie described.

The diuersitie betwixt truth and falshood.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: the noblemen were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: the lacke of the euent or successe was, that the traitors were vanquished, and the quenes maiestie and hir subiects had by Gods ordinance the victorie: and the cause why the rebels preuailed not, was because all the catholikes had not béene dulie informed that the quenes maiestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an heretike: which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligentlie and cunninglie supplied by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminaries and Iesuits, whose speciall charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestlie appéered. A supplement to amend the former errour.

And though doctor Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as fauoured the two notable Iesuits, one named Robert Persons (who yet hideth himselfe in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmund Campion (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons) that doctor Sanders treason is his proper treason in allowing of the said bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall authoritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fained or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their complices, euen immediatlie after Campions death: although Campion before his death would not be knowen of anie such matter. Whereby may appéere what trust is to be giuen to the words of such pseudomartyrs.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio & Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia, die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

PEtatur à summo domino nostro explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Elisabetham & ei adhærentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo; vt obliget semper illam & hæreticos, catholicos verò nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publicæ eiusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answer of the popes. *Has prædictas gratias concessit summus pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Præsente patre Oliuerio Manarco assistente.* The English of which Latine sentences is as followeth.

Faculties granted to the two fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the fourteenth daie of Aprill, 1580.

Faculties granted to Persons and Campion by pope Gregorie the thirteenth Anno 1580.

LEt it be asked or required of our most holie lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratorie made by Pius the fift against Elisabeth, & such as do adhere or obeie hir, which bull the catholikes desire to be vnderstood in this maner: that the same bull shall alwaies bind hir and the heretikes; but the catholikes it shall by no meanes bind, as matters or things do now stand or be: but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull maie be had or made. Then in the end the conclusion was thus added. The highest pontife or bishop granted these foresaid graces to father Robert Persons & Edmund Campion, who are now to take their iournies into England, the 14 daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightie. Being present the father Oliuerius Manarke assistant.

By what authoritie Campion came into England.

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queens maiestie, howsoeuer he himselfe denied the same: for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Iesuits, Parsons and Campion, not onelie required to haue the popes mind declared for the bull; but also in their owne petitions shewed how they and other catholikes did desire to haue the said bull to be vnderstood against the queene of England: yet to make the matter more plaine how all other Iesuits and seminaries; yea how all papists naming themselues catholikes, do or are warranted to interpret the said bull against hir maiestie and hir good subiects, howsoeuer they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst manie other things declare his knowledge thereof the last date of December in the same yeare one thousand fiue hundred and eightie, in these words following. The bull of *Pius Quintus* (for so much as it is against the queene) is holden amongest the English catholikes for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of hir subiects fidelitie, and so remaineth in force: but in some points touching the subiects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all hir subiects are commanded not to obeie hir, and she being excommunicate and deposed, all that do obeie hir are likewise innodate and accursed, which point is perillous to the catholikes: for if they obeie hir, they be in the popes curse, and if they disobeie hir, they are in the queenes danger: therefore the present pope to releeue them hath altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them to obeie and serue hir, without perill of excommunication: which dispensation is to indure but till it please the pope otherwise to determine.

Harts confession of the interpretation of the bull of *Pius Quintus*.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mentioned, all persons both within the realme and abroad, maie plainelie perceiue that all the infamous libels latelie published abroad in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes courts of a multitude of persons, to haue beene of late put to torments and death onelie for profession of the catholike religion, and not for matters of state against the queenes maiestie, are false and shamelesse, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalog exceed not for these fiue and twentie yeares space, aboue the number of three score, forgetting or rather with their shonie and senseleslie harts not regarding, in what cruell sort in the time of queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of fiue yeares, the queenes maiesties reigne being fiue times as manie, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure hundred, besides such as were secretlie murthered in prisons: and of that number, aboue twentie that had beene archbishops, bishops, and principall prelats or officers in the church lamentablie destroied; and of women aboue three score, and of children aboue fortie, and amongest the women, some great with child, and one, out of whose bodie the child by fire was expelled aliue, and yet also cruellie burned: examples beyond all heathen crueltie.

A conclusion that all the infamous books against the queene and the realme, are false.

Difference of the small numbers that haue beene executed in the space of fiue and twentie yeares, from the great numbers in fiue yeares of queene Maries reigne.

And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, or was euer taught or instructed, or euer had heard of anie other kind of religion, but onelie of that which by their blood and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of an other sort to be lamented in a christian charitie with simplicitie of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a verie few traitors; who also in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeares of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterlie oppugned. And besides that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of queene Maries time: for though they which suffered in queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetuallie taught; yet they neuer at their death denied their lawfull queene, nor mainteined anie of hir open and forren enimies, nor anie procured rebellion or ciuill warre, nor did sow anie sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew anie subiects from their obedience, as these sworne seruants of the pope haue continuallie done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiects within the realme do manifestlie see, and all wauering persons (not being led cleane out of the waie by the seditious) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue beene abused to go astraie. And all strangers, but specially all christian potentats, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, hauing their souereigne estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the verie truth of these hir maiesties late iust and necessarie actions, onelie for defense of hir selfe, hir crowne, and people, against open inuadours, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred vp by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a truth and rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not vnto a bishop of Rome as successour of saint Peter, and therein a pastour spirituall, or if he were the bishop of all christendome, as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will in fauour of traitors and rebels, to depose anie souereigne princes, being lawfullie inuested in their crownes by succession in bloud, or by lawfull election; and then to arme subiects against their naturall lords, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their oths in so doing, or to excommunicat faithfull subiects for obeieng of their naturall princes, & lastlie himselfe to make open warre, with his owne souldiers, against princes mouing no force against him.

An admonishment vnto all princes of countries abroad.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperor.

For if these high tragicall powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdome, no countrie, no citie or towne be possessed by anie lawfull title, longer than one such onelie an earthlie man, sitting (as he saieth) in saint Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke meet and determine: an authoritie neuer chalenged by the Lord of lords the sonne of God, Iesus Christ our onelie Lord and sauiour, and the onelie head of his church, whilest he was in his humanitie vpon the earth; nor yet deliuered by anie writing or certeine tradition from saint Peter, from whome the pope pretendeth to deriue all his authoritie; nor yet from saint Paule the apostle of the gentils: but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts and writings, conteined in the gospell and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expresselie commanded vnto all earthlie princes; yea, euen vnto kings by especiall name, and that so generallie, as no person is excepted from such

The authoritie proclamed by the pope not warranted by Christ, or by the two apostles Peter and Paul.

An. Do. 1074. The iudgement of God against the popes false erected emperor.

duties

dutie of obedience, as by the sentence of saint Paule euen to the Romans, appeareth, *Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus sit subdita*, that is, Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers: within the compasse of which law or precept, saint Chrysostome being bishop of Constantinople, writeth, that euen apostles, prophets, euangelists, and monks are comprehended.

And for proofe of saint Peters mind herein, from whome these popes claime their authoritie, it can not be plainelier expressed, than when he writeth thus, *Proinde subiecti estote cuiuis humanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, siue regi, vt qui superemineat, siue præsidibus ab eo missis*, that is, Therefore be you subiect to euerie humane ordinance or creature for the Lord, whether it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent, or aboue the rest, or to his presidents sent by him. By which two principall apostles of Christ, these popes the pretensed successors, but chiefelie by that which Christ the sonne of God the onelie maister of truth said to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic*, that is, The kings of the gentils haue rule ouer them, but you not so, maie learne to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthlie and temporall causes ouer kings and princes, and exercise their pastorall office: as saint Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lord and maister, *Pasce oues meas*, Fed my sheepe, and peremptorilie forbidden to vse a sword, in saieng to him, *Conuerte gladium tuum in locum suum*, or *Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam*, that is, Turne thy sword into his place: or, Put thy sword into the scabbard.

An aduertisement vnto all princes of countries abroad.

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were dulie followed and obserued manie hundred yeares after their death, by the faithfull and godlie bishops of Rome, that dulie followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holie martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits of Christs church and the faith more in the compasse of an hundred yeares, than the latter popes haue done with their swords and cursses these fiue hundred yeares, and so continued vntill the time of one pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregorie the seuenth, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three score and fourteene; who first began to vsurpe that kind of tyrannie, which of late the late pope called *Pius Quintus*, and since that time Gregorie now the thirteenth hath followed, for some example as it seemeth: that is, where Gregorie the seuenth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and fourteene, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henrie the fourth, a noble emperor then being; Gregorie the thirteenth now at this time, would attempt the like against king Henrie the eights daughter and heire queene Elisabeth, a souereigne, and a maiden queene, holding hir crowne immediatlie of God.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperor.

And to the end it may appeare to princes, or to their good councellors in one example, what was the fortunat successe that God gaue to this good christian emperor Henrie, against the proud pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that when the pope Gregorie attempted to depose this noble emperor Henrie, there was one Rodulph a noble man, by some named the count of Rœnfield, that by the popes procurement vsurped the name of the emperor, who was ouercome by the said Henrie the lawfull emperor, and in fight hauing lost his right hand, he, the said Rodulph, lamented his case to certeine bishops, who in the popes name had erected him vp, and to them he said, that the selfe same right hand which he had lost, was the same hand wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lord and maister the emperor Henrie: and that in following their vngodlie counsels, he had brought vpon him Gods heauie and iust iudgements. And so Henrie the emperor prevailing by Gods power, caused Gregorie the pope by a synod in Italie to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessor Otho the emperor had deposed one pope John for manie heinous crimes: & so were also within a short time three other popes, namelie, Syluester, Bennet, and Gregorie the first, vsed by the emperor Henrie the third, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fortie and seuen, for their like presumptuous attempts in temporall actions against the said emperors.

The authoritie proclamed by the pope not warranted by Christ, or by the two apostles Peter and Paul.

An. Do. 1074. The iudgement of God against the popes falle erected emperor.

Pope Gregorie the seuenth deposed by Henrie the fourth.

Manie other examples might be shewed to the emperors maiestie, and the princes of the holie empire now being, after the time of Henrie the fourth: as of Henrie the fift, and Frederike the first, and Frederike the second, and then of Lewes of Bauar, all emperors, cruellie and tyrannouslie persecuted by the popes, and by their buls, cursses, and by open wars, and likewise to manie other the great kings and monarchs of christendome, of their noble progenitors, kings of their seuerall dominions. Whereby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in popes to make warres vpon emperors & kings, and to command them to be deprived, toke hold at the first by pope Hildebrand, though the same neuer had anie lawfull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the old or new testament: but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse for the most part made frustrat, as by Gods goodnesse there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

Henrie the fift. Frederike the first. Frederike the second. Lewes of Bauar, emperors.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by anie pope in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by euerie souereigne prince in christendome in defense of their persons and crownes, and maintenance of their subiects in peace: so is there at this present a like iust cause that the emperors maiestie, with the princes of the holie empire, and all other souereigne kings & princes in christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for hir maiestie being a queene, and holding the verie place of a king and a prince souereigne ouer diuers kingdoms and nations; she being also most lawfullie inuested in hir crowne: and as for good gouerning of hir people, with such applause and generall allowance, loued, and obeied of them; saning a few ragged traitors, or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free, as continuallie for these fiue & twentie yeares past hath beene notablie seene, and so publikelie marked, euen by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to anie monarch and king in christendome, to haue hir maiesties felicitie compared with anie of theirs whatsoeuer: and it maie be, there are manie kings and princes could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of hir felicitie.

whatsoeuer is lawfull for other princes souereignes, is lawfull for the queene and crowne of England.

And though the popes be now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by manie other kings not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of the world, which title Gregorie the great aboue nine hundred yeares past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist: yet in all their dominions & kingdoms, as also in the realme of England, most notablie by manie ancient lawes it is well knowne, how manie waies the tyrannous power of this his excessiue authoritie hath beene, and still is restreined, checked and limited by lawes and pragmatikes, both ancient and new, both in France

The title of vniuersall bishop is a preamble of antichrist.

and Spaine and other dominions: a verie large field for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse.

And howsoeuer the popes canonists, being as his bombarders, do make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people: yet all great emperors and kings a-foretime, in their owne cases, of their rights and roiall preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some vnworthie person to a bishoprike or to an abbeie, neuer refrained to despise all popes curses or forces; but attempted alwaies, either by their swords to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without anie feare of themselues, in bodie, soule, or conscience, stoutlie to withstand their curses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and lawes: the ancient histories whereof are too manie to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectuall than of the kings of France. And in the records of England doth appeare, how stoutlie the kings & the baronadie of England from age to age, by extreame penall laws haue so repelled the popes vsurpations, as with the verie name of præmunires his proctors haue béene terrified, and his cleargie haue quaked, as of late cardinall Wolsele did proue.

But leauing those that are ancient, we may remember how in this our owne present or late age, it hath béene manifestlie seene, how the armie of the late noble emperour Charles the fift, father to king Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his curses, when in the yeares of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirtie and three, in his mount Adrian or castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and deteined seauen moneths or more, and after ransomed by *Don Vgo di Moncada* a Spaniard, and the marquesse of Guasto, at aboue foure hundred thousand duckets, besides the ransomes of the cardinals which was much greater; hauing not long before time béene also (notwithstanding his curses) besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their fautors his next neighbours being then imperialists, and forced to yeeld to all their demands. Neither did king Henrie the second of France, father to Henrie now king of France, about the yeare 1550, feare or regard the pope or his court of Rome, when he made seuerall strict edicts against manie parts of the popes claimes in prejudice of the crowne and cleargie of France, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome greatlie to the hinderance of the popes former profits. Neither was the armie of king Philip now of Spaine, whereof the duke of Alua was generall, striken with anie feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the pope, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said armie, and all the delicat buildings, gardens, and orchards, next to Rome walles ouerthrowne, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified than he was able to remoue with anie his curses. Neither was queene Marie the queenes maiesties noble late sister, a person not a little deuoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the popes cursings; but that both shee and hir whole councell, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the ancient lawes, in fauour of cardinall Pole hir kinsman, did most strictlie forbid the entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinals hat at Calis, that was sent from the pope for one frier Peito, an obseruant pleasant frier, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinall in disgrace of cardinall Pole: neither did cardinall Pole himselfe at the same time obeie the popes commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the queene, when the pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunications; but did still oppose himselfe against the popes commandement, for the said pretended cardinall Peito: who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go vp and downe in the streets of London like a begging frier, without his red hat: a stout resistance in a queene for a poore cardinals hat, wherin she followed the example of hir grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, for a matter of Allum, wherein the king vsed verie great seueritie against the pope.

So as howsoeuer the christian kings for some respects in policie can indure the pope to command where no harme nor disaduantage groweth to themselues, yet sure it is, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in anie sort attempt to take from christian princes anie part of their dominions, or shall giue aid to their enimies, or to anie other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemne anathematicals, no nor their crosse keies, or double edged sword, will serue their turnes to compasse their intentions. And now, where the pope hath manifestlie by his bulles and excommunications attempted asmuch as he could, to depriue hir maiestie of hir kingdomes, to withdraw from hir the obedience of hir subiects, to procure rebellions in hir realms, yea to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne capteines, souldiers, banners, enlignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this pope Gregorie or anie other pope after him, thinke that a souereigne queene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so manie yeares in hir kingdomes as three or foure popes haue sit in their chaire at Rome, fortified with so much dutie, loue and strength of hir subiects, acknowledging no superiour ouer hir realms, but the mightie hand of God: shall she forbeare, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his vnlawfull attempts, either by hir sword or by hir lawes; or to put his soldiers inuadors of hir realme to the sword martiallie, or to execute hir lawes vpon hir owne rebellious subiects ciuillie, that are proued to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, & for his open warre? This is sure, that howsoeuer either he sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or anie other his proctors in anie part of christendome, shall renew these vnlawfull attempts: almightie God the king of kings whom hir maiestie onlie honoreth and acknowledgeth to be hir onlie souereigne Lord and protector, & whose lawes and gospell of his son Jesus Christ she seeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliuer sufficient power into his maidens hand his seruant queene Elisabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpetors of infamies & lies haue sounded forth and intituled certeine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion: so may they also at this time (if they list) ad to their forged catalog the headlesse bodie of the late miserable earle of Desmond, the head of the Irish rebellion: who of late, secretlie wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishrie in his caben, and in an Irish sort, after his owne accustomed sauage maner, his head cut off from his bodie: an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederats, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders the popes Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succor, died raging in a frensie. And before him, one James Fitzmorris the

1527 Rome sacked, and the pope Clement take prisoner by the emperors armie.

1550 King Henrie the second of France his edicts against the pope and his courts of Rome.

The besieging of Rome and the pope by the duke of Alua and king Philips armie.

Queene Marie and cardinall Pole resisted the pope.

D. Peito a begging frier.

The kings of christendome neuer suffer popes to abridge their titles or rights, though they suffer them to haue rule ouer their people.

The queene of England may not suffer the pope by anie meanes to make rebellions in hir realme.

The prosperitie of England, during the popes curses.

Additaments to the popes martyrologe.

The strange ends of James earle of Desmond, D. Sanders, James Fitzmorris.

Anno Reg. 26.

the firſt traitour of Ireland next to Stukeleie the rakehell, a man not vnknowen in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traitor, was ſlaine at one blow by an Iriſh noble yong gentleman, in defenſe of his fathers countrie which the traitor ſought to burne.

Iohn of Deſmond. A fourth man of ſingular note was Iohn of Deſmond, brother to the earle, a verie bloudie faithleſſe traitor, & a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who alſo wandring to ſeeke ſome prete like a woolfe in the woods, was taken & beheaded after his owne vſage, being (as he thought) ſufficientlie armed with the popes buls and certeine *Agnus Dei*, & one notable ring with a pretious ſtone about his necke ſent from the popes finger (as it was ſaid) but theſe be ſaw ſaued not his life. And ſuch were the fatall ends of all theſe, being the principall heads of the Iriſh warre and rebellion, ſo as no one perſon remaineth at this daie in Ireland a knowen traitor: a worke of God and not of man.

To this number they may (if they ſeeke number) alſo ad a furious yong man of Warwikeſhire, by name Somervile, to increaſe their kalendar of the popes martyrs, who of late was diſcouered and taken in his waie, comming with a full intent to haue killed hir maieſtie, whoſe life God alwaies haue in his cuſtodie. The attempt not denied by the traitor himſelfe, but confeſſed, and that he was moued therto in his wicked ſpirit, by inticements of certeine ſeditious and traitorous perſons his kinſmen and allies, & alſo by often reading of ſundrie ſeditious vile bookes latelie publiſhed againſt hir maieſtie, and his end was in deſperation to ſtrangle himſelfe to death: an example of Gods ſeueritie againſt ſuch as preſume to offer violence to his anointed. But as God of his goodneſſe hath of long time hitherto preſerued hir maieſtie from theſe and the like treacheries: ſo hath ſhe no cauſe to feare, being vnder his protection, ſaieng with king Dauid in the pſalme: My God is my helper and I will truſt in him, he is my protection, and the ſtrength or the power of my ſaluation. And for the more comfort of all good ſubiects againſt the ſhadowes of the popes bulles, it is manifeſt to the world, that from the beginning of hir maieſties reigne, by Gods ſingular goodneſſe, hir kingdome hath inioied more vniuerſall peace, hir people increaſed in more numbers, in more ſtrength, and with greater riches, & with leſſe ſickeneſſe, the earth of hir kingdomes hath yelded more fruits, and generallie all kind of worldlie felicitie hath more abounded ſince and during the time of the popes thunders, bulles, curſſes and maledictions, than in anie other long times before, when the popes pardons and bleſſings came yearelie into the realme: ſo as his curſſes and maledictions haue turned backe to himſelfe and his ſautors, that it may be ſaid to the bleſſed quene Eliſabeth of England and of hir people, as was ſaid in Deuteronomie of Balaam: The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or curſſes into benedictions or bleſſings: the reaſon is, for bicauſe thy God loued thee.

Although theſe former reaſons are ſufficient to perſuade all kind of reaſonable perſons to allow of hir maieſties actions, to be good, reaſonable, lawfull and neceſſarie: yet bicauſe it may be, that ſuch as haue by frequent reading of falſe artificiall libels; and by giuing credit to them, vpon a preiudice or foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in fauour of the pope, will reſt vnſatiſfied: therfore as much as may be, to ſatiſfie all perſons as farre forth as common reaſon may warrant, that hir maieſties late action in executing certeine ſeditious traitors, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the popes ſupremaſie, or againſt hir maieſties regalitie; but for the verie crimes of ſedition and treaſon: it ſhall ſuffice briefflie, in manner of a repetition of the former reaſons, to remember theſe things following.

Reaſons to perſuade by reaſon the fauourers of the pope, that none hath beene executed for religion but for treaſon.

Firſt, it cannot be denied, but that hir maieſtie did for manie yeares ſuffer quietlie the popes bulles and excommunications without puniſhment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment waied downe with lead, or as of water bubbles, commonlie called in Latine *Bullæ*, & ſuch like: but yet after ſome proofe that courage was taken therof by ſome bold and bad ſubiects, ſhe could not but then eſteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger: and therefore, with what reaſon could anie miſlike, that hir maieſtie did for a bare defenſe againſt them, without other action or force, vſe the helpe of reuiuing of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of ſuch kind of bulles within hir realme?

The firſt reaſon.

Secondlie, when notwithſtanding the prohibition by hir lawes, the ſame bulles were plentifullie (but in ſecret ſort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantlie ſet vpon the gates of the biſhop of Londons palace neere to the cathedrall church of Paules the principall citie of the realme, by a lewd perſon, vſing the ſame like a herald ſent from the pope: who can in anie common reaſon miſlike, that hir maieſtie finding this kind of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in hir principall citie by one of hir ſubiects, anowing and obſtinatlie mainteining the ſame, ſhould according to iuſtice cauſe the offendor to haue the reward due to ſuch a fact? And this was the firſt action of anie capitall puniſhment inflicted for matter ſent from Rome to moue rebellion, which was after hir maieſtie had reigned about the ſpace of twelue yeares or more: a time ſufficient to proue hir maieſties patience.

The ſecond reaſon.

The bull of Pius Quintus ſet vp at Paules.

The firſt puniſhment for the bull.

Thirdlie, when the pope had riſen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrarie to the aduiſe giuen by ſaint Barnard to one of his predeceſſors, that is, when by his meſſages he left *Verbum*, and toke *Ferrum*, that is, left to feed by the word, which was his office, and began to ſtrike with the ſword which was forbidden him, and ſtirred hir noblemen and people directlie to diſobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abiram, and that hir lewd ſubiects by his commandement had executed the ſame with all the forces which they could make or bring in to the field: who with common reaſon can diſallow that hir maieſtie vſed hir roiall lawfull authoritie, and by hir forces lawfull ſubdued rebels forces vnlawfull, and puniſhed the authors thereof no otherwiſe than the pope himſelfe vſeth to dow with his owne rebellious ſubiects, in the patrimonie of his church, as not manie moneths paſſed he had beene forced to intend? And if anie prince of people in the world would otherwiſe neglect his office, and ſuffer his rebels to haue their wils; none ought to pitie him, if for want of reſiſtance and courage he loſt both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdome.

The third reaſon.

Rebellion in the north.

Fourthlie, when hir maieſtie beheld a further increaſe of the popes malice, notwithſtanding that the firſt rebellion was in hir north parts vanquiſhed, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme, the traitors and rebels that fled for the rebellion, and all the rable of other the fugitiues of the realme, & that he ſent a number of the ſame in ſorts diſguiſed into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there ſecretlie allured hir people to new rebellions, and at the ſame time ſpared not his charges to ſend alſo out of Italie by ſea, certeine ſhips with captaines of his owne, with their bands of ſouldiers, furniſhed with treaſure, munition, victels, enſignes, banners, and

The fourth reaſon.

The inuaſion of Ireland by the pope.

D. Petto a begging frier.

The kings of chriſtendome neuer ſuffer popes to abridge their titles or rights, though they ſuffer them to haue rule ouer their people.

The quene of England may not ſuffer the pope by anie meanes to make rebellions in hir realme.

The peaſeable raigne of England, during the popes curſes.

Additaments to the popes martyrologe.

The ſtrange ends of James earle of Deſmond, D. Sanders, James Fitzmorris.

Dom. 1584.

him. hen the and ex- ſelfe a- ſaid pre- g all the vp and g frier, ueene e ex- enth, verie ſome re- mmand to them- gnorant, to take domini- ante o- ir cor- s and croſſe turnes where the mmuni- epius hir from hir ebellions and open ers, ban- ging to er pope ſſeſſed ſtabli- hree or ne, fortifi- of hir ſub- ir realms, or beare, or vnlawfull wes; or to the ſword owne re- be his n war- g in his anie other e, ſhall re- ie God the noreth and Lord and s ſon Jeſus bt but deli- nd his ſer- onfound amies & eine that or religion: ad to their late miſe- Iriſh rebel- without ſuc- y one of the t, after his ead cut off rchrebell. eſe con- hers, the Sanders ering in the died raving s Fitzmoris the

and all other things requisite to the warre, into hir realme of Ireland, where the same forces with other auxiliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselues verie stronglie on the sea side, and proclamed open warre, erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie: may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue béene done by hir maiestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitiues so stolen into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparell as rotters or ruffians, some scholers, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons, and vpon their examinations of their trades and hants, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimonie of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretlie at home in the realme? What may be reasonablie thought was meet to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to trie, condemne and execute them? And speciallie hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the popes forces were in the realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof hir maiestie and hir realme was forced to be at greater charges, than euer she had béene since she was quéene thereof. And so by Gods power, which he gaue to hir on the one part, she did by hir lawes suppresse the seditious stirrers of rebellion in hir realme of England, and by hir sword vanquished all the popes forces in hir realme of Ireland, excepting certeine capteines of marke that were saued from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrell, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voiage.

The popes forces vanquished in Ireland.

The politike aduersaries satisfied.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeld that by good order of ciuill and christian policie and gouernement, hir maiestie could nor can do no lesse than she hath done, first to subdue with hir forces hir rebels and traitors, and next by order of hir lawes to correct the aiders & abettors, & lastlie to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into hir dominions) yet there are certeine other persons, more nicelie addicted to the pope, that will yet séeme to be vnsatisfied: for that, as they will tearme the matter, a number of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholers or priests, by the names of seminaries, Iesuits, or simple scholemaisters, that came not into the realme with anie armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland in their rebellions or wars; of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrarie opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobeie the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall paine. These kinds of defenses tend onelie to find fault rather with the seueritie of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subiects.

Obiection of the papists, that the persons executed, are but scholers and vnarmed.

But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous fauourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king being stablished in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretlie practised, and afterward openlie raised in his realme by his owne seditious subiects; and when by a forren potentate or enimie the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince auowed; and consequentlie when the same potentat and enimie, being author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces inuade the realme and subiects of the prince that is so lawfullie and peaceablie possessed: in these cases, shall no subiect fauouring these rebels, and yelding obedience to the enimie the inuador, be committed or punished as a traitor; but onelie such of them, as shall be found openlie to carrie armour and weapon? Shall no subiect, that is a spiall and an explorer for the rebell or enimie against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, bicause he is not found with armour or weapon; but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretlie in his soueraignes campe, region, court, or citie? Shall no subiect be counted a traitor, that will secretlie giue earnest and prest monie to persons to be rebels or enimies, or that will attempt to poison the vittels, or the founteins; or secretlie set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretlie search and sound the hauens and creeks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarks and walles, bicause these offendors are not found with armor or weapon? The answer I thinke must néeds be yelded (if reason and experience shall haue rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitors: and the principall reason is, bicause it can not be denied, but that the factions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Iudas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Sir questions to trie traitors from scholers.

Shame on traitors thoughts, that haue power in weapon.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to haue offended but as scholers, or bookemen; or at the most but as persons that onelie in words and doctrine, and not with armour did fauour and helpe the rebels and the enimies. For which purpose let these persons be termed as they list, scholers, scholemaisters, bookemen, seminaries, priests, Iesuits, friers, beadmen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles, nor their apparell hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions & practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set vp the rebellions. It is truelie to be pondered, that the verie causes finall of these rebellions and warres, haue béene to depose hir maiestie from hir crowne: the popes bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall are these kind of seminaries and séedmen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it. The fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the blood of all hir faithfull subiects: the rewards of the inuadors (if they could preuaile) should be the disinheriting of all the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole communaltie, that would (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth, and othes) defend their naturall gratious quéene, their native countrie, their wiues, their children, their familie, and their houses.

The application of the scholasticall traitors, to others, that are traitors without armor.

The offendors executed for treason, not for religion.

And now examine these which you call vnarmed scholers and priests, wherefore they first fled out of the realme, why they liued and were conuersant in companie of the principall rebels and traitors at Rome, and in their places, where it is proued that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the realme? Why they haue wandered vp & downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and maner of apparell? Why they haue intised and sought to persuade by their secret false reasons, the people to allow and beléeue all the actions

and

and attempts whatsoeuer the pope hath done, or shall doo, to be lawfull? Why they haue reconciled and withdrawne so manie people in corners from the lawes of the realme to the obedience of the pope, a forreine potentate and open enimie, whome they know to haue alreadie declared the queene to be no lawfull queene, to haue mainteined the knowne rebels and traitors, to haue inuaded hir maiesties dominions with open warre? Examine further, how these vagarant disguised vnarmed spies haue answered, when they were taken and demanded what they thought of the bull of pope *Pius Quintus*, which was published to depriue the queenes maiestie, and to warrant hir subiects to disobeie hir: whether they thought that all subiects ought to obeie the same bull, and so to rebell? Secondlie, whether they thought hir maiestie to be lawfull queene of the realme, notwithstanding the said bull or anie other bull of the pope? Thirdlie, whether the pope might giue such licence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other hir maiesties subiects to rebell as they did? Or giue power to doctor Sanders a naturall borne subiect, but an vnnaturall worne priest, to take armes and moue warres as he did in Ireland? Fourthlie, whether the pope may discharge the subiects of hir maiestie, or of anie other princes christened, of their oths of obedience? Fiftlie, whether the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders or one Bristow a rebellious fugitiue, did in their bookes write trulie or falslie, in approuing the said bull of *Pius Quintus*, and the contents thereof? Lastlie, what were to be done, if the pope or anie other assigned by him, would inuade the realme of England, and what part they would take, or what part anie faithfull subiect of hir maiesties ought to take? To these few questions verie apt to trie the truth or falshod of any such seditious persons, being iustlie before condemned for their disloialtie, these lewd vnarmed traitors I say would in no wise answer directlie herto, as all other faith full subiects to anie christian prince ought to doo.

The grossenes of trie traitors from others.

The offendors executed for treason, not for religion.

And as they by refusall to answer directlie to these questions onelie, might haue beene iustlie conuinced as guiltie of treason: so yet were they not therevpon condemned, but vpon all their other former actions committed both abroad & in the relme, which were no lesse traitorous than the actions of all other the spies and traitors, and of Judas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armor nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adiudged traitors. For these disguised persons (called scholers or priests) hauing beene first conuersant of long time with the traitors beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of war and rebellion by commandement of the capitall enimie the pope or his legats, to be secret espials and explorers in the realme for the pope, to deliuer by secret, Romish tokens, as it were an earnest or prest, to them that should be in readines to ioine with rebels or open enimies, and in like sort with their hallowed baggages from Rome to poison the senses of the subiects, powring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against hir maiestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subiects with the flames of rebellion, & to search & sound the depths and secrets of all mens inward intentions, either against hir maiestie, or for hir: and finallie, to bring into a beadroll, or as it were into a muster roll, the names and powers with the dwellings of all them that should be readie to rebell, and to aid the forreine inuasion.

The apprehension of the scholasticall traitors, to others, that are traitors without armor.

These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of the pope and the traitors and rebels abroad, haue made them traitors: not their bookes, nor their beads, no nor their cakes of ware which they call *Agnus Dei*, nor other their relikes, no nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome: and therefore it is to be certeinelie concluded, that these did iustlie deserue their capitall punishments as traitors, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon. Now if this latter repetition, as it were of all the former causes and reasons afore recited, may not serue to stop the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous tongs, and venemous breaths of those that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defend seditious subiects, stirrers of rebellion against their naturall prince and countrie; then are they to be left without anie further argument of the almightie God, as persons that haue couered their eies against the sunnes light, stopped their eares against the sound of iustice, and oppressed their hearts against the force of reason, and as the psalmist saith: They speake lies, they are as venemous as the poison of a serpent, euen like the deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.

Unreasonable and obstinate persons are left to Gods iudgement.

Wherefore with christian charitie to conclude, if these rebels and traitors, and their fautors would yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrie, and would consider how vaine their attempts haue béene so manie yeares; and how manie of their confederats are wasted by miseries and calamities, and how none of all their attempts or plats haue prospered, and therefore would desist from their vnnaturall practises abroad: and if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the darke, would imploie their trauels in the works of light and doctrine according to the vsage of their schooles, and content themselues with their profession and deuotion: and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the sedmen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrarie to christian charitie: there is no doubt by Gods grace (hir maiestie being so much giuen to mercie and deuoted to peace) but all colour and occasion of shedding the bloud of anie more of hir naturall subiects of this land, yea all further bodilie punishment should vtterlie cease. Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, almightie God continue hir maiestie with his spirit and power long to reigne and liue in his feare, and to be able to vanquish them all, being Gods enimies, and especiallie hir rebels and traitors both at home & abroad, & to mainteine & preserue all hir naturall good louing subiects, to the true seruice of the same almightie God, according to his holie word & will. Manie other things might be remembred for defense of other hir maiesties princelie, honorable, and godlie actions in sundrie other things, wherein also these and the like seditious railors haue of late time without all shame, by fained and false libels sought to discredit hir maiestie & hir gouernement: but at this time, these former causes and reasons aleaged by waie of aduertisements, onelie for maintenance of truth, are sufficient to iustifie hir maiesties actions to the whole world in the cases remembred. *Magna est veritas, & præualet:* Great is truth, and the ouercommeth. 2. Esd. 4.

Bishop of winchester deceased.

On the two and twentith of Januarie, John Watson bishop of Winchester deceased at Wolsey, and was buried at Winchester on the sixteenth daie of Februarie; a man he was well taught by the art which he professed and practised, to esteeme this life as it is, euen transitorie & verie vaine; wherin as men are the further stept in age, so should they be the lesse desirous to liue, and take death comming timelie (which is, when as naturall heate and the moisture radicall are decaied) in such good part, as nothing

thing more acceptable. But who thinkes his death to come timelie; but the godlie wise, who haue learned, that as men haue daies of life decreed, so they haue daies of death determined; according to the tetrastichon, which that famous man Ioachimus Camerarius (an excellent man and of singular note) made a little before his departing out of this world:

Morte nihil tempestiua esse optatius aiunt,
Sed tempestiuam quis putat esse suam?
Qui putat ille sapit; quoniam vt solatia vitæ,
Sic & quisque suæ tempora mortis habet.

Five executed for treason.

On the seuenth of Februarie were arreigned at Westminster, James Fenne, George Haddocks, John Munden, John Nutter, and Thomas Homerford: all fiue were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and were executed at Tiborne on the twelfedaie of Februarie. ¶ In this yeare, 1584, euen at the prime of the yeare, namelie in Aprill, maister Walter Raleigh esquier, a gentleman from his infancie brought vp and trained in martiall discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honorable aduentures, hauing built a ship and a pinesse, set them to the sea, furnished with all prouisions necessarie for a long viage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen (his owne seruants) the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow, with direction to discouer that land which lieth betweene Norembega and Florida in the west Indies; who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discouerie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them two sauage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their maister of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had anie habitation, and were planted to liue there. Whereupon, he immediatlie prepared for a second viage, which with all expedition (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount vnto) did presentlie set in hand.

A. F. ex add. G. C.

Maister Walter Raleigh his viage for the discouerie of that land which lieth betweene Norembega and Florida.

Philip Amadis, and Arthur Barlow.

Two sauage men and other things brought from the said land discouered.

Maister Walter Raleigh prepareth for a second viage to the said land late discouered.

This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfrie Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discouer, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: hauing in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, & set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the iournie toke no good successe: for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onelie excepted, wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was captaine, who being desirous to do somewhat worthie honor, toke his course for the west Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries (needfull in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde vpon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous aduentures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriued safelie at Plimouth in the west countrie in Maie next following. Sir Humfreie Gilbert notwithstanding this vnfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said viage the second time, and set to the sea with three ships and pinesses, in the yeare 1584, in the which iournie he lost his life; but in what sort no man can witnesse. For being by force of foule weather separated from his companie, he was neuer heard of afterwards.]

Gentlemen that associated sir Humfreie Gilbert in his viage to Norembega 1578.

The viage hath not wished successe.

Maister Walter Raleigh sailed as far as Cape de Verde, &c. and arriueth in safetie at Plimouth.

Sir Humfrie Gilbert seuered from his companie, dead, and neuer heard of.

¶ In this yeare, and the twentith daie of Maie departed out of this life that famous father of physicke and surgerie, the English Hippocrates and Galen, I meane doctor Caldwell, and was buried on the first of June immediatlie following at S. Benets church by Paules wharfe, at the vpper end of the chancell: his bodie was verie solemnelie accompanied to the church with a traine of learned and graue doctors, besides others of that facultie, the heralds of armes doing him such honour at his funerall as to him of dutie apperteined. Of this mans rare loue to his countrie hath béene spoken before, where mention is made of the institution of a surgerie lecture perpetuallie to be continued for the common benefit of London, and consequentlie of all England: the like whereof is not established nor vsed in anie vniuersitie of christendome (Bononie and Padua excepted) and therefore the more to be esteemed. Indéed the like institution was in towardnesse, whiles Francis the French of that name the first liued: but when he died, as the court that he kept in his time was counted a vniuersitie, but after his death made an exchange thereof with another name: so likewise discontinued or rather vtterlie brake off that purposed institution of a surgerie lecture at Paris: so that in this point London hath a preroga-tiue excelling the vniuersities.

Ab. Fl. Mens. commendat. me confess.

The decease of D. Caldwell physicke-rer of whom there is more to be read, pag. 1365.

The court of Francis the first a vniuersitie, &c. pag. 1343.

This D. Caldwell in his last will and testament gaue manie great legacies to a great number of his poore kinsfolkes, as also vnto others nothing alied vnto him. He gaue in his life time two hundred pounds to be lent gratis forener to the Clothiers in Burton, whereby clothing might be maintained, the poore artificers set on worke, and the poore citizens in Lichfield also benefited: the corporation of the said towne being bound for the receiuing and deliuering thereof euerie fiue yeares to the youngest and poorest occupiers. He gaue great summes of monie to the poore townships in Staffordshire where he was borne, both towards the releeuing of their priuat estate, as also to the reparing of their bridges and amending of their high waies, for the commoditie of all the countrie. He left large sums of monie to be employed by his executors at their discretion, where charitie moued; as also to the publishing of such learned bookes of physicke and surgerie (with sundrie chargeable formes grauen in copper and finished in his life) as he meant (if he had liued) to set vp.

The distributions of D. Caldwell in his life time and his bequests after his death.

His commentaries vpon some part of Paulus Aegineta, and other bookes.

Diuerse good works in his daies he had done, and hath left order to be done after his death: which was verie mild and still, not vnlike the decease of a babe in the cradle; hauing béene assailed with no extremitie of sickenesse (his * ordinarie infirmitie excepted which was intermissiue) that either might wring him or wearie him to make him impatient. So that he died as sleeping, hauing left behind him both credit of lerning, cunning, & other good ornaments, the very beautie of his age, which was exactlie found by true computation to be threescore and foure téene, in which yeare he died; as may be gathered by his counterfet so naturallie conueied into colours, with his white beard, the hollownesse of his cheekes, the wrinkels of his browes, the liuelie sight of his eies, and other accessaries; and all within a module, the circumference whereof excéedeth not six inches, if it amount to so much in exact measure, as a man beholding the said representation, would sweare that it were not possible for art to draw more nére in limitation to nature. So that this doctor dieng in so ripe an age, was committed to holie ground, where he resteth in peace, his cote armour bearing witnesse

* His ordinarie infirmitie was the cholicke, which tormented him exceedingly.

His age and counterfet which seemed to be made 1571, and in the yeare of his age 59.

of his ancestrie: for he beareth azure, a crosse formé fiche or, within an vrle of stars or: the second argent, a fesse indented sable charged with foure leuses heads erant raised or: the third as the second, and fourth as the first quarterlie. Also he beareth to his crest on a tosse or and azure, a cocks head argent, couped, membred geules supporting *a crosse formé fiche or, betweene two wings sable, and mantled geules doubled argent.

The armes of Caldwell recited.

*The crosse fitant fiche beareth the cote of Caldwallader the last king of Britans, in An. Dom. 660.

In further memorie of whome (so long as the church wherin he lieth buried doth stand, and the monuments therein bleseed from sacrilegious hands) there remaineth fixed in the wall ouer his graue, a copper plate wherein his said cote armour is workemanlie grauen, with the armes of the physicians colsege so vnder it, as they are knit vnto it. On either side of this latter scutchion are set certeine binding bands and other instruments of surgerie in their right formes, with their proper vse also to be practised vpon ech member; be the same head, leg, arme, hand, or foot: all workemanlie wrought, & vnder the same a memoriall grauen for wished perpetuitie:

Caldwallus iacet hic patriæ studiosus alumnus,
Chirurgis Chiron, Hippocrates Medicis:
Heracles laqueis dum fascia membra reuincit,
Galenus priscæ laudis & artis amans:
Chirurgis stabilem lecturam condidit, illi
Præfecit Medicos, quos ea turba colat:
Plinthevs hinc astat laqueus, Carchesius, inde
Fascia; quæ studij sunt monumenta sui:
Felix Chirurgus patronum qui tibi talem
Nactus es, & felix qui dolet æger erit.

These figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, haue relation to certeine workes, named in the mullet, the quinquesoile, the fleure delice, the hād, the trestlant or frame, and the gesile, grauen in the copper plate, which markes are referred to their like, in and about the armes aboue said.

Laquei { *Plinthevs* 1 / *Carchesius* 2
Fasciæ { *Totum caput cingens* 3 / *Rhombus* 4
Machinamenta { *Scamnum Hippocratis* 5 / *Glossocomium* 6

Quem tibi vinxisti charum dum vita manebat,
Te cum Melpomene post tua fata canet.
Ric. Forsterus.

The court of Francis the first a vniuersitie, &c. pag. 1343.

The distribution of D. Caldwell in his life time and his bequests after his death.

His commentaries vpon some part of Paulus Aegineta, and other bookes.

His ordinarie infirmitie was the colicke, which tormented him excéedingly.

His age and counterfet which seemed to be made 1571, and in the yeare of his age 59.

In this yeare of our Lord 1584, on the one and twentith daie of Maie, Francis Throckemorton esquier, was arreigned in the Guildhall of the citie of London, where being found guiltie of high treason, he was condemned and had iudgement accordinglie, to be drawne, hanged, boweled, and quartered. A discouerie of whose treasons, practised and attempted against the quéens maiestie and the realme, were afterward; to wit, in the moneth of June, published as followeth.

Francis Throckmorton arreigned and condemned of high treason.

A true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by Francis Throckemorton, late of London, against the queenes maiestie and the realme.

WHereas there haue béene verie lewd and slanderous bruits and reports giuen out, of the due and orderlie proceedings held with Francis Throckemorton latelie arreigned & condemned of high treason at the Guildhall in London, the one and twentith daie of Maie last, whereby such as are euill affected toward hir maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue indeuoured falselie and iniuriouslie to charge hir maiestie and hir faithfull ministers with crueltie and iniustice vsed against the said Throckemorton, by extorting from him by torture, such confessions as he hath made against himselfe, & by inforsing the same to make them lawfull euidence to conuict him of the treasons therein specified: albeit hir maiesties subiects in generall, calling to mind the mild and temperate course she hath held all the time of hir most happie reigne, might rather impute hir clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sorts of offendors to a kind of fault, than tax hir with the contrarie: yet such as allow of practises and treasons against hir maiestie, do alwaies interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that do possesse them, that is, to the worst. And for somuch as the case of Throckemorton at this time hath béene subiect to their sinister constructions; and considering that lies and false bruits cast abroad are most commonlie beléeued, vntill they be controlled by the truth: it hath béene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said Throckemorton against hir maiestie and the realme, by him confessed before his arreignement, whereby hir maiestie was iustlie and in reason persuaded to put him to his triall.

But how can their interpretations be found, whose iudgements are corrupt?

You shall likewise perceiue what course hath béene held with him by hir commissioners to bring him to confesse the truth: with what impudencie and how falselie he hath denied his saiengs and confessions: and lastlie, how by a new submission and confession of his said treasons since his condemnation, he endeuoureth to satisfie hir maiestie, and to shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which may in reason satisfie, though not all; yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoisoned and infected with the lies and vntruths alreadie spred and deliuered in fauour of the traitor & his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grew first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the quænes maiestie, that he was a priuie conueier and receiuer of letters to and from the Scotish quéne: vpon which information neuertheless diuerse moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answer the matter, to the end there might some proofe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directlie: which shortlie after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Leusham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certeine gentlemen of no meane credit and reputation: of whome, two were sent to his house by Paules wharfe, where he was apprehended, & so by one of them conueied presentlie awaie; the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might giue proofe of his suspected practises.

The premisses being all sufficient cannot but answer anie circumstance touching this traitor.

In that search, there were found the two papers conteining the names of certeine catholike noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the hauens for landing of forren forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned, the one written in the secretarie hand (which he at the barre confessed to be his owne handwriting) and the other in the Roman hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne handwriting: and so they are in truth. There were also found among other of his papers, twelue petidegrées of the descent of the crowne of England, printed and published by the bishop of Rosse, in the defense of the pretended title of the Scotish quéne his mistresse: with certeine infamous libels against hir maiestie printed and published beyond the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so euill affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against hir maiestie, you will iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

The bishop of Rosse an enimie to the English state.

Shortlie after his apprehension, he was examined by some of hir maiesties priuie councell, how he came by the said two papers of the hauens: and he

most

most impudentlie denied with manie protestations that he neuer saw them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Notwithstanding being more earnestlie pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had beene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, *alias* Nuttebie, by whome they were written. And to make this deuise to carie some colour of truth, after his committing vnto the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backeside of which cards he wrote to his brother George Throckemorton to this effect. I haue beene examined by whome the two papers, conteining the names of certeine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c: were written; & I haue alleged them to haue beene written by Edward Nuttebie my man, of whose handwriting you know them to be: meaning by this deuise to haue had his brother confirme his falshood.

A colour of truth to countenance a manifest lie.

These cards were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceiued of his practises increased. Whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing beene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell; and by them with all industrie examined, and persuaded in verie mild and charitable maner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewraie the depth of his practises: but no persuasion preuailing, hir maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of hir royall person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of hir learned councell and others hir faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assaie by torture to draw from him the truth of the matters appearing so weightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the councell had formerlie done by waie of persuasion, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constreined to commit him to such as are vsuallie appointed in the Tower to handle the racke, by whome he was laied vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three daies following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking: which if it had then or anie other time beene ministred vnto him with that violence that he and his fauourers haue indeuoured slanderouslie to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his lims for manie yeares.

The maner of proceeding against Throckemorton by commission.

At this first time of torture he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before he was strained vp to anie purpose, he yeelded to confesse anie thing he knew, in the matters obiected against him: whereupon he was losed. And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had beene deliuered vnto them: which for the more breuitie shall here be omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onelie to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckemorton as well before as since his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by hir maiesties commissioners appointed vnto that seruice. And here you are to note, that when he was first pressed to discouer by whome the plots of the hauens were set downe, and to what purpose; he began (without anie further interrogation ministred) by waie of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the countrie of Liege certeine yeares past, he entered into conference with one Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forren inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with sir Francis Englefield in the low countries, who dailie solicited the Spanish king in Spaine, and his gouernors in the said countries, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against hir maiestie & the state, by letters betweene sir Francis Englefield & himselfe, till within these two yeares last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint sir John Throckemorton his late father with his traitorous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him from anie further meddling with those practises.

Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, & confer with Throckmorton.

The intent of this declaration what it is.

He hath further confessed, that he vsed his fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the catholike noblemen & gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceiued and put in writing onelie by view of the map, & not by particular sight or surueie of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckemorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan by letters (two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scotish queene and hir confederats in France and in other forren parts, and also in England, for the inuading of the realme.

Sir Francis Englefield, Thomas Throckemorton, and Thomas Morgan.

That the duke of Guise should be the principall leader and executor of that inuasion.

That the pretention (which should be publikelie notified) should be to deliuer the Scotish queene to libertie, & to procure euen by force from the queenes maiestie a tolerance in religion for the pretended catholikes. But the intention (the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowne to all men) should be vpon the queenes maiesties resistance, to remoue hir maiestie from hir crowne and state.

A pretention of an inuasion into England.

That the duke of Guise had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, monie, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the forren forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scotish queene at libertie without perill of hir person.

The speciall meanes wanting.

For the first thing wanting, that is, monie; messengers were sent from forren parts both to Rome and Spaine, & their returne dailie expected to their liking. And the Spanish ambassadour to incourage the English to ioine both in purse & person, did giue out, that the king his maister would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the second thing, that is, the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the forren forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfeit name from the confederats in France, to signifie the plat and preparation there, and to solicit the same here.

The Spanish ambassadours words tending to this inuasion.

Throckemorton wrote diuerse letters to Marie the Scotish queene.

That Thomas Throckemorton his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England; and that thereupon Francis Throckemorton toke vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in England, with the helpe of the Spanish ambassadour, whome he instructed how and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie here within

Landing places for forren forces about Trondell in Sussex.

Charles Dauger vnder the name of Hope *alias* Syping a confederat in this action.

This would be feared and therefore alwaies by policie preuented.

within the realme, for that himselfe would not be seene to be a sounder of men, least he might be discouered, and so endanger himselfe and the enterprise, knowing that the ambassadour being a publike person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

Landing places for forren forces about Arundell in Sussex.

That the duke of Guise and other heads of the enterprise had refused some landing places, and made speciall choise of Sussex, and about Arundell in Sussex, both for the neere cut from the parts of France, where the duke did or best could assemble his force, and for the opportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That he, taking vpon him the pursute of this course, shewed the whole plot and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incourage him therin; he promising, that if he might haue respit vntill the next spring, the same should be done more readie.

That at the time of Thomas Throckemortons being here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie, might faile in the onelie hand of one man Thomas Throckemorton, there was also from the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Paget, vnder the name of Pope *alias* Spring, and therof an aduertisement couertlie sent vnto Thomas Throckemorton, both that Thomas might vnderstand it, and not be offended that an other was ioined with him in his labour.

Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope *alias* Spring a confederat in this action.

That the Spanish ambassador, by aduertisements from the confederats, was made priuie to this coming of Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope, and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the said ambassador did, according to his said aduertisements, know & affirme that Charles Paget was come ouer to view the hauens and countrie for landing of such forren forces about Arundell, and specially to sound and conferre with certeine principall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knew and affirmed, that Charles Paget had accordinglie done his message, and had spoken with some principall persons here according vnto his commission, and was returned.

This would be feared and therefore diuises by policie practised.

He moreouer confessed that there was a deuise betweene the Spanish ambassadour and him, how such principall recusants here within the realme, as were in the commission of the peace in sundrie counties, might vpon the first brute of the landing of forren forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie and the defense of his maiestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioine to the forren forces, and conuert them against his maiestie.

In these few articles is briefly compiled the whole effect of his confession made at large, without anie interrogatorie particularlie ministred, other than vpon the two papers before mentioned, conteining the names of men and hauens. And here you are to note, that at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them; but onelie an information and suspicion deliuered and conceiued of some practise betweene him and the Scotish queene, as is before mentioned. For the discouering whereof, after he had beene sundrie times vpon his allegiance commanded to declare his doings in conueieng and receiuing of letters to and from hir; he did voluntarilie confesse that he had written diuerse letters vnto hir, and had conueied manie to and fro, betweene hir and Thomas Morgan in France, by whose meanes he was first made knowne to hir, and that he had receiued as manie letters from hir. He also declared the effect of his letters to hir, & of hirs to him: which letters betweene them were alwaies written in cipher, and the cipher with the nullities and marks for names of princes and councellors he sent vnto the queenes maiestie written with his owne hand. He also deliuered the names of some, by whome he conueied his letters vnto the Scotish queene, as by one Godfrie Fulgeam, who fled the realme immediatlie vpon Throckemortons apprehension; and one other person, whome he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man since apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the mans name is William Ardington.

Godfrie Fulgeam was glad to cris *Fugiam.*

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were at the time of his arreignement opened and dilated by hir maiesties sergeant, atturnie, and solicitor generall at the bar, and therefore seeme not needfull to be repeated here; yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient proofe, that the matters conteined in his said confessions, are neither false nor feigned (as Francis Throckmorton most impudentlie affirmed at his triall, alledging that they were meere inuentions of himselfe by policie to auoid the torture) they haue beene here inserted, to the end you may the better iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances following, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequentlie see the falshood of the traitor, the iust and honorable proceedings of hir maiestie, and the honest and loiall indeuors of hir ministers imploied in the discouering of the treasons.

The cause why Throckmortons confessions are here mentioned.

Throckemorton was at Spaw, and elswhere, &c.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned, and had conference with Jenneie in that place, and with sir Francis Englefield in Flanders, and that he hath written letters to sir Francis, and receiued letters from him: for if he should denie the same, he were to be conuinced by good proofe: for it hath beene noted in him by manie of his countriemen, English subiects, that both in those parts and in France, he did continuallie associat himselfe with English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of his conuersation accordinglie. And it is to be supposed, that those men, knowne to be continuall practisers against the queenes maiestie and this realme, from whense for their treasons and vnnaturall demeanours they are worthilie banished, will not in their conuenticles and meetings forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and how they might be restored to their countrie, wherevnto no desert in hir maiesties like time (which God long continue) can well (without hir maiesties great mercie) restore them.

This is a principall marke where at they shoot, and therefore they cannot but meditat vpon the meanes.

Then I praie you, what conferences might passe Throckemorton haue with sir Francis Englefield, with Jenneie, with Liggons, with Owen, and with suchlike, who were his dailie companions in France and in the low countries? He hath written letters to sir Francis Englefield. To what purposes? He haunted continuallie two ambassadors in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas dailie. To whome, and from whome? Euen to and from Thomas Morgan, and Thomas Throckemorton at Paris, men knowne to hir maiestie and hir councell to be notorious practisers, deepe inward with the duke of Guise, and contriuers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion intended. And for deepe certeine knowledge thereof, we need not be beholding to Francis Throckemorton onelie (although he hath said much of them) but to others of better credit than himselfe.

The duke of Guise his enterprise to inuade the realme.

That the duke of Guise did vndertake the enterprise to inuade the realme with a forren power, to be defraied by the pope and king of Spaine (a part of

maister Throckemortons confession) and he in truth the first discouerer thereof to his maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For since he discouered the same, there haue béene diuerse aduertisements thereof sent to his maiestie from forren princes his highnesse louing neighbors and allies; as also by other good meanes and intelligences from his ambassadors and seruants residing in other countries. If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of anie such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth: for Throckemorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *De futuro*.

The Spanish ambassador and Throckemorton did often times conuerse and conferre.

He resorted often to the Spanish ambassador, at the least twise a weeke when he was in London: this often repaire could not be to conferre with the ambassador for the exchange of monie for his brother, as he pretended at his arreignement: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with greene veluet, verie cunninglie conueied out of his chamber by a maidseruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, & vnknowing thereof) which casket not long after his apprehension, was by one John Meredith a follower of Throckemorton, conueied to the hands of the Spanish ambassador. And why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why should not the casket haue béene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish ambassador? It is to be coniectured, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Francis Throckemorton, though caried by Meredith, who did well know of what moment the matters were that were within the casket, & of what danger to Throckemorton if they had béene disclosed; & therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readilie be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Meredith fled: for in truth he was priuie to the treasons, and a fellow practiser in them. To whome Francis Throckemorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to run vp a staire to deface a letter, which he was then in writing to the Scotish quéene in cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenlie apprehended, and so forced to depart awaie presentlie out of his house, deliuered priuilie into the hands of Meredith, either the cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scotish quéene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto hir: therefore he trusted Meredith as a man priuie to his doings.

Throckemorton surprised and put to a narrow shift.

Feare is an ordinarie tormentor of a guiltie conscience.

You are also to vnderstand, that Throckemorton was in verie great feare of the discouering of this casket after his apprehension. For remaining two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Tower, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his law causes, who brought him certeine bookes drawne, or other like papers written, which he made shew to perusse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for in perusing the bookes, he conueied into them a little peece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole; I would faine know whether my casket be safe: or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckemortons house, not far distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this peece of paper, which he tooke vp and deliuered to one of Francis Throckemortons men; but the casket was alreadie conueied to the Spanish ambassador. Wherby you will perceiue what care he had of the casket, & how much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first that euer he had anie such casket; but finding afterwards that the casket was discouered, he confessed the casket, and said there were certeine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scotish quéene from Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed. That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckemorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secret and suspicious maner, staied not aboue fiftéene daies, indeuored in a sort to find the disposition of William Shellie esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discouered not directlie his traitorous intents to Shellie: therefore all Throckemortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it will appeare.

How William Shellie stood affectioned to these treasonable plots.

But because the two papers produced at his arreignement, conteining the description of the hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantlie condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuitie to the whole treason; you may not forget that he acknowledged one of the papers written in the secretarie hand, to haue béene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand. In the which, vnder the title of Cheshire, &c: is said, Vpon the landing of forren supplies, Chester shall be taken. But what in your opinions might be vnderstood by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in the secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled; The names of noblemen and gentlemen in euerie countie fit to be dealt with all in this matter (which in truth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more inlarged) the question is to be asked, What matter? The answer followeth necessarilie, To assist the forren forces that shall come to inuade the realme: for that there is an other title in that paper ouer the names of the hauens, &c: Hauens in euerie coast fit for the landing of forces. Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacities, what winds bring vnto them from Spaine, France, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckemorton: the papers are both of his owne handwriting, and the secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Certeine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

Is it not likelie (thinke you) that he would acquaint the Spanish ambassador with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traitorous practises & deuises, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safelie committed to his hands? It may be thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be parciallie affected to excuse the treasons. And now to shew vnto you what mind this man hath caried towards his maiestie; you are to be informed that Francis Throckemorton, after he had discouered to his maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in the bewraieng thereof, said to some of the commissioners vpon occasion of speach; I would I had béene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare anie of the matters by me confessed. And being at other times sent vnto by his maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he vsed this argument to persuade his maiestie, that he had confessed all, saieng that Sith he had alreadie brought himselfe by his confessions

what mind Throckemorton hath caried towards his maiestie.

within

within the danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be anie conceit in hir maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to persuade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleeue that he could discouer no more, at one time he vsed these speeches following with great vehemencie: Now I haue disclosed the secrets of hir who was the deerest thing vnto me in the world (meaning the Scotish queene) and whom I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue prejudiced as I haue done by my confessions. I see no cause why I should spare anie one, if I could saie ought against him: and sith I haue failed of my faith towards hir, I care not if I were hanged.

This vehement speech imputeth the secrets of great moment betweene Throckemorton and the Scotish queene.

And when he began first to confesse his treasons, which he did most vnwillinglie, after he was entered into the declaration of them before all the commissioners, vpon aduisement he desired he might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onelie: whereunto they yeelded. And thereupon remouing aside from the place where he sat by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore*, that is, He that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation; meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to be a traitor, and not to reueale the treasons: & then he began to confesse as you haue heard. By this discourse, conteining the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndutifull minds and affections, will clearelie perceiue how impudentlie and vntrulie he denied at his arreignement the truth of his confessions, charging hir maiestie with crueltie, and hir ministers with vntruths in their proceeding against him. But the cause that moued him thereto, was the vaine conceit he had taken that his case was cleere in law, by the intermission of the time betweene his confession made and his arreignement, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the which there are certeine treasons specified and made of that nature, that no person shalbe arreigned for anie of those offenses committed within anie of the queenes maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offendor be thereof indicted within six moneths next after the same offense committed; and shall not be arreigned for the same, vnlesse the offense be proued by the testimonie and oth of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession without violence: wherein he was greatlie deceiued. For it was made manifest vnto him by the lord chiefe iustice and other of the iudges in commission at his triall, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of 25. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe. Herein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduise giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who (pitieng his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the mind appearing in him) assured him that there was no waie so readie for him to redeeme his life, as by submission and acknowleding of his offense, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to follow, and now eftsoones after his condemnation by a new submission to the queens maiestie the fourth of June had resumed that course. The submission *verbatim*, written with his owne hand, followeth.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it will appeare.

How William Shellie stood affectioned to these treasonable plots.

Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore, an Italian prouerbe.

Certeine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

The cause that moued Throckemorton to denie his confessions at his arreignment.

These gifts in him were to commend in any person.

To hir most excellent maiestie, euen *to hir owne roiall hands.*

Throckemortons submission & letter, written and sent with his owne handwriting.

MOst excellent prince, and my most gratious soueregne, sith to me the most miserable of all your maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustlie condemned by the ordinarie and orderlie course of your maiesties laws, there resteth no further meane of defense but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, gratiouslie to accept the same, which prostrate in all humilitie I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath beene deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same spring, some drop of grace and mercie for the great & grieuous offense, wherof I rest by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned: some part, I saie, of that your accustomed gratious clemencie, wherof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few beene depriued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loiall respect, which nature & dutie bound me to owe vnto your maiestie, as to my lawfull & naturall dread soueregne; and that the naturall care in me of the defense of my life moued me latelie to the vntrue & vndutifull gainesaieng of some such points as had beene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuertheless, I most humblie beseech your most excellent maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you hold, as also in regard of your singular wisdome and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherwith God & nature hath plentifullie indued you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your maiesties subiects and gratiouslie to grant vnto me remission and forgiuenes, that not onelie doo most humblie confesse my selfe worthie of death; but also in shew of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted mind, doo not craue at your maiesties hands the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gratious good plesure; but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustlie by your maiesties lawes imposed vpon me, if the same may be anie satisfaction to your maiestie for the heinous crime whereof I remaine by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned; or anie mitigation of your maiesties indignation worthilie conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour; and dieng will wish from my hart, that my end may be the beginning of your maiesties securitie, and my death the preseruation of your life, and the increase both to your maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwelth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

He sueth for vndeserued mercie to hir maiestie in his miserie, in whose fauour he might haue liued by loialtie.

Your maiesties most wofull subiect in that he hath offended you:

Francis Throckemorton.

He sent vnto hir maiestie, togither with the said submission, a declaration, written likewise with his owne hand, conteining the effects of the most principall points of his treasons formerlie confessed: retracting onelie the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleere him of his treasons, the effect wherof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

A declaration, &c: written by Throckemorton to the queenes maiestie.

The declaration which Throckmorton *sent to hir maiestie, with his letter* of submission.

THe onelie cause why I coined the practise first by me confessed, and vniustlie touched my father, was, for that partlie I conceiued that the paper written so long since, could not now by law haue touched me: but principallie, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and hauens

in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed vpon occasion of conference betweene the Spanish ambassador and me of this latter practise. Mine intelligence with the Scotish queene began a little before Christmas was two yeares: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the first letter I received by Godfrie Fulgeam, by whome also came all such others as I after received for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by F. A. his hands, who as he told me, received them of the fellow by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I know not, nor whense he is. And for such letters as came vnto me in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed vnder a couerture from Fulgeam, and were deliuered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead his brother in law, vnto whome I deliuered such as I had for the Scotish queene, couered with a direction vnto Fulgeam: and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scotish queene to the house of the said Tunstead, neere Buckestones, couered with a direction to Tunstead, and vnder a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scotish queene, were inclosed letters to F. A. manie times, and most times some for Thomas Morgan. Hir letters to me conteined, &c.

William Ardington.

But before I returned mine answer vnto hir, I vnderstood of the death of the duke of Lenox, and withall heard from Morgan, with whome all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had anie, other than that the matters by me written to Morgan were by him imparted vnto my brother most times) that by the persuasion of the pope and the king of Spaine, the duke of Guise had yeelded to performe the iournie in person: and that it was thought that the next waie to atteine libertie for the Scotish queene, and to reforme Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he desired to know from me, whether in mine opinion catholikes would not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demand of tolerance in religion for them should insue the well performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horsse and footmen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer was, that as then, I saw no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the catholikes were timorous, dispersed, the matter perillous to be communicated vnto manie, without which I saw not how anie estimat could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an imminent danger vnto the Scotish queene, whereof I saw no remedie.

The next way to atteine libertie for the Scotish queene, &c.

I toke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scotish queene, whose answer was, that she latelie heard of that determination, &c. Vpon my former answer vnto Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish ambassador, to whom I should be recommended from thense. Herevpon the said ambassador sent for me, and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here with verie little force, considering the disuse in men to warre, and troubles would so amaze them (as he thought) that they would be as soone ouerthrowne as assailed: & he could not thinke but in such a case catholikes would shew themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteining for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would do in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holds in these parts were easiest to be surprised. I answered him, that (as it seemed) the enterprise stood vpon great vncertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certeine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had sounded all the catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazard of the discouerie of the purpose. For as for anie great personage, I know no one to be drawne to this action, that could carrie anie more than his ordinarie retinue: the onlie waie in such a case was (I told him) for such as would be drawne into this matter, and were of credit in their countries, to leuie forces vnder colour of the princes authoritie.

The pestilent persuasion of the Spanish ambassador to procure this pernicious enterprise.

But for that these things depended vpon vncerteine grounds, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to be sent should be of that number, that what backing soeuer they should find here, they might be able of themselues to incounter with anie force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therfore they could not be lesse than fifteene thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much vpon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisit that it should be in the countries best affected, & furthest from hir maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the northerne parts on either side. To the danger of the Scotish queene by me obiected, he said he knew no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken awaie by some two hundred horsse, which I told him I saw not to be possible: for that I knew not anie gentleman in those parts (which were men, if anie, to performe it) that I durst with to be made acquainted with the matter before hand.

The reasons was frustrate as also the later of the plot: such was Gods iustice to persecute supplant both the one and the other.

Finallie, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the hauens as particularlie as I could: and within few daies after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferior vnto that I spake of; and that there was some different betweene the pope & the king of Spaine for the charge, I told him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breed a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall war, & by incursions so to annoie this state, as hir maiestie here should be forced to yeeld the libertie of the Scotish queene, and what should therevpon haue beene reasonablie demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some few were landed in Ireland: where although they abide the same hazard that the former forces susteined; yet would the charge be so great to hir maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of hir forces, as a much lesse companie than was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the minds of men generallie, and be of force (if anie thing) to draw them to shew themselues in the furtherance of the purpose.

was this (thinke you) a naturall subiects opinion, or not rather the conceipt of a tyrannous traitor?

He vtterlie reiected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotland; but still he was in mind to haue forces landed here: and therefore desired me verie earnestlie to inquire particularlie of the hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification. The next time that I went to the Spanish ambassador, he found himselfe greeued that he vnderstood matters were determined in France without his priuitie: and told me that Persons the Iesuit was gone vnto Rome, sent (as he thought) to vnderstand the popes

This Spanish ambassador had no good meaning in meaning this requisit

mind.

mind. Some after came ouer my brother Thomas, to make an end of our account, and to persuade me to come ouer, assuring me that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being here, and while I interteined intelligence with the Scotish queene concerning hir libertie, the Spanish ambassador sent for me, and told me of the comming ouer of Pope to view Sussex and the hauens, and as he thought, to take the best of account there: whereat he seemed to be aggreeued; for that such matters had not beene left to him, being one whome they in France made beleeue that they relied vpon principallie in this enterprise. Afterwards, the ambassador told me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was returned, but where he had beene he knew not, and at the same time I receiued a letter from Morgan, that it was Paget: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassador, that his comming was not to moue anie man, but onelie to view the countrie, for that the moouing of anie man was referred vnto him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaid names and hauens, saieng, that so it were done exactlie by the spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihood of the execution of the enterprise.

This Pope was Charles Paget, otherwise named Sprint: as beleeue.

My brother hauing made an end of his account with me, returned with this resolution betweene vs (I protest before God) that if the enterprise succeeded not betweene this and the next spring now past, that I would settle my things here and go ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrie, both to sell and take order for my lands in those parts, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and hauens for the most part of England, which had beene set downe by me aboue two yeares since, and left behind me at Feckenham in my studie. Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I found the note of names in secretarie hand, which I carried to the Spanish ambassador, and there drew that other in Romane hand in his studie, putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought, and the rather to giue him incouragement in the matter, I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long; making knowne vnto him, that I was had in suspicion, and my determination to be gone: but he prested the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Throckmorton's purpose that this enterprise succeeded not by the next spring.

Whether sir Francis Englefield were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish ambassador told me) that sir Francis had intelligence with the said ambassador all the time of his being here. The Spanish ambassador told me that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie well affected, and therefore he desired to haue the hauens of that countrie: I told him that hereafter I would helpe him thereunto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon the date before mine apprehension, the ambassador sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactlie, which was the cause that it was not in my greene veluet casket. The writings in my casket were such as were by me confessed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confessed.

Sir Francis Englefield whether excusable or no.

¶ I most humblie beseech hir most excellent maiestie, that the extremitie which I haue alreadie sustetined, and the causes by me discouered, to the safetie of hir maiestie and the state, not made knowne (as hath appeared) by anie other meane than by my selfe, may crane at hir hands the extending of hir gratious commiseration towards the releeuing of the lamentable estate of me, hir maiesties poore distressed subiect, and mine, if God for mine offenses forbid, not the same.

Throckmorton's sute for commiseration to hir maiestie.

Now iudge all ye, that be not peruerslie affected whether Throckemorton be iustlie condemned, and whether his confessions (though as he pretended, extorted from him by violence) be of force in law against him. He conspired to ouerthrow the state, to bring in strangers to inuade the realme, to remoue hir maiestie from hir lawfull & naturall right and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in hir seat. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchance) be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they found no waie how to put the Scotish queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discouered by torture (the onelie meanes left vnto princes to discouer treasons and attempts against their states and persons; where they find apparent matter to induce suspicion, as in the case of Throckemorton, vpon sight of the plots of hauens, &c) may the law touch the traitor or not? If anie man hold this question negatiuelie, hold him for a friend to traitors and treasons, and an enimie to the queenes maiestie, whome God long preserue, and confound hir enimies: Amen.

A recapitulation of some treasonable enterprises by Throckemorton.

On the tenth date of Julie next following, the same Francis Throckemorton was conueied by water from the Tower of London to the Blacke friers staires, and from thense by land to the sessions hall in the old ballie without Newgate, where he was deliuered to the shiriffes of London, and then laid on a hurdle, from whence he was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. The nintéenth date of Julie, Robert baron of Denbigh, the onelie sonne and heire of Robert earle of Leicester, departed this mortall life, being then of the age of three yeares and somewhat more, at Wansted in Essex, the solemnitie of whose funerall was there honorablie kept on the first of August; and after, his bodie was conueied to Warwike, & there in the chappell of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike his ancestor honorablie intombed, on the one and twentith of October. In memorie of whom (but not as an epicedium, nor yet as an epitaph) these verses of fit inuention and deuise may well be vsed:

Throckemorton executed.

Robert baron of Denbigh deceased.

O puer, ô expressa patrum sed maior imago,
Nunc bona cum domino spes tumulata iacet:
Sic rosa, sic tenera sulco resecantur aristæ,
Candida sic primo lilia vere cadunt.

In this yeare, an ancient and charitable citizen of London named D. S. embroderer to the queenes maiestie (whome God from bare estate had aduanced to a degree of credit, hauing his wife aliue, and by hir onelie eight children, six of them maried, whose children counted together made aboue the number of twentie) this man (I say) notwithstanding these great occasions by multiplied generations might haue prouoked him to gather and laie vp against his death, such worldlie wealth, as they thereby might reape profit after his decease: yet remembring himselfe, that christians are not placed in this world to benefit their children onlie, but also to doo good to the household of faith, whereof none are more likelie to be members than the godlie poore, did laie out the most part of his substance (when he was three score yeares of age) in and about the building of six proper houses in forme of a quadrangle, with these words in faire great letters round about the same:

The charitable deeds of D. S.

These letters are placed about the gate.

The poore widowes Inne here you may see,
Where six poore widowes haue houserooms free:

Heights or squares of the building.

And twentie shillings yeerelie paid,
During our liues for our further aid:
Though gift be but bare & came from small store,
Despise not the giuer but praise God therefore.
Worke whilest thou hast breath:
No waie to life but Christs death.

Upon the front of the building, ouer the doore or gate of entrance, are these words of well wishing grauen in stone: GOD SAVE OVR NOBLE QVEENE ELISABETH CHEEFE FOVNDER OF THIS WORKE. The originall of this foundation was in this maner. The said M. S. did purchase certeine old houses in the ward of castell Bainard, in the citie of London, and pulling them downe to the ground, did (vpon his owne charges) build vpon the same ground six little houses all of bricke and stone, as strongly as he could deuise to continue, euerie house hauing three seuerall rooms one ouer the other: wherein he placed six poore widowes immediatlie after they were builded, that is, in euerie house one widow, choosing them within the parish where the said houses do stand; being such as haue liued in good name and fame all the daies of their liues, and so do continue, and are of the age of three score yeares or thereabouts, before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie of them: & being thus admitted, and remaining widowes, they haue their dwelling free during their liues, and twentie shillings a peece beside, paid them quarterlie by fiue shillings euerie quarter, to buie them wood & coles. And this he truelie paieth them during his owne life, and his wife shall do it likewise if she do out liue him during hir life: and after both their deceases, he hath made it ouer vnto Christs hospitall to performe the same for euer. For the performance of the premisses, he hath left vnto the said hospitall sufficient rents, as well to paie the said six pounds yearelie vnto the said six poore widowes, as also to keepe the said houses in reparations and buildings for euer, with some ouerplus vnto the said hospitall.

Six houses of perpetuall reléefe, founded vpon S. Peters hill in Baniard castell ward.

Rents left in perpetuitie for the maintenance of the said houses.

And to the intent that his good and charitable prouision should by no misbehauiour be abused, but decent and agreeable to the age of the parties there relieued, he maye certeine ordinances and rules, to be obserued and kept by those six poore widowes which do dwell or hereafter shall dwell in anie of those six houses, standing vpon saint Peters hill, in the ward of castell Bainard, erected by the said M. S. embodied to our most gratious and noble queene Elisabeth, Anno 1584.

Ordinances of the founder to be inuiolablie obserued.

1 First, I will that they shall be such widowes as shall be giuen to serue God, before all other exercises, and such as haue liued in good name and fame, and so do continue; no blasphemers of the name of God, no drunkards, no scolds, nor anie disquiet persons, but of good and godlie conuersation, to the better example of others. They shall be of the age of threescore yeares, or of six and fiftie yeares at the least, before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie of the same houses. And if anie of them shall fortune to marrie, they shall depart out of the same house or houses wherein she or they do dwell, before they do marrie, and neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of the same houses againe.

What kind of widowes are to be admitted into these houses.

2 Also, they nor anie of them shall not lodge, nor suffer to be lodged or harboured by date nor yet by night, anie manner of person, neither man, nor woman, nor child, within anie of their houses, but onelie themselues; without it be in some great extremitie of sickenesse, when as of necessitie some honest ancient woman a keeper, may watch with anie of them for a night or two vpon great necessitie; or else not lodge, harbour, keepe, or maintaine, or suffer to be lodged, harboured, kept, or maintained, neither by date nor yet by night, any maner of person, although they be neuer so neere of blood or kindred; but if anie of them shall so do, she or they shall presentlie auoid out of hir or their houses within twentie daies next after anie such offense committed, & neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of the said houses after. My meaning is not but that they may come the one of them vnto the others house, or their friends, to be merie together (when they shall thinke meete) louinglie, as honest neighbours vse to do at houres conuenient, and so to depart in good order.

Whom they may lodge and not lodge.

3 Also, they shall be no keepers of sicke persons in other houses which shall be sicke of the plague, or of anie infectious sicknesse, for bringing of infected clothes among themselues: nor they shall not suffer anie other folkes to haue anie recourse by their meanes, to wash anie sheets or other clothes, neither woollen or linnen at the well, nor in anie other part of the same yards but onelie themselues, for annoieng of the tenants with filth & foule waters running through their yards & houses there adioining. And if anie of the rest of the said widowes do or shall know that anie of them or more, haue offended anie of these articles aforesaid, and do not shew the same vnto such persons as shall haue authoritie to correct and amend the same: then all such persons shall be in the like danger as the partie that hath so offended, if it may be proued that they did know thereof: and if they or anie of them shall offend in anie of these articles, they shall be put from their houses as is aforesaid, and not be admitted anie more into anie of them.

In order for the auoiding of infection, sicknesse, annoiance, &c.

4 Also, I will that they and either of them, shall most dwallie vse the parish church of saint Wenets, neere Paules wharfe, and especiallie vpon the sabboth date, and vpon mondaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie, in euerie weeke; if there be anie sermon in the same church on the said daies: and if they or anie of them shall be absent from the same church at seruice time, being in the citie, and being not sicke, they shall paie two pence for euerie time so offending, which shall be put into the poores box among themselues, or into the poores box in the said parish church.

What weeke daies they are to repaire to the church.

5 Also, I will that none of them do occupie anie water aboue the staires of anie of the same houses, for decaieng of the same houses, and perishing of the seelings: and if anie of them shall so offend, she or they shall lose the fiue shillings that they should receiue the next quarter date following, by vertue of my will.

Conuenient vse of water, &c.

6 Also, I will haue them to put in two sufficient suerties to be bound in twentie pounds before they be admitted into anie of the same houses, to performe these articles, or else to auoid the said houses within twentie daies (as is aforesaid) quietlie.

Performance of these ordinances intended.

7 Also, I will that the two widowes that do or shall dwell in the two houses next the street on either side of the gate, shall hang out one lanthorne betweene them both, and a whole candell in it burning, according vnto the custome in the citie of London vsed in the winter season; that is to saie, the one widow one weeke to hang it out, and the other widow another weeke, and so to continue from time to time, and the said lanthorne to be maintained by those two widowes that shall haue the hanging of them out. And I will that they do maintaine them to be faire, large, and cleere lanthorns: and for the prouision of the candels, I will that the other foure widowes dwelling in the other foure houses, shall buie either of them one pound of cotton candels, and deliuer them vnto the two widowes that shall hang out the lanthorne, so as alwaies there shall not be aboue ten candels in the pound. And if any of the same widows shall not performe this my meaning, I will that

In order for lanthorne and candle light in winter.

twise

twise so much more as will performe the premisses, shall be taken out of the fiue shillings that they or either of them should receiue the next quarter date following, by vertue of my last will and testament.

God grant that they which are better able, may haue no lesse good will to doo the like, or better, that the godlie poore may be relieued here on earth, vpon whom, be it little or much that is bestowed, Christ Iesus no doubt will reward it a hundred fold in heauen: and who would not by workes of faithfull charitie, endeuour to dwell in God, whome the scripture calleth charitie? Consdering that the apostle exhorteth all christians in no case to forget to doo good and distribute, sith with such sacrifices he is well pleased.

In order for the auoiding of infection, sicknesse, annoiance, &c.

On the 12 date of November, the queens maiestie (returning after hir progresse) came to hir manor of S. Iames, where the citizens of London, to the number of two hundred of the gravest sort in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, on horsebacke, and a thousand of the companies on foot (hauing with them a thousand men with torches readie there to giue light on euerie side for that the night drew on) receiued and welcomed hir grace. And on the foure and twentith date of the same moneth, hir maiestie and the lords rode to the parlement, which was that date begun at Westminster.

The loue of the Londoners to the queenes maiestie.

Parlement at Westminster.

An. Reg. 27.

¶ In the foresaid parlement held at Westminster, were manie necessarie lawes ordeined for the commonwealth, amongst which was one speciall act procured by sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, for the maintenance of the famous stone bridge of Rochester. And here because there is mention made of sir Roger Manwood & Rochester bridge; I thinke it conuenient (sith I haue alwaies determined to set forth what soeuer might come to my mind and pen touching my sweet and native countrie of Kent, and such persons of the same as either by honorable descent in that countrie, or by office of hie place in the commonwealth, or by worthie remembrance deserue not to be forgotten) to speake somewhat of the same sir Roger Manwood, and such things as he hath done for that countrie, especiallie sith maister Lambard a man of rare iudgement hath not forgotten to treat of him in his booke of the perambulation of Kent vnder the title of Sandwich. Wherfore thinking him worthie remembrance for that which he hath done in his owne countrie of Kent, I enter in discourse of him a Kentishman in this sort.

Addition of Fr. Thin.

Inact for the maintenance of Rochester stone bridge procured by sir Roger Manwood.

Sir Roger Manwood a friend to the commonwealth.

This man being borne at Sandwich in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and fiue and twentie, was first instructed in the grammar schole of that towne, as then but a meane thing and taught by a chanterie preest of the foundation of one Thomas Ellis. Afterwards, when as by dissolution of chanteries in the time of king Edward the first this chanterie schole was taken away, & the children of the townes people being manie in number were forced to be taught in the grammar scholes far distant from Sandwich, to the great charges of their parents (whereby manie poore mens children for capacitie and pains taking meet for learning, were put by the course of learning, which otherwise might haue proued learned and become good members of the common wealth) the said sir Roger Manwood by studie in the law, and reader in the inner temple, well considering the same (and minding to retire to Sandwich towne his birth place, a better grammar schole than that wherein he was first brought vp) did in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred three score and three, vpon his owne charges procure from the deane & chapter of Christs church of Canterburie a vacant place (hauing manie broken stone walles) neere to the towne gate in Sandwich called Canterburie gate. In which void roome adioining to the riuer of Delfe is now erected a faire schoolehouse (for the schoolemaster, vsher, & certen boording scholers) framed all of bricke & stone. For perpetuall continuance of which schole, the said sir Roger Manwood (now lord chiefe baron) in the yeare of our Lord 1586 procured letters patents from the queene for incorporating and allurance of the same schole (with other lands and reuenues thereto belonging) to the maior and his brethren of Sandwich and to their successors for euer, by the name of the gouernours of the free grammar schole of Roger Manwood in Sandwich; allowing to the said gouernors of his owne land the cleere yearelie value of 22 pounds and more. Further, thereunto procuring of his brother Thomas Manwood (sometime maior of Sandwich) the cleere yearelie value of ten pounds of lands and tenements; and also of one Thomas Compton (iurat of Sandwich) eight pounds by yeare *De claro*, of his owne lands and tenements, in the grosse summe amounting to fourtie pounds by yeare, which lands being sufficientlie assured to the said gouernours, with conuenient dwelling for the maister, and vsher, lodging for sixteene boording scholers, and with some benevolence of parents for the teaching of their children, is a large endowment for perpetuall maintenance of the same grammar schole.

He erected a faire schoolehouse of bricke and stone.

He procureth letters patents &c: for the maintenance of the same in perpetuitie.

The summe of 40 pounds allowed yearlie, &c: to the maintenance of the said grammar schole.

Besides which, for the further benefit of the same schole, the same sir Roger Manwood hath obteined two scholers roomes in Gonuile and Caius college in Cambridge, and two other scholers roomes in Lincolne college at Oxford, with pension of foure markes yearelie to euerie of the said foure scholers to be removed from that schole of Sandwich, and to be placed in those colleges, from time to time as often as ante of the same college scholers roomes shall be void, and that ante scholer shall be next to come from that schole of Sandwich. Beyond all which that he hath done for recompense of his birth place, with a free grammar schole for the education of the youth there, he also for reliefe of age hath neere vnto his dwelling place of saint Stephans in Hackington parish (adioining to Canterburie) built in the yeare of our redemption 1573, a faire row of seuen almes houses of bricke, placing in euerie of the same almes houses poore folkes, such as are counted to be honest & good. For perpetuall maintenance of which almes persons he hath endowed that building with a yearelie allowance of the value of foure pounds by yeare (to euerie of the same almes men & houses) in monie, bread, & fewell. And in the same parish church neere to those almes houses he hath newlie erected an Ile, where his tombe is made and placed, & in that church a new roome of seuen pewes and seates for the almes people to be bestowed in, together by themselues.

Two scholers roomes obteined in Cambridge & two in Oxford for such scholers as remoue from the said schole to either of the vniuersities.

Seuen almes houses by him founded for the releefe of the honest aged.

Likewise for setting to worke of middle age, whereby they may eschew idlenesse, this sir Roger Manwood did in the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and eight, build a new house of correction in the Westgate street in the suburbs of Canterburie. And moreouer, whereas Rochester bridge standing on the riuer of Medweie, being famoulie built of stone (in the time of king Richard the second as is most likelie; though some attribute the same to the time of Edward the third) by one sir Robert Knolles knight, with the helpe of John lord Cobham of Cobham, and Margaret Courtneie his wife, being two of the principall benefactors thereunto, after the decaie of a woodden bridge (first erected ouer the same riuer some hundred yeares before that of stone) had (for the perpetuall maintenance of the same stone bridge) the ancient contributarie lands

Sir Roger Manwoods towne.

A house of correction for lustie idle persons.

The ancient bridge of Rochester, when builded and by whom.

Diuerse opinions concerning the first founding of ſ said bridge.

In order for lanthorne and candle light in winter.

Performance of these ordinances intended.

Conuenient vse of water, &c.

What weeke daies they are to repaire to the church.

In order for either be-ning, don v-one wi-r widow e to time, hose two em out. be faire, uision of widowes either eliuer ut the oue ten widows will that twise

Dom. 1584.

lands (giuen for the support of the woodden bridge) after the ruine of the same woodden bridge reduced (by act of parlement holden in the one and twentith of Richard the second) to the maintenance of the same new stone bridge; and that sundrie manors, lands, tenements, & rents in Kent, London, & Essex, were by deuise of sundrie persons assured for the vpholding of the same new stone bridge: yet by want of due circumspection this new stone bridge became in so great decaie, that in the latter time of quéene Marie, and begining of hir maiestie now reigning, collection was made vpon all horsemen, & carriages passing ouer that bridge in manner of a tole or tar: and more, by reason of the quænes commission, an vniuersall taration was made in nature of a tenth and fiftéenth ouer all the countrie of Kent, and the citie of Canturburie, for and towards the reparations of the same bridge.

How the said bridge began to decaie, and what meanes are vsed for the reparing of the same.

All which being an vnwilling burthen, & griefe to the people, togither with the reuenues of the bridge lands, did not yet suffice to saue the ruine of that famous stone bridge, vntill by the carefull trauell of the said sir Roger Manwood (then a iustice in the common plées) a remedie was found therefore without iniurie to anie person, and without exaction of anie passenger. Which remedie was, that all the manors, lands, tenements, and rents, belonging vnto the bridge, should be freed from all leases thereof, made at small rents; and the same lands so let to be dulie improued to a higher rate, the same being a matter answerable to right and reason; considering the cause of the first gift of those lands then sufficient, and the now dearth of things, which made it insufficient to support the said bridge) the stone, timber and other stuffe, for repare of the same bridge, with the works, wages, and carriages concerning it, being now growne to farre greater prices than in old time they were. Which deuised remedie to vndo the old leases, was much impugned by manie persons of wealthie hauior, receiuing great profit by those old vnder rented leases.

Sir Roger Manwoods deuised remedie for the keeping of the said bridge well repared.

His deuised remedie tending to so good a purpose was impugned.

All which notwithstanding, this Roger Manwood prosecuted the same to a good successe: for he making to appeare before the lords of the councell, and the rest of the iudges of the realme (in the presence of such as misliked these old leases, and of their learned councell, and other fauourers) that the said manors, lands, and tenements, belonging to the said bridge, were giuen to the wardens & communaltie, owners of the contributorie lands; and that their old leases made by the wardens onelie, without consent of the communaltie, were not good in law: the farmers submitted themselues to surrender their old insufficient leases, and to take such as might be available in law of the same lands. Whereby the yearelie reuenues of the bridge lands grew to be of more value than triple that which they were before: and yet the old farmers had new leases vnto their owne contentation; bicause the same are not so improued, but that they are as reasonablie letten as other priuat mens lands be.

The yearelie reuenues of the said bridge amount vnto more in value by triple than they were before.

To which deuise a further remedie was then added, and set forth by the said iustice Manwood, who for perpetuall supplie (when need should be) procured that the ancient contributorie lands, almost growne into obliuion, should be to that end reduced into a conuenient order answerable vnto right and iustice. And likewise (for good direction in yearelie elections of wardens, and other officers, with the accounts, prouision, works, and other such necessaries required for perpetuall maintenance of that bridge) obteined an act of parlement in the eightéenth yeare of this quéenes reigne, as appeareth in the printed booke of statutes: wherein were manie things ordeined for the good ordering of the said bridge, and the officers belonging therevnto. After all which a charge of fiue hundred pounds was of record demanded and leuied vpon the wardens of the said bridge, for arrerages of the stipends of chanterie priests, sometime serning in the chappell at the east end of the said bridge, to the great damage and ouerthrow of the bridge; had not the said iustice Manwood by his trauell vpon due and lawfull triall at the assises, deliuered & discharged the bridge of that great demand; as appeareth by record in the court of the exchequer, before the said sir Roger Manwood came to be chiefe baron there. And yet abuse and slacknesse being had in these things, the wardens (notwithstanding that great benevolence and relése was at sundrie times and of sundrie persons procured vnto the said bridge, by the carefull and diligent trauell of Thomas Wooten of Boxton Maleherbe of Kent esquier, a deere father and fauourer of his countrie, as well at the times of the elections of the wardens, and the accounts of the officers) were forced to disburse great sums of their owne monie from time to time, to dispatch the needfull charges and works required for the bridge, without anie conuenient allowance of the contributorie persons, at the yearelie elections of the wardens, and without due regard had for order of the said lands, belonging and contributorie to the bridge.

Maister Thomas Wooten of Kent esquier a father and fauourer of his countrie.

For auoiding whereof the said sir Roger Manwood, then & now lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, procured to pas another act of parlement, in the seuen & twentith yeare of hir maiestie reigne, wherein is further prouision made for the said bridge, as in the printed booke of statutes at large appeareth. By which sullie prouided meanes and by reasonable following the presidents of the works and accounts (written in great *ligear books by the said chiefe baron, and William Lambard esquier, in the yeare next after the said last mentioned act of parlement of the seuen and twentith of the quéenes reigne, they then executing the office of wardens) all needfull reparations be so done, and prouision before hand so made, as it is now growne out of all controuersie, that the said famous stone bridge of Rochester for euer is like to last, according to the intent of the first building, and the indowment thereof for the good and beneficiall seruice of the common wealth. This sir Roger Manwood, hauing had before an other wife issued of the gentlemanlie familie of the Theobalds, is at this daie ioined in marriage with Elisabeth (descended of an ancient and worshipfull familie) the daughter of John Copinger of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent esquier: which Elisabeth, being a woman of such rare modestie and patience, as hir verie enimies must néeds confesse the same: occasioned these verses following to be composed touching hir & hir husband the said sir Roger Manwood:

* Sir Roger Manwood and maister William Lambard esquier wardens of the said bridge.

Elisabeth (daughter of John Copinger esquier) second wife to sir Roger Manwood, hir modestie, &c.

Scaccarij prothobaro(Manwoode) beatum
Quem facunt leges, lingua, loquela virum:
Coniuge fœlicior tamen es, quæ nata Copinger
Egregia est summa fœmina digna viro:
Quæ viduata thoro Wilkins, coniunctáque Manwood,
Coniugibus comitx est sociata binis.

In the moneth of Januarie deceassed Edward Fines lord Clinton, earle of Lincolne, and lord admerall of England, knight of the garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, a man of great yéeres, and seruice, as well by sea as land, he was buried at Windsor, leauing manie children behind him honorable married. Of this noble man (whiles he liued) one to whome the honorable lords of the court were not obscurelie knowne, writing of the *peaceable regiment of the quænes maiestie, & comprising in an orderlie discourse their high places of seruice to the

The earle of Lincolne deceassed.

* Explanation sine Elisabetha C.O.

Jesuits, seminaries, and messing priests set ouer the seas and banished out of this realme of England for euer.

The quéenes maiesties mercie notable.

The names of such Jesuits (Je-

An act of parlement obteined for the behoofe of the said bridge.

An. Reg. 27.

the crowne, amongest others, speaketh verie commendablie and deseruedlie of this deceassed earle, who (at such time as the said booke was published vnder the title aforenamed) had bene lord great admerall of England thirtie yeares, and of councell vnto three princes: alwaies of vnspotted report specially for allegiance, and therefore as singularlie beloued in his life; so accordinglie bemoned at his death. The words that concerne this noble mans memoriall are thus extant, to the aduancement of his honour, testified by report of two English poets:

O Clintone tuæ concessa est regia classis
Tutelæ, totos ter denos circiter annos:
Consuluisse tribus (nec & hæc tibi gloria parua)
Principibus, veterum satraparum sanguine clares,
Multa gerens pelago præclarè, multáque terris:
Hunc decorat comitem grandi Lincolnia fastu.

And before this, namelie in the yeare 1564, at what time the said noble man was honored with the title of *Præfectus maris*, and attendant vpon his maiestie in presence, at his being in Cambridge, where she was magnificallie interteined with all hir troupe of lords and traine of ladies, &c: thus did an academike write in praise of the forenamed earle:

Regnatórque maris Clintonus, cuius in vndis
Excellens nomen præcipuúmque decus:
Ille mihi Neptunus, aquas mouet ille tridente,
Hunc Triton, hunc pelagi dijq; deæq; colunt.

Walter Thomas Woten of Kent esquier a father and fauourer of his countrie.

Jesuites, seminaries, and massing priests set ouer the seas and banished out of this realme of England for euer.

On the one and twentith daie of Januarie, one and twentie Jesuites, seminaries, and other massing priests, late prisoners in the Tower of London, Marshalse, and Kings bench, were shipped at the Tower wharfe, to be conueied towards France, & banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, as may more fullie appeare by that which followeth.

A vew of the said commission from *the queenes maiestie.*

WHereas the queenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the danger that hath and might grow vnto the realme, by accesse of Jesuits and seminarie priests, and other like wandering and massing priests comming hither to seduce and withdraw hir louing subiects from their due obedience to God and hir maiestie; and therewithall, traitorouslie to practise the moouing and stirring of rebellion within the realme, as hath appeared by sufficient proofe against them, and by confession of sundrie of themselues; for the which diuerse of the said Jesuits and seminaries haue bene tried, condemned, and executed by the ordinarie and orderlie course of hir maiesties lawes, and yet they haue not refrained dailie to practise and attempt the like treasons. Hir maiestie not withstanding, following the accustomed course of hir princelie clemencie, liking rather for this time to haue them onelie banished out of the realme, than to suffer the iustice of hir lawes to be executed against them (although they haue deserued the same in the highest degree) hath giuen power to vs of hir maiesties priuie councell & others, by commission and warrant vnder the great seale of England, bearing date the fiftéenth date of this present month of Januarie, to see this hir purpose and determination for their banishment put in execution. By vertue whereof, we haue proceeded in execution. We haue committed to the charge of these bearers, William Bolles one of hir maiesties yeomen of hir chamber, and Anthonie Hall, the persons whose names do follow, that is to saie, James Bolgraue, John Hart, Edward Rushton, Jaspar Heiwod, William Tedder, Samuell Conters, Arthur Pits, William Warmington, Richard Blake, William Hartlie, Richard Norris, William Dean, William Bishop, Robert Nutter, Thomas Stephanson, John Colton, Christopher Tomson, Thomas Worthington, John Barns, William Smith, clearks, being Jesuits, seminaries, and other wandering and massing priests, and Henrie Orton gentleman: all which haue bene apprehended in this realme, to be by them imbarked, and transported beyond the seas, according to such direction as they haue receiued in that behalfe.

The queenes maiesties mercie notable.

The names of such Jesuites (Jesuits, I should say) as by vertue of the queenes commission were banished out of the queenes dominions.

These shall be therefore by the authoritie aforesaid, to will and require you, and in hir maiesties name strictlie to charge and command you, and euerie of you hir maiesties officers, as well within the realme of England and Ireland, as in anie other parts of hir maiesties dominions and countries, to whome it may and shall apperteine, not onelie to suffer them to passe vnder the charge of the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall: but also that in case by contrarietie of winds, or extremitie of weather, they shall be after their imbarking, driuen into anie port or creeke within anie of your iurisdictions, that vpon the sight of this passport ye aid and assist the said Bolles, and Anthonie Hall, if they shall so require you, in seeing them safelie reteined, committed, & kept in custodie (if they shall come aland) till such time as they the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall may with safetie put againe into the sea, to transport them to such place beyond the sea, as by our direction they are appointed; and to suffer them effsoones to imbarke and depart, without staie or interruption. Foreseeing, that they the said Jesuits and seminaries, and other the wandering and massing priests aforesaid, nor anie of them, nor the said Henrie Orton be suffered to conueie or transport out of the realme, anie thing that by the lawes be prohibited or forbidden. Whereof (as of the rest commanded herein) we require you not to faile, as you will answer to the contrarie at your perils. Giuen vnder our hands at Greenewich the twentith daie of Januarie, in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne. ¶ Now followeth a certificat of the maister that transported the forenamed one and twentie banished persons, as followeth.

A further charge vpon the said seminaries touching transportation.

To the right honorable lords and o- *thers of hir maiesties most honorable priuie* councell, and all other officers to whome *it may apperteine.*

A certificat to the lords of the councell, &c: concerning the foresaid matter.

THese may be to certifie, &c: that William Bolles, yeoman vsher of hir maiesties chamber, and Anthonie Hall of London skinner, hauing imbarked at the Tower wharfe of London, the one and twentith date of Januarie 1584 one and twentie persons being banished men into my barke called the Marie Martin of Colchester, to be transported and conueied into Normandie, for sixteene of which said one and twentie persons they had compounded with me aforehand. The same William Bolles and Anthonie Hall haue satisfied and paid me for all their passages and vittels, and haue also hired at Douer an experimented pilot for the coasts of Normandie; which said Bolles and Hall with the said banished men in their charges, after their being by contrarie winds driuen to staie against Erith, at Grauesend, in Tilberie hope, at Lee, at the Spaniard, at the Downes, at Douer, and at Rie, were by force of weather and chase of pirats driuen to Bullen, and there arriued all safelie the second day of Februarie 1584, and thense sent the said banished men, some by horse, but most on foot, with conducts to Abbe-

nills

Dom. 1584.

The earle of Lincolne deceassed.

Elizabeth (daughter of John Copinger esquier) second wife to sir Roger Manwood, hir modestie, &c.

Sir Roger Manwood and maister William Lambard esquier were vewers of the said bridge.

uile in the coasts of Normandie. Witnesse my hand hereunto this fift of Februarie, 1584. ¶ By me Matthew Strut.

An other certificat, written and *directed into England by the said* banished men.

A certificat worthie to hang vpon perpetuall record, wherein the Iesuits doo acknowledge the exceeding courteous and bountifull vsage shewed vnto them at and in their banishment, &c. Note good reader note.

ID all magistrats, officers, & ministers, within the realme of England or elsewhere, to whome it may in anie wise appertaine: this may be to giue certification, that we whose names are here vnder written, who were imbarked at the Tower wharfe of London the one and twentith daie of Januarie 1584, and there receiued into the charge of maister William Bolles, and maister Anthonie Hall, by commission from their lordships and other hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, haue bene by them the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall verie friendlie & honestlie intreated, and with carefull diligence safelie conducted, transported, & conueied to the prouince of Normandie, & by them left this third daie of Februarie, according to the English computation, in the yeare of Christ 1584, which said Bolles and Hall haue in our presence paid the maister of the barke which transported vs for his whole fraught and vittels in the ship, for the time of our remaining abroad: and generallie so well vsed vs in all respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding to them & fullie satisfied, in hauing bene committed to the charge of so courteous officers, sith the case standeth so with vs that we are banished our countrie contrarie to our desires, wherein we take no little griefe of mind. For testimonie whereof, we haue hereunto set our seuerall hands this present third daie of Februarie 1584. Iaspar Hatwood, Edward Ruchton, John Hart, &c.

¶ O Lord what a mercifull quéene is this, in such sort to forgiue and forget iniuries, yea treasonable iniuries, as by banishment onelie to chastise them, that deserued extreame punishment? Yea with a banishment scarse fitlie to be so termed; sith in the execution thereof there was such clemencie shewed, as that the banished by their owne confessions haue left acknowledged vnder their owne handwriting, a notable kind of courtesie receiued by the meanes of hir maiestie. And therefore they cannot but in conscience commend hir highnesse tender affection so gratiouslie exchanged for seuere affliction; insomuch that it may rightlie be reported of hir highnesse, which the poet spake of Cesar, that is to saie:

Ouid. lib. 1. de Pont.

Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Cuique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.

Earle of Derbie ambassador into France.

Henrie earle of Darbie appointed to be hir maiesties ambassador, to Henrie the third French king, and to inuest him with the order of the garter, toke his leaue of the quénes maiestie at Grænewich on the twentith daie of Januarie, and with him such gentlemen as were present, were admitted to kisse hir highnesse hand. Maister Robert Cooke Clarenceaux appointed to attend in that voiage in place of Garter, whose rome was void, and Robert Glouer Somerset herald likewise appointed to that iourneis, were referred to the two and twentith daie of the same moneth. Noble men and gentlemen attending on the earle of Derbie; the lord Sands with eight seruants, the lord Windsore eleuen seruants, maister Scrope sonne and heire to the lord Scrope two seruants, maister Windsore brother to the lord Windsore three seruants, sir Richard Sherborne three seruants, sir Randolph Bzereton sir seruants, maister Clarenceaux for Garter foure seruants, maister Anthonie Cooke foure seruants, maister Gerard soone and heire to sir Thomas Gerard, maister Fléetwood, maister Nudigate, maister Stallage gentleman vsher, the quenes seruants. Maister Somerset herald of armes two seruants, maister Crompton, maister Smith, maister Denton, maister Thomas Hils one seruant. The earls owne; maister Thomas Arden guard two seruants, maister Foxcontroller one seruant, maister Newton gentleman vsher one seruant, maister Philips chapleine one seruant, maister Alexander gentleman of the horsse one seruant, maister Norcroft physician one seruant. The earls waiting gentlemen; maister Dawnie sonne and heire to sir John Dawnie one seruant, maister Legh son and heire to sir Piers a Legh one seruant, maister Warren one seruant, maister Thomas Sherborne sonne to sir Richard Sherborne, maister Dollie had one seruant, maister Packet one seruant, maister Richard Starkie one seruant, maister Stanlie one seruant, maister Bzierton, maister Hanmer one seruant, maister Flood one seruant, maister Salisburie one seruant, maister Bushie my lords page, maister Downes one seruant, maister Francis Starkie one seruant, maister Baptist one seruant, maister Randolph one seruant, maister Dutter, maister Chambers one seruant, maister Foxton, maister Russell one seruant. The earles yeomen fiftie. This traine had to carie trunks, males, and chests, fiue carts and a wagon throughout from Calis to Paris, besides the earls sumpter horsse and garde viands on horsse backe.

The lord ambassador passeth from London to Graues end, and to Douer, and arriueth at Calis.

On the six and twentith daie of Januarie, the earls with his traine passed from London to Graues end in a tilt boat called a light horseman, and there taking post horsses rid to Sittingborne, and there lodged, from whense they rid to Douer, where they imbarked and landed at Calis on the first of Februarie, the earle of Derbie lord ambassador, with the lords Sands and Windsor transported in the quéns ship named the Scout, the other gentlemen & traine in craiers of Douer to the number of eight in the whole, where they were all receiued and welcomed to the towne by monsieur de Gourdan gouernour thereof, and rested there the next daie: on which daie at night the said earle, barons, and principall gentlemen were inuited to a supper, by the said monsieur de Gourdan, which was prepared for them in a merchants house in verie sumptuous sort and great interteinement, and after supper musicke and dansing, some ladies and gentlewomen of the towne being purposelie brought to the place to interteine and to danse with the noblemen and others.

Monsieur de Gourdan gouernour of Calis interteineth the ambassadors.

On the third of Februarie the whole traine went from Calis to Bullogne to bed, where they were verie well interteined, the gouernors deputie presenting the earle with certeine pots of wine of sundrie sorts. On the fourth of Februarie they rid to Monstrell to bed, and there were likewise presented. On the fift they went to Albeuill to bed, and were met with one hundred and fiftie shot of harquebuzers at the entrie of the towne, where on either side the streets were made ranks of shot all the way as they passed to their lodging, & after marched off about the market place, giuing manie a volée of shot till it waxed darke, the gouernor of the towne presenting sundrie sorts of wine. And the daie following they toke their iournie to Amiens to bed, where of monsieur Creuicure called Boniuet, lieutenant of Picardie for the king, accompanied with an hundred gentlemen, and best citizens, met the earle halfe a mile without the towne, and so rid talking with him & his traine. That night the said Creuicure presented the earle with great store of verie large and good fresh water fish, and the towne with wine of diuerse sorts,

Monsieur Creuicure lieutenant of Picardie meeteth the lord ambassador, &c.

Attendants vpon the said ambassador.

An. Reg. 27.

sorts, and the daie following being sundaie, the said Crearcure inuited the earle to dinner, which dinner was greatlie commended. After dinner his lordship's traine went to Brethnill to bed, the next daie to Cleremont, where he staied tuesdaie, and on wednesdaie the tenth of Februarie to Luzarch.

Sir Edward Stafford the queenes ambassador resident with the French king, &c.

On the 11 he went to S. Denise, where by the waie his lordship was met by sir Edward Stafford, hir maiesties ambassador resident with the French king, who brought with him diuerse gentlemen of England, to the number of thirtie horse, and so accompanied him to S. Denise where they kept companie all the daie following being fridaie. On saturdaie his lordship made his entrie into Paris, about two or three of the clocke at after none, there being of the lord ambassadors traine more than two hundred horse; and midwaie betweene saint Denise and Paris, there met with their lordships sent from the king, the duke of Montpensier a prince of the bloud, the lords of Cauignie, le Chapelle aux Vrsins, countie de Lude, de Vienne, de Malicorne, de la Moth Fenelon, who had sometimes beene ambassador liger in England, Dessrie, D'abin, de Fontaines, de Commillon, the marques of Curton, the countie de Exignan, all councellors in the councell, & knights of the holie ghost. The duke of Tremouille, the counties de Bzillac, de Creance, Sancerre, and of Lasuze, with a great number of lords and barons, gentlemen of the chamber, which all were cõmanded by the king to mount on horsebacke, and accompanie the said duke de Montpensier, who met the earle of Derbie and the English traine midwaie betwixt Paris and saint Denise, and did accompanie him vnto hostell de Longueuille, sometime called the hostle of Anion. At his lordships entrie into the said lodging, the siers de Marle and de Gonair maistres de hostell to his maiestie, gaue him to vnderstand how they were appointed by the king to haue care of his good vsage and interteinement, who likewise had appointed messiers de la Moth Fenelon, the marques de Curton, & the countie de Exignan, to keepe his lordship companie at all times. And so was his lordship with the other lords and gentlemen lodged in the said hostell de Longueuille, where was three tables verie sumptuouslie furnished for them all of the kings cost; the one table in the great chamber for the lords and gentlemen, seruants to hir maiestie; the other in the hall for the erle of Derbies gentlemen; and the third in a gallerie beneath for gentlemens seruants, besides liuerie into euerie chamber, both of war, wood, wine, and such like, in as great plentie as could be desired.

The lord ambassadors imbarquement and vsage.

The lord ambassadour passeth from London to Gratsend, and so to Douer, and arriueth at Calis.

Monsieur de Gourcan gouernour of Calis interteineth the ambassadour.

The statelie & honorable meaning of the lord ambassadour before he came in presence & audience of the French king.

On sundaie the fourteenth of Februarie after the English account, and the foure and twentith after the French reckoning, the said earle betwixt the houres of two and three in the after none, went from his lodging by a posterne through the garden, which is neere to the Louure, accompanied with the said lords de la Moth Fenelon, de Curton, and Exignan, togither with the sier de Gondie, & the said de Marle, and de Gonair, and found the capteins of the regiment of the kings gard, making two ranks on either side of the street, beginning from the posterne to the Louure gate, who welcõmed him in the kings behalfe. Without the gate of the said Louure he was receiued by the lieutenants of the great prouost of France & his archers; at the Louure gate by the sier de Montegnie capteine thereof to his maiestie and his archers; which archers togither with those of the great prouost made two ranks from the said gate of the Louure to the foot of the staires. From the foot of the staires his lordship was receiued by the sier de Perdillan the French lieutenant of the Swittzers of the kings gard; which from the foot of the said staiers to the doore of the hall, made two ranks for his lordships passage. At the entrie of the hall, his lordship was receiued by the sier de Chasteau viaux knight of the holie ghost, and capteine of the archers of the kings gard; who likewise from the said doore vnto the doore of the antichamber made two ranks. From the doore of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the sier de Combault of the holie ghost, chiefe maister de hostell to the king, and by the other maisters of the hostell to his maiestie, and by his gentlemen waiters; and there in the said antichamber all the said earle of Derbies officers and gentlemen wearing liueries were appointed to staie, and the quæenes seruants that proceeded next after them, and before the said earle went still forward. At the entrie of the chamber of estate his lordship was receiued by the sier de Lieucourt knight of the holie ghost, chiefe escuir of the kings escuir, and the other escuires of the escuir togither, with the lieutenant of the hundred gentlemen of his maiestie, who made likewise two ranks for his lordships passage from that chamber doore to the chamber of audience, euerie of them bearing halberds in their hands. At the entrance of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the duke Joieuse, accompanied with the gentlemen of the kings chamber ordinarie, who made two ranks from that chamber doore to the doore of the chamber rotall.

The chamber rotall, & manner of receiuing and conducting of the lord ambassadour thereunto, and other notable obseruations.

Into the said chamber rotall first entred all the gentlemen, the quæenes maiesties seruants, the lords that had receiued and accompanied the said earle and lords: and the said duke de Joieuse accompanied the said earle of Derbie euen vnto the bars that stood about the edge of the haltpase, or mounting stone in the same chamber, where the king stood at his beds feet, accompanied without the said barriers on his right hand with the cardinals of Bourbon, Vandosme, and Joieuse; and on the left hand with the lords, the princes of Contie, the countie de Soissons, and duke Montpensier, princes of the bloud: the dukes de Neuers, Delbeuse, de la Tremouille, de Retz, monsieur le chancellor, sier de Vilequier, du Bouchase, de la Valette, Dantragues, de la Chapelle aux Vrsins, Chauignie, la Vaugulon, countie de Vauleurier, Clermont, Dantragues, de Larchaut, and other knights of the holie ghost, and councellors of the estate in great number. The said earle with the lord ambassador ordinarie of England alone entered within the said haltpase within the barriers vnto his maiestie, of whom they were receiued with great courtesie, & as amiable countenance as could be. And the earle deliuered the quæenes maisties letters vnto the king with great reuerence, and then making rehearsall of that he had in charge to saie, the said ambassador presented vnto the king the lords Sands and Windsor, with other the English knights and gentlemen; which all one after an other mounted vpon the haltpase, kissed their hands, & did their reuerence vnto the king. When the erle tooke his leaue, and was conducted by all the lords & capteins that had before receiued him, and conueied him vnto the place where they had first receiued him. Afterwards he went to salute the quæene mother, and at the entrance into hir antichamber he was receiued by monsieur de Lansac knight of the holie ghost, and knight of honour vnto the same quæne, whome he found accompanied with hir neece the princesse of Loraine standing at hir beds head, the princesses of Conde and Jontie, and the duches of Neuers standing at the beds feet, the duchesses Dusez, and of Retz, and other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. From thense his lordship was conueied to the quæene Regents chamber, at the entrance whereof he was receiued by the countie de Fiesque knight

The earle of Darbie & sir Edward Stafford, &c; are courteouslie receiued of the king.

The lord ambassador saluted the quæne mother.

The lord ambassadour conueied to the quæne Regents chamber.

of

of the holie ghost, and hir knight of honour, finding hir accompanied with the duchesses of Montpensier and Joieuly, who stood at hir beds feet, the ladie of Rolden hir ladie of honour and other ladies and gentlewomen also in great number, and then returned to the foresaid hostell de Longueuille.

On mondaie the fifteenth of Februarie, the king by monsieur le Moth Fenelon told the lord ambassador his mind touching the receipt of the order, that he intended to receiue it on thursdaie following in the after none, at the Augustine friers, which was done accordinglie with a mantle of blew veluet, and a hood, and collar of the order, with a booke of the statutes of the order, which all were inuested vpon the king in a place called maison de Nautralles; but the oth was ministred vnto the king in the friers church, *Magnificat* being then song, or singing. On sundaie the eight and twentith of Februarie, the ambassador with his traine toke their leaue, at whose returne from the court to his lodging he was presented that night with a rich cupbord of plate, worth twelue hundred pounds at the least; and vnto maister Clarenceaux was giuen a chaine of gold worth one hundred and twentie pounds and better, of two hundred thirtie and six links; to maister Sumerset a chaine of one hundred and fiftie links, worth one hundred marks; and to Thomas Pils a chaine of the same value.

The French king inuested into the order of the garter.

Gifts of roiall magnificence bestowed and receiued.

On the thursdaie following, the earle with his traine set forward homewards from Paris vnto saint Denise, and so were lodged all the waie in the same lodgings that before they had beene receiued in, and arriued prosperouslie in England, from Bullogne to Douer, on fridaie the twelfe day of March; and on the tuesdaie following were brought to the queenes maiesties presence at Greenewich, who graciouslie welcommed them home.

William Parrie hanged and quartered at Westminster.

This yeare on the second daie of March being tuesdaie, William Parrie was drawne from the Tower thorough the citie of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for high and horrible treasons by him practised, as maie appeare by the discourse that followeth, published vpon his execution, to giue generall intimation of his notorious trecheries vnto all the queenes maiesties subiects.

A true and plaine declaration of the *horrible treasons practised by William Parrie* against the queenes maiestie, and of his *conuiction and execution for the same*, the second of March 1584, according *to the account of England.*

A description of William Parrie.

THis William Parrie, being a man of verie meane and base parentage, but of a most proud and insolent spirit, bearing himselfe alwaies far aboue the measure of his fortune; after he had long led a wastfull and dissolute life, and had committed a great outrage against one Hugh Hare, a gentleman of the inner temple, with an intent to haue murthered him in his owne chamber, for the which he was most iustlie conuicted, seeing himselfe generallie condemned with all good men for the same, and other his misdemeanors, he left his naturall countrie, & gaue himselfe to trauell into forren parts beyond the seas. In the course of this his trauell he forsoke his allegiance and duetifull obedience to hir maiestie, and was reconciled, and subiected himselfe to the pope. After which, vpon conference with certeine Jesuits and others of like qualitie, he first conceiued his most detestable treason to kill the queene (whose life God long preserue) which he bound himselfe by promise, letters, and bowes, to perfourme and execute: and so with this intent he returned into England in Januarie one thousand fiue hundred foure score & three; and since that did practise at sundrie times to haue executed his most diuelish purpose and determination: yet couering the same so much as in him laie with a veile and pretense of great loialtie vnto hir maiestie.

William Parrie reconciled to the pope: and of his treason *In superlatiuo gradu.*

Immediatlie vpon his returne into England, he sought to haue secret accesse to hir maiestie, pretending to haue some matter of great importance to reueale vnto hir: which obteined, and the same so priuatlie in hir highnesse palace at Whitehall, as hir maiestie had but one onelie councellor with hir at the time of his accesse, in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not heare his speech. And there then he discouered vnto hir maiestie (but shadowed with all craftie and traitorous skill he had) some part of the conference and proceeding as well with the said Jesuits, and other ministers of the popes, as especiallie with one Thomas Morgan a fugitiue, residing at Paris, who aboue all others did perswade him to proceed in that most diuelish attempt (as is set downe in his voluntarie confession following) bearing hir maiestie notwithstanding in hand, that his onelie intent of proceeding so farre with the said Jesuits, and the popes ministers, tended to no other end, but to discouer the dangerous practises deuised and attempted against hir maiestie by hir disloiall subiects and other malicious persons in forren parts: albeit it hath since appeared most manifestlie, as well by his said confession, as by his dealing with one Edmund Neuill esquier, that his onelie intent of discouering the same, in sort as he craftilie and traitorouslie did, tended to no other end, but to make the waie the easier to accomplish his most diuelish and wicked purpose.

O papisticall dissimulation.

Thomas Morgan a fugitiue and furtherer of Parries purpose.

Edmund Neuill not ignorant of this attempt.

And although anie other prince but hir maiestie (who is loth to put on a hard censure of those that protest to be loiall, as Parrie did) would rather haue proceeded vnto the punishment of a subiect that had waded so farre, as by oth and bow to promise the taking awaie of hir life (as he vnto hir maiesties selfe did confesse) yet such was hir goodnesse, as in stead of punishing, she did deale so gratiouslie with him, as she suffered him not onelie to haue accesse vnto hir presence: but also manie times to haue priuat conference with hir, and did offer vnto him vpon opinion once conceiued of his fidelitie towards hir (as though his wicked pretense had beene, as he protested, for hir seruice) a most liberall pension. Besides, to the end that he might not grow hatefull to the good and well affected subiects of the realme (from whome he could in no sort haue escaped with safetie of his life, if his diuelish purpose had beene reuealed) hir maiestie did conceale the same, without communicating it to anie creature; vntill such time as he himselfe had opened the same vnto certeine of hir councell; and that it was also discouered that he sought to draw the said Neuill to haue beene a partie in his diuelish and most wicked purpose.

O gratious queene and too fauourable euen to thine enimies!

A verie rare example, and such as doth more set forth the singular goodnesse and bountie of hir maiesties princelie nature, than commend (if it be lawfull for a subiect to censure his souereigne) hir prouidence such as ought to be in a prince and person of hir maiesties wisdome and qualitie. And as the goodnesse of hir maiesties nature did hereby most manifestlie shew it selfe to be rare in so extraordinarie a case, and in a matter of so great perill vnto hir owne roiall person: so did the malice of Parrie most euidentlie appeare to be in the highest and extreamest degree, who notwithstanding the said extraordinarie grace and fauour extended towards him, did not or-

The malice of Parrie groweth to an extremitie of mischiefe against the queene.

lie

lie persuade the said Neuill to be an associat in the said wicked enterprise: but did also verie vehementlie (as Neuill confesseth) importune him therein as an action lawfull, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might prouoke him to assent thereunto. But such was the singular goodnesse of almightie God (who euen from his maiesties cradle by manie euident arguments hath shewed himselfe his onelie and especiall protector) that he so wrought in Neuils heart, as he was moued to reueale the same vnto his maiestie, and for that purpose made choice of a faithfull gentleman and of good qualitie in the court, vnto whome vpon mondaie the eight of Februarie last past, he discouered at large all that had passed betweene Parrie and him, who immediatlie made it knowne to his maiestie. Whereupon his highnesse pleasure was, that Neuill should be examined by the earle of Leicester, and sir Christopher Hatton: who in the euening of the same daie did examine him, and he affirmed constantlie all which he had before declared to the said gentleman.

In the meane time, his maiestie continued his singular and most princelie magnanimitie, neither dismaied with the rarenesse of the accident, nor appalled with the horror of so villanous an enterprise, tending euen to the taking awaie of his most gratious life (a matter especiallie obserued by the councellor that was present at such time as Parrie after his returne did first discouer vnto his maiestie his wicked purpose; who found no other alteration in his countenance, than if he had imparted vnto him some matter of contentment) which sheweth manifestlie how he reposeth his confidence wholie in the defense of the almightie. And so his maiestie, following the wonted course of his singular clemencie, gaue order that Parrie the same mondaie in the euening (though not so knowne to him) should be sent vnto maister secretaries house in London, he being then there; who according vnto such direction as he receiued from his maiestie, did let him vnderstand, that his highnesse (in respect of the good will she knew he bare vnto the said Parrie, & of the trust that Parrie did outwardlie professe to repose in maister secretarie) had made especiall choice of him to deale with him in a matter that concerned his highlie, and that she doubted not, but that he would discharge his dutie towards his, according vnto that extraordinarie deuotion that he professed to beare vnto his.

And thereupon he told him that his maiestie had beene aduertised, that there was somewhat intended presentlie against his owne person, wherwith she thought he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great trust that some of his worst affected subiects reposed in him: and that his pleasure therefore was, that he should declare vnto him his knowledge therein: and whether the said Parrie himselfe had let fall anie speech vnto anie person (though with an intent onelie to haue discouered his disposition) that might draw him in suspicion, as though he himselfe had anie such wicked intent. But Parrie with great and vehement protestations denied it vtterlie. Whereupon maister secretarie, the rather to induce him to deale more plainelie in a matter so important, declared vnto him, that there was a gentleman of qualitie euerie waie as good or better than himselfe, and rather his friend than enimie, that would auouch it to his face: yet Parrie persisted stubbornelie in his former denial, and iustification of his owne innocencie, and would not in anie respect yeeld that he was partie or priuie to anie such motion, enterprise, or intent.

Being lodged that night at M. secretaries house, the next morning he desired earnestlie to haue some further speech with maister secretarie: which granted, Parrie declared to him that he had called to remembrance that he had once some speech with one Neuill a kinsman of his (so he called him) touching a point of doctrine contained in the answer made to the booke, intituled, The execution of iustice in England; by which booke it was resolued, that it was lawfull to take awaie the life of a prince, in furtherance of the catholike religion: but he protested that he neuer had anie speech at all of anie attempt intended against his maiesties person. Which denial of his (at two sundrie times after so much light giuen him) doth set forth most apparantlie both the iustice and prouidence of God: his iustice, for that (though he was one of a sharpe conceipt) he had no power to take hold of this ouerture, thereby to haue auoided the danger that Neuils accusation might bring him into by confessing the same, as a thing propounded onelie to feele Neuils mind, whome before he had reported vnto maister secretarie he found a person discontented, and therefore his confession might to verie great purpose haue serued to haue cleered himselfe touching the intent: his prouidence, for that of his great mercie he would not suffer so dangerous and wicked a member to escape and liue to his maiesties perill.

The same daie at night, Parrie was brought to the earle of Leicesters house, and there eftsoons examined before the said earle of Leicester, maister vicechamberlaine, and maister secretarie: he persisted still in his denial of all that he was charged with. Whereupon, Neuill being brought before him face to face, iustified his accusation against him. He notwithstanding would not yet yeeld to confesse it, but verie proudlie and insolentlie opposed his credit against the credit of Neuill, affirming that his no, was as good as Neuils yea, & as by way of recrimination, obiected the crime to Neuill himselfe. On the other side, Neuill did with great constancie affirme all that he had before said, and did set downe manie probable circumstances of the times, places, and maners of their sundrie conferences, and of such other accidents as had happened betweene them in the course of that action: whereupon Parrie was then committed to the Tower, and Neuill commanded by their honors to set downe in writing vnder his hand, all that which before he had deliuered by words: which he did with his owne hand as followeth.

Edmund Neuill his declaration the *tenth of Februarie, 1584, subscribed* with his owne hand.

WIlliam Parrie the last summer, some after his repulse in his suite for the maistership of saint Katharins, repaired to my lodging in the White friers, where he shewed himselfe a person greatlie discontented, and vehementlie inueighed against his maiestie, and willed me to assure my selfe, that during this time and state, I should neuer receiue contentment. But sith, said he, I know you to be honorablie descended, and a man of resolution, if you will giue me assurance, either to ioine with me, or not to discouer me, I will deliuer vnto you the onelie meanes to do your selfe good. Which when I had promised him, he appointed me to come the next daie to his house in Feuter lane: & repairing thither accordinglie, I found him in his bed; whereupon he commanded his men forth, and began with me in this order.

My lord said he (for so he called me) I protest before God, that three reasons principallie do induce me to enter into this action which I intend to discouer

Parrie is desirous to haue some speech with maister secretarie.

Parrie is examined before certeine lords of the councell, &c.

Neuill chargeth Parrie so precislie, that he is committed to the Tower.

Note the malicious humor of Parrie because he might not obteine preferment to his liking.

Neuill discouereth the intended treason against his maiestie.

Parrie is committed to the custodie & examination of sir Francis Walsingham.

Parrie denieth with protestations whatsoeuer is demanded of him.

A triple reaſon that moued Parrie to his pretended treaſon.

uer vnto you: the replanting of religion, the preferring of the Scotiſh title, and the aduancement of iuſtice, wonderfullie corrupted in this commonwealth. And therevpon entred into ſome diſcourſes, what places were fit to be taken to giue entrance to ſuch forren forces as ſhould be beſt liked of, for the furtherance of ſuch enterpriſes as were to be vndertaken. And with theſe diſcourſes he paſſed the time, vntill he went to dinner: after which, the companie being retired, he entered into his former diſcourſes. And if I be not deceiued (ſaid he) by taking of Quinborough caſtell, we ſhall hinder the paſſage of the queenes ſhips forth of the riuer. Wherevnto when he ſaw me vſe no contradiction, he ſhooke me by the hand. Tuſh (ſaid he) this is nothing: if men were reſolute, there is an enterpriſe of much more moment, and much eaſier to performe: an act honorable, and meritorious to God and the world. Which ſeeing me deſirous to know, he was not aſhamed to vtter in plaine termes, to conſiſt in killing of hir maieſtie: wherein, ſaith he, if you will go with me, I will loſe my life, or deliuer my countrie from hir bad and tyrannous gouernment. At which ſpeeches finding me diſcontented, he aſked me if I had read doctor Allens booke, out of which he alledged an authoritie for it. I anſwered, no, and that I did not beleeue that authoritie. Well (ſaid he) what will you ſaie, if I ſhew further authoritie than this, euen from Rome it ſelfe, a plaine diſpenſation for the killing of hir, wherein you ſhall find it (as I ſaid before) meritorious? God couſine ſaid I, when you ſhall ſhew it me, I ſhall thinke it verie ſtrange, when I ſhall ſee one to hold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, ſaid Parrie, do me but the fauour to thinke vpon it till to morrow: and if one man be in the towne, I will not faile to ſhew you the thing it ſelfe: and if he be not, he will be within theſe fiue or ſix daies; at which time if it pleaſe you to meete me at Chanon row, we may there receiue the ſacrament to be true ech to other, and then I will diſcouer vnto you both the partie, & the thing it ſelfe. Wherevpon I praied Parrie to thinke better vpon it, as a matter of great charge both of ſoule and bodie. I would to God, ſaid Parrie, you were as perfectlie perſuaded in it as I am! for then vndoubtedlie you ſhould do God great ſeruice.

Parrie counted it an act meritorious to murther hir maieſtie.

O villanous perſuaſion or inducement to be acceſſarie to the treaſon!

Not long after eight or ten daies (as I remember) Parrie comming to viſit me at my lodging in Yerns rents in Holborne, as he often vſed, we walked forth into the fields, where he renewed againe his determination to kill hir maieſtie, whom he ſaid he thought moſt vnworthie to liue, and that he wondered I was ſo ſcrupulous therein. She hath ſought, ſaid he, your ruine and ouerthrow, why ſhould you not then ſeeke to reuenge it? I confeſſe (quoth I) that my caſe is hard, but yet am I not ſo deſperat as to reuenge it vpon my ſelfe, which muſt needs be the euent of ſo vnhoneſt and vnpoſſible an enterpriſe. Unpoſſible, ſaid Parrie! I wonder at you, for in truth there is not anie thing more eaſie: you are no courtier, and therefore know not hir cuſtomes of walking with ſmall traine, and often in the garden verie priuatlie, at which time my ſelfe may eaſilie haue acceſſe vnto hir, and you alſo when you are knowen in court. Upon the fact we muſt haue a barge readie to carie vs with ſpeed downe the riuer, where we will haue a ſhip readie to tranſport vs if it be needfull: but vpon my head, we ſhall neuer be followed ſo far. I aſked him; How will you eſcape forth of the garden? For you ſhall not be permitted to carie anie men with you, and the gates will then be locked, neither can you carie a dag without ſuſpicion. As for a dag (ſaid Parrie) I care not: my dagger is enough. And as for mine eſcaping, thoſe that ſhall be with hir, will be ſo buſie about hir, as I ſhall find opportunitie enough to eſcape, if you be there readie with the barge to receiue me.

Note Parries peſtilent humor of malice againſt hir maieſtie.

These doubts were of aduantage to Newill, but meanes of reprochfull ruine to Parrie.

But if this ſeeme dangerous in reſpect of your reaſon before ſhewed, let it then reſt till hir comming to ſaint James, and let vs furniſh our ſelues in the meane time with men and horſſe fit for the purpoſe: may ech of vs keepe eight or ten men without ſuſpicion? And for my part, ſaid he, I ſhall find good fellowes that will follow me without ſuſpecting mine intent. It is much, ſaid he, that ſo manie reſolute men make do vpon the ſudden, being well appointed with ech his caſe of dags: if they were an hundred waiting vpon hir, they were not able to ſaue hir, you comming on the one ſide, and I on the other, and diſcharging our dags vpon hir, it were vnhappie if we ſhould both miſſe hir. But if our dags faile, I ſhall beſtirre me well with a ſword yer ſhe eſcape me. Wherevnto I ſaid: God doctor giue ouer this odious enterpriſe, & trouble me no more with the hearing of that, which in heart I loth ſo much. I would to God the enterpriſe were honeſt, that I might make knowne vnto thee whether I want reſolution! And not long after, hir maieſtie came to ſaint James, after which, one morning (the daie certeine I remember not) Parrie reuiued againe his former diſcourſe of killing hir maieſtie, with great earneſtneſſe and importunitie perſuading me to ioine therein: ſaieng he thought me the onelie man of England like to performe it, in reſpect of my balure, as he termed it.

Note the treaſonous practiſe of Parrie laid downe in order as it ſhould haue beene done.

Parrie ſueth for licence to trauell beyond ſea, and obteineth it.

Wherevpon I made ſemblance as if I had beene more willing to heare him than before, hoping by that means to cauſe him to deliuer his mind to ſome other that might be witneſſe thereof with me, wherein neuertheleſſe I failed. After all this, on ſaturdaie laſt being the firſt of Februarie, betweene the houres of fiue and ſix in the afternoone, Parrie came to my chamber, and deſired to talke with me apart, wherevpon we drew our ſelues to a windowe. And where I had told Parrie before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, vnto whom I propoſed the queſtion touching hir maieſtie, had anſwered me that it was an enterpriſe moſt villanous and damnable, willing me to diſcharge my ſelfe of it: Parrie then deſired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, ſaieng after a ſcornefull maner; No doubt he was a verie wiſe man, and you wiſer in beleeuing him: ſaid further, I hope you told him not that I had anie thing from Rome. Yes in truth, ſaid I. Wherevnto Parrie ſaid, I would you had not named me, nor ſpoken of anie thing I had from Rome! And therevpon he earneſtlie perſuaded me eftſoones to depart beyond the ſeas, promiſing to procure me ſafe paſſage into Wales, and from thenſe into Britaine, whereat we ended. But I then reſolued not to do ſo, but to diſcharge my conſcience, and laie open this his moſt traitorous and abhominable intention againſt hir maieſtie: which I reuealed in ſort as is before ſet downe.

Marke the reſolutenes of Parrie to accompliſh his treaſon by oft frequenting the action.

Newill is reſolued at no hand to be partaker with Parrie in his treaſon.

Edmund Newill.

Parrie is reſolued in the plot of his treacherous deuiſe.

After this confeſſion of Edmund Newill, William Parrie the eleuenth daie of Februarie laſt, being examined in the Tower of London, by the lord Hunſdon lord gouernour of Berwike, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to hir maieſtie, and Francis Walſingham knight principall ſecretarie to hir maieſtie, did voluntarilie and without anie conſtraint, by word of mouth make confeſſion of his ſaid treaſon, and after ſet it downe in writing all with his owne hand in his lodging in the Tower, and ſent it to the court the thirteenth of the ſame, by the lieutenant of the Tower. The parts

Parries voluntarie confeſſion in the hearing of certeine lords, &c.

where-

whereof concerning his maner of doing the same, and the treasons wherewith he was iustlie charged are here set downe, word for word, as they are written and signed with his owne hand & name, the eleuenth of Februarie, 1584.

The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, in writing all with his owne hand.

¶ The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, doctor of the lawes (now prisoner in the Tower) & accused of treason by Edmund Neuill esquier, promised by him (with all faith & humilitie) to the queenes maiestie, in discharge of his conscience and dutie towards God and hir. Before the lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine, sir F. Walsingham knight principall secretarie, the thirteenth of Februarie, 1584.

Parrie.

Note with what fclows, crimes to God and his church, Parrie inwreth himselfe.

Note the treasonous practise of Parrie layd downe in order as it should haue beene done.

Marke the resolutenes of Parrie to accomplish his treason by often frequenting the action.

Neuill is resolued at no hand to be partaker with Parrie in his treason.

Parries voluntarie confession in the hearing of certein lords, &c.

IN the yeare 1570 I was sworne hir maiesties seruant, from which time vntill the yeare 1580, I serued, honored, and loued hir with as great readinesse, deuotion and assurance as ante pore subiect in England. In the end of that yeare, and vntill Midsummer 1582, I had some trouble for the hurting of a gentleman of the Temple. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whome I haue of late beene beholden) that I neuer had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my wofull fall. In Julie after, I laboured for licence to trauell for three yeares, which (vpon some consideration) was easilie obteined. And so in August, I went ouer with doubtfull mind of returne, for that being suspected in religion, and not hauing receiued the communion in two and twentie yeares, I began to mistrust my aduancement in England. In September I came to Paris, where I was reconciled to the church, and aduised to liue without scandale, the rather for that it was mistrusted by the English catholikes, that I had intelligence with the greatest councellour of England. I staied not long there, but remoued to Lions (a place of great traffike) where, bicause it was the ordinarie passage of our nation to and fro betweene Paris and Rome, I was also suspected.

Iuelche, good and gratious lord, whose hard hap it was to intertaine so bad & graceles a seruant.

Parrie sueth for licence to trauell beyond sea, and obteineth it.

Parrie inclineth himselfe in religion before the inquisitor of Millaine.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause, I went to Millaine, from whense as a place of some danger (though I found fauour there) after I had cléered my conscience, and iustified my selfe in religion before the inquisitor, I went to Uenice. There I came acquainted with father Benedicto Palmio, a graue and a learned Iesuit. By conference with him of the hard state of the catholikes in England, & by reading of the booke De persecutione Anglicana, and other discourses of like argument, 1 I conceiued a possible meane to relieue the afflicted state of our catholikes, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned diuines. I asked his opinion, he made it cléere, commended my deuotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me knowen to the Nuntio Campeggio, there resident for his holinesse. By his meanes I wrote vnto the pope, presented the seruice, and sued for a pasport to go to Rome, and to returne safelie into France. Answer came from cardinall Como, that I might come, and should be welcome. I misliked the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to Lions, where I promised to staie some time for it.

Parrie is resolued in the plot of his treacherous deuise.

And being indéed desirous to go to Rome, and loth to go without countenance, I desired Chriſtofero de Salazar, secretarie to the king catholike in Uenice, who had some vnderstanding (by conference) of my deuotion to the afflicted catholikes at home and abroad, to commend me to the duke di Noua terra gouernour of Millaine, and to the countie of Miuaris Embi, then resident for the king his master in Rome: which he promised to do effectuallie for the one, and did for the other. And so I toke my iournie towards Lions, whither came for me an ample pasport (but somewhat too late) that I might come & go *In verbo pontificis per omnes iurisdictiones ecclesiasticas, absq; impedimento*. I acquainted some good fathers there of my necessitie to depart towards Paris by promise, & praied their aduises vpon diuerse points, wherein I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his holinesse should heare from me shortlie, it was vndertaken that I should be excused for that time.

In October I came to Paris, where (vpon better opinion conceiued of me amongst my catholike countriemen) I found my credit well setled, and such as mistrusted me before, readie to trust and imbrace me. And being one daie at the chamber of Thomas Morgan a catholike gentleman (greatlie beloued and trusted on that side) amongst other gentlemen, talking (but in verie good sort) of England, I was desired by Morgan to go vp with him to another chamber, where he brake with me, and told me that it was hoped and loked for, that I should do some seruice for God and his church. I answered him I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subiect in England: whom I named, and in truth then hated. No no, said he, let him liue to his greater fall and ruine of his house: 2 it is the quéene I meane. I had him as I wished, and told him it were some done, if it might be lawfullie done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned diuines. And so the doubt once resolued (though as you haue heard I was before reasonablie well satisfied) I vowed to vndertake the enterprise, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the sée apostolike. Diuers diuines were named, doctor Allen I desired, Parsons I refused. And by chance came maister Wats a learned priest, with whome I conferred, and was ouerruled.

Note the discreet conference betweene Morgan and Parrie.

Parrie boweth to vndertake the killing of the quéene.

3 For he plainelie pronounced (the case onelie altered in name) that it was vtterlie vnlawfull: with whome manie English priests did agrée as I haue heard, if it be not altered, since the booke made in answer of the execution of the English iustice was published, which I must confesse hath taken hard hold in me, and (I feare me) will do in others, if it be not preuented by more gratious handling of the quiet and obedient catholike subiects, whereof there is *good and greater store in England than this age will extinguish. Well, notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference in Italie, that I could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if his holinesse vpon my offer & letters would allow it, & grant me full remission of my sinnes. 4 I wrote my letters the first of Januarie 1584, by their computation, toke aduise vpon them in confession of father Aniball a Codreto a learned Iesuit in Paris, was louinglie imbraced, commended, confessed, and communicated at the Iesuits at one altar with the cardinals of Mandolmi and Marbone: whereof I praied certificat, and inclosed the same in my letter to his holines, to lead him the rather to absolue me, which I required by my letters, in consideration of so great an enterprise vndertaken without promise or reward.

*O Lord what a lamentable hearing is this!

Parrie is now become altogither past grace, and growne resolute with Iudas to kill the Lords anointed.

5 I went with Morgan to the Nuntio Ragazzoni, to whome I read the letter and certificat inclosed, sealed it, & left it with him to send to Rome: he promised great care of it, and to procure answer; and so louinglie imbraced me, wished mee good spéed, and promised that I should be remembred at the altar.

6 After this I desired Morgan, that some speciall man might be made priuie to this matter, least he dieng, and I miscarieng in the execution, and my intent neuer trulie discouered, it might sticke for an euerlasting spot in my race. Diuerse were named, but none agréed vpon for feare of bewraieng.

A promise for a Scotish inuasiõ after the deuise of Parrie executed.

7 This being donne, Morgan assured me, that shortlie after my departure, the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris) should go into Scotland, and be readie vpon the first newes of the quæns fall, to enter into England with 20 or 30000 men to defend the quæne of Scotland (whom, and the king hir sonne, I do in my conscience acquit of anie priuitie, liking, or consent to this, or anie other bad action, for anie thing that euer I did know.)

I shortlie departed for England, and arriued at Rie in Januarie 1583, from whense I wrote to the court, aduertised some, that I had a speciall seruice to discouer to the quéens maiestie. 8 Which I did more to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care I had of hir person, though I were fullie resolued neuer to touch hir (notwithstanding anie warrant) if by anie deuise, persuasion, or policie she might be wrought to deale more gratiouslie with the catholikes than she doth, or by our maner of proceéding in parlement meaneth to do, for anie thing yet seene. I came to the court (then at Whitehall) praied audience, had it at large, and verie priuatlie discouered to hir maiestie this conspiracie, much to this effect, though couered with all the skill I had: she tooke it doubtfullie, I departed with feare. And amongst other things, I cannot forget hir maiesties gratious speech then uttered touching the catholikes, which of late, after a sort I auowed in parlement: she said vnto me that neuer a catholike should be troubled for religion or superstasie, so long as they liued like good subiects. Whereby I mistrusted that hir maiestie is borne in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be trulie said that it is better than it hath béene, though it be not yet as it should be.

Note the villans ill mind to hir maiestie.

Note hir maiesties vndeserued gratiousnes to pretended catholikes.

In March last, while I was at Grénewich (as I remember) suing for saint Katharines, came letters to me from cardinall Como, dated at Rome the last of Januarie before, whereby I found the enterprise commended, and allowed, and my selfe absolued (in his holinesse name) of all my sinnes, and willed to go forward in the name of God. That letter I shewed to some in court, who imparted it to the quéene: what it wrought, or maie worke in hir maiestie, God knoweth: onelie this I know, 9 That it confirmed my resolution to kill hir, and made it cléere in my conscience, that it was lawfull and meritorious. And yet was I determined neuer to do it, if either policie, practise, persuasion, or motion in parlement could preuaile. I feared to be tempted, and therefore alwaies when I came neere hir, I left my dagger at home. 10 When I looked vpon hir maiestie, & remembred hir manie excellencies, I was greatlie troubled: and yet I saw no remedie, for my vowes were in heauen, my letters and promises in earth, and the case of the catholike recusants and others little bettered.

Note Parries resolution by letters from cardinall Como.

Parrie is in a mammering what to do as maie be noted by these speéches interrogatorie.

Sometimes I said to my selfe: Why should I care for hir? What hath she done for me? Haue I not spent ten thousand markes since I knew hir seruice, and neuer had penie by hir? It maie be said, she gaue me my life. But I saie (as my case stood) it had béene tyrannie to take it: and I feare me it is little lesse yet. If it please hir gratiouslie to looke into my discontentments, would to Jesus Christ she had it, for I am wearie of it. And now to come to an end of this tragicall discourse. In Julie I left the court, vtterlie reiected, discontented, and as hir maiestie might perceiue by my passionate letters, careless of my selfe. I came to London: doctor Allens booke was sent me out of France: 11 It redoubled my former conceipts, euerie word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings maie be excommunicated, deprriued, and violentlie handled. It prooueth that all warres ciuill or forren, vndertaken for religion, is honourable. Hir maiestie maie do well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a doctrine full dangerous. This is the booke I shewed, in some places read, and lent to my cousine Neuill (the accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse, and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my gowne, six moneths at least after we had entered into this conspiracie: in which space hir maiestie, and ten princes in seuerall prouinces might haue béene killed. God blesse hir maiestie from him: for before almightie God I lie and am glad in my soule, that it was his hap to discouer me in time, though there were no danger neere.

How long the conspiracie was in handling yer it was detected.

Parrie hath great feare of death.

Parrie desperat.

And now to the matter of our méetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or the like sort: Cousine, let vs do somewhat, sith we can haue nothing. I offered to ioine with him, and gladlie heard him, hoping because I knew him to be a catholike, that he would hit vpon that I had in my head: but it fell not out so. He thought the deliuerie of the quéene of Scotland easie, presuming vpon his credit and kinred in the North: I thought it dangerous to hir, and impossible to men of our fortunes. He fell from that to the taking of Berwike: I spake of Quinborough and the naule, rather to interteine him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full of greater matter. 12 I told him that I had an other maner of enterprise, more honourable and profitable vnto vs, and the catholikes commonwealth, than all these, if he would ioine in it with me, as he presentlie vowed to do. He pressed to know it, I willed him to sleepe vpon the motion: he did so, and (belike ouertaken) came vnto me the next morning to my lodging in London, offered to ioine with me, and tooke his oth vpon a bible, to conceale and constantlie to pursue the enterprise for the aduancement of religion: which I also did, and meant to performe: the killing of the quéene was the matter.

Note the actions that should haue béene commensed and finished in this conspiracie.

This oth and all of the like qualitie and nature are violable *Saluo interim anima.*

The maner and place, to be on horsebacke, with eight or ten horses, when she should ride abroad about saint James, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepeie, or some other part: but we resolued vpon the first. This continued as agréed vpon manie moneths, till he heard of the death of Westmerland, whose land and dignitie (whereof he assured himselfe) bred belike this conscience in him to discouer a treason in Februarie, contriued and agréed vpon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious head at last, let him neuer trust me. He brought a tall gentleman (whome he commended for an excellent pistolier) to me to Chanon Row, to make one in the match: but I refused to deale with him, being loth to laie my head vpon so manie hands.

The death of Westmerland reported.

Parrie chargeth Neuill with grieuous speeches of cursed disloialtie.

M. Neuill hath (I thinke) forgotten, that he did sweare to me at diuerse times, that all the aduancement she could giue, should serue but for his scourge, if euer time and occasion should serue: and that although he would not laie hand vpon hir in a corner, his hart serued him to strike off hir head in the field. Now leauing him to himselfe, thus much (to make an end) I must confesse of my sele: I did meane to trie what might be done in parlement, to do my best to hinder all hard courses, to haue praied hea-

ring

ring of the quenes maiestie, to moue hir (if I could) to take compassion vpon hir catholike subiects, and when all had failed, to do as I intended. If hir maiestie by this course would haue eased them, though she had neuer preferred me, I had with all comfort and patience borne it: 13 but if she had preferred me without ease or care of them, the enterprise had held. ¶ God preserue the quéene, & incline hir mercifull hart to forgiue me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my part) for hir better satisfaction.

W. Parrie.

God (no doubt) will preserue good queene Elisabeth, though a thousand such traitors as Parrie conspire hir death to their owne destruction.

After which, for the better manifesting of his treasons, on the fourteenth of Februarie last past, there was a letter written by him to hir maiestie, verie voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, without anie motion made to him. The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his traitorous dealings, is as followeth.

A letter written by Parrie to hir *maiestie.*

YOur maiestie maie see by my voluntarie confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind: & how constantlie I pursued my first conceiued purpose in Venice, for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, continued it in Lions, and resolued in Paris to put it in aduenture, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. You maie see withall how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, diuinitie, and policie, by the pope and some great diuines: though it be true or likelie, that most of our English diuines (lesse practised in matters of this weight) do vtterlie mislike and condemne it.

Parries purpose conceiued in Venice, continued in Lions, resolued in Paris, to be executed in England.

Note the actions that should haue béene commensed and finished in this conspiracie.

The enterprise is preuented, and conspiracie discouered, by an honourable gentleman my kinsman, and late familiar friend, maister Edmund Neuill, priuie and by solemne oth (taken vpon the bible) partie to the matter, wherof I am hardlie glad, but now sorie (in my verie soule) that euer I conceiued or intended it, how commendable or meritorious so euer I thought it. God thanke him, and forgiue me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had libertie and oportunitie to do it) to gaine your kingdome. I beseech Christ that my death and example maie as well satisfie your maiestie, and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

Neuill charged by Parrie to be accessarie to the treason.

This oth and all of the like qualitie and nature are violable *Salua interim anima.*

The queene of Scotland is your prisoner, let hir be honourablie intreated, but yet surelie garded. The French king is French, you know it well enough, you will find him occupied when he should do you good; he will not loose a pilgrimage to saue you a crowne. I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I do now honour & loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A pœna*, good ladie. And so farewell, most gratious and the best natured and qualified queene that euer liued in England. From the Tower, the fourteenth of Februarie, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure.

W. Parrie.

Compare this warnings with the euents in Anno 1585, 1586, specialllie about Ingall.

The death of Westmerland repozted.

After which, to wit, the eighteenth of Februarie last past, Parrie, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended treasons, wrote a letter all of his owne hand in like voluntarie maner to the lord treasuror of England, and the earle of Leicester, lord steward of hir maiesties house, the tenor wherof is as followeth.

Parrie chargeth Neuill with grieuous speeches of cursed disloialtie.

Parries guilte conscience reuealeth it selfe by voluntarie confession.

William Parries letter to the lord *treasuror, and the earle of Leicester.*

MY lords, now that the conspiracie is discouered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patientlie to suffer the paines due for so hainous a crime; I hope it shall not offend you, if crieng *Miserere* with the poore publicane, I leaue to despaire with cursed Caine. My case is rare and strange, and for anie thing I can remember, singular: a naturall subiect solemnlie to vow the death of his naturall queene (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, and restitution of religion. The matter first conceiued in Venice, the seruice (in generall words) presented to the pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris, and lastlie commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolued in England, if it had not beene preuented by accusation, or by hir maiesties greater lenitie and more gratious vsage of hir catholike subiects.

A traitor of singular note by his owne confession was Parrie.

This is my first and last offense conceiued against my prince or countrie, and doth (I cannot denie) conteine all other faults whatsoeuer. It is now to be punished by death, or most gratiouslie (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I do confesse to haue deserued; life I do (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the queenes honor, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a treason vnpunished were strange; to drawe it by death in example were dangerous; a sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprise vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not beene seene in England; to indict him, arreigne him, bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offense, can do no good; to hope that he hath more to discouer than is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsaie anie thing he hath written, is in vaine; to conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were verie hard, and against former experience.

An offense sufficient to hang 1000 traitors without drop of mercie.

Parrie had more gloring rhetorike than faithfull obedience.

The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (least the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though parciall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good queene Elisabeths, the offense is committed against hir sacred person, and she may (of hir mercie) pardon it without preiudice to anie. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to liue: Pardon poore Parrie and releeue him; for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonorable to the queenes maiestie (as by your fauors, I thinke it full of honor and mercie) then I beseech your lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be indicted, and afterwards (if I must die) humblie to intreat the queenes maiestie to hasten my triall and execution: which I praie God (with all my heart) may prooue as honorable to hir, as I hope it shall be happie to me, who will while I liue (as I haue doone alwaies) praie to Iesus Christ for hir maiesties long and prosperous reigne. From the Tower the eighteenth of Februarie, 1584. *W. Parrie.*

God Lord with what heart might Parrie hope after anie thing but death, hauing béene so capitall a traitor?

And where in this meane time sir Francis Walsingham secretarie to hir maiestie, had dealt with one William Creitchton, a Scot for his birth, and a Iesuit by his profession, now prisoner also in the Tower, for that he was apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme, to vnderstand of him, if the said Parrie had euer dealt with him in the parties beyond the seas touching that

Creitchton apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme.

queſtion, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maieſtie or not. The which at that time the ſaid Creitchton called not to his remembrance: yet after vpon better calling it to mind, vpon the twentith date of Februarie laſt paſt, he wrote vnto maiſter ſecretarie Walſingham thereof voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, to the effect following.

William Creitchtons letter to ſir *Francis Walſingham, Febr. 20.*

Right honorable ſir, when your honor demanded me if maiſter Parrie did aske me, if it were leaſon to kill the queene; in deed and veritie, then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But ſince, thinking on the matter, I haue called to mind the whole faſhion of his dealing with me, and ſome of his arguments: for he dealt verie craftilie with me, I dare not ſay maliciouſlie. For I did in no wiſe thinke of anie ſuch deſeine of his, or of anie other, and did anſwer him ſimplie after my conſcience and knowledge to the veritie of the queſtion. For after that I had anſwered him twiſe before, *Quòd omninò non liceret*; he returned late at euen by reaſon I was to depart earlie in the next morning toward Chamberie in Sauoie where I did remaine, and being returned out of the cloſſe within one of the claſſes of the college, he proponed to me of new the matter, with his reaſons and arguments.

Note Creitchtons report of Parries craft and malice.

Creitchtons reaſons to repell Parries traitorous allegations.

First he alleged the vtilitie of the deed for deliuering of ſo manie catholikes out of miſerie, and reſtitution of the catholike religion. I anſwered, that the ſcripture anſwereth thereto, ſaieng: *Non ſunt facienda mala, vt veniant bona.* So that for no good, how great that euer it be, may be wrought anie euill, how little that euer it be. He replied that it was not euill to take awaie ſo great euill, and induce ſo great good. I anſwered, that all good is not to be doone, but that onelie: *Quòd bene & legitimè fieri poteſt.* And therefore, *dixi Deum magis amare aduerbia, quàm nomina. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent bene & legitimè, quàm bonum. Ita vt nullum bonum liceat facere, niſi bene & legitimè fieri poſſit. Quòd in hoc caſu fieri non poteſt.* Yet ſaid he, that ſeuerall learned men were of the opinion, *Quòd liceret.* I anſwered, that they men perhaps were of the opinion, that for the ſafetie of manie in ſoule and bodie, they would permit a particular to his danger, & to the occult iudgement of God: or perhaps ſaid ſo, moued rather by ſome compaſſion and commiſeration of the miſerable eſtate of the catholikes, nor for anie ſuch doctrine that they did find in their bookes. For it is certeine, that ſuch a thing is not licit to a particular, without ſpeciall reuelation diuine, which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And ſo he departed from me. Out of the priſon in the Tower, the 20 of Februarie.

Deum magis amare aduerbia quàm nomina.

Your honors poore ſeruitor in Chriſt Jeſu, W. Creitchton *priſoner.*

Creitchton holdeth Parries attempt vnlawfull: note.

Parrie faith and vnfaith like a traitor to ſhift off the heauie charge of treaſon.

And where alſo the ſame Parrie was on the ſame twentith date of Februarie examined by ſir Francis Walſingham knight, what was become of the letter conteined in his confeſſion to be written vnto him by the cardinall de Como: he then anſwered, that it was conſumed and burnt. And yet after, the next date following, being more vehementlie vrged vpon that point in examination (becauſe it was knowne that it was not burnt) he confeſſed where he had left it in the towne: whereupon, by Parries direction it was ſent for, where it had beene lapped vp togither with other friuolous papers, and written vpon the one ſide of it; The laſt will of William Parrie. The which letter was in the Italian tong as hereafter followeth, with the ſame in Engliſh accordinglie tranſlated.

Amon Signore, mon ſignor *Guglielmo Parrie.*

Cardinall de Como his ſeminarie letter to Parrie to perſeuere in his aweles deuiſe.

Mon Signore, la Santita di N.S. ha veduto le lettere di V.S. del primo con la fede incluſa, & non può ſe non laudare la buona diſpoſitione che ſcriue di tenere verſo il ſeruitio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita ſua leſſorta di perſeuerare, con farne riuſcire li effetti che V.S. promette: & acciochè tanto maggiormente V.S. ſia aiutata da quel buon ſpirito che l'ha moſſo, le concede ſua beneditione, plenaria indulgenza & remiſſione di tutti li peccati, ſecondo che V.S. ha chieſto, aſſicurandoſi che oltre il merito, che n'haueraà in cielo, vuole anco ſua Santitata conſtituirſi debitore a reconoſcere li meriti di V.S. in ogni miglior modo che porta, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V.S. vſa maggior modeſtia in non pretender niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li ſuoi ſanti & honorati penſieri, & attenda a ſtar ſano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le deſiderio ogni buono & felice ſucceſſo. Di Romaa 30 di Gennaro, 1584.

But as God would, Parries enterpriſe wanted that wiſhed ſucceſſe. Buono & felice ſucceſſo.

Al piacerdi V.S.
N. cardinali di Como.
Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri.

Cardinall de Comos letter to D. *Parrie, 30. Ian. 1584 by account* of Rome.

A good cleargie in the meane time that allow treaſons in this ſort.

Mon ſignor, his holineſſe hath ſeene your letter of the firſt, with the certificat included, and cannot but commend the good diſpoſition & reſolution which you write to hold towards the ſeruice and benefit publike: wherein his holines dooth exhort you to perſeuere, & to bring to effect that which you haue promiſed. And to the end you may be ſo much the more holpen by that good ſpirit which hath moued you therevnto, he granteth vnto you his bleſſing, plenarie indulgence and remiſſion of all your ſinnes, according to your requeſt. Aſſuring you, that beſides the merit that you ſhall receiue therfore in heauen, his holines will further make himſelfe debtor to acknowledge your deſeruings in the beſt maner that he can: and ſo much the more, in that you vſe the greater modeſtie in not pretending anie thing. Put therefore to effect your* holie and honorable purpoſes, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my ſelfe vnto you hartilie, and doo deſire all good and happie ſucceſſe. From Rome the 30 of Ianuarie, 1584.

*Good ſpirit, nate malignat ſpirit & more than diabolic call.

*Nate curſed and abhominable purpoſes, with deſtruction to the vndertaker.

At the pleaſure of your Signorie,
N. Card. of Como.

Parrie conuented, and arreigned at Weſtminſter hall the 25 of Februarie.

Vpon all which former accuſation, declaration, confeſſions and proofes, vpon mondaie the two and twentith date of Februarie laſt paſt, at Weſtminſter hall, before ſir Chriſtopher Wraie knight chiefe iuſtice of England, ſir Gilbert Gerrard knight maſter of the rolles, ſir Edmund Anderſon knight chiefe iuſtice of the common plées, ſir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchekar, ſir Thomas Gawdie knight one of the iuſtices of the plees before hir maieſtie to be holden, & William Periam one of the iuſtices of the common plées, by vertue of hir maieſties commiſſion to them and others in that behalfe directed: the ſame Parrie was indicted of high treaſon, for intending and practiſing the death and deſtruction of hir maieſtie, whome God long proſper, and preſerue from all ſuch wicked attempts. The tenor of which indictment appeareth more particularlie in the courſe of his arreignment following.

The names of ſuch perſonages of hie

The maner of the arreignment of William Parrie the 25 of Februarie 1584, at Weſtminſter

An. Reg. 27.

minster, in the place where the court commonlie called the Kings bench is vsuallie kept by vertue of hir maiesties commission of oier and terminer, before Henrie lord Hunsdon gouernour of Barwike, sir Francis Knolles knight treasuror of the queenes maiesties houshold, sir Iames Croft knight comptrollor of the same houshold, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rols, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common plees, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the excheker, and sir Thomas Hennage knight treasuror of the chamber.

Act and processe as had touchāt of Parrie arraigned.

The lieutenant of the tower returneth his precept.

FIrst three proclamations for silence were made, according to the vsuall course in such cases. Then the lieutenant was commanded to returne his precept, who did so, and brought the prisoner to the bar, to whome Miles Sands esquier clerke of the crowne said; William Parrie hold vp thy hand: and he did so. Then said the clerke of the crowne; Thou art here indicted by the oths of twelue good and lawfull men of the countie of Midleser, before sir Christopher Wraie knight and others, which tooke the indicment by the name of W. Parrie, late of London gentleman, otherwise called W. Parris, late of London doctor of the law, for that thou as a false traitor against the most noble and christian prince, quéene Elisabeth thy most gratious souereigne and liege ladie, not hauing the feare of God before thine eies, nor regarding thy due allegiance (but being seduced by the instigation of the diuell, and intending to withdraw and extinguish the hartie loue and due obedience, which true & faithfull subiects should beare vnto the same our souereigne ladie) diddest at Westminster in the countie of Midleser on the first daie of Februarie, in the six and twentith yeare of hir highnesse reigne, and at diuerse other times and places in the same countie, maliciouslie, and traitorouslie conspire and compasse, not onelie to depriue and depose the same our souereigne ladie of hir roiall estate, title and dignitie; but also to bring hir highnesse to death and finall destruction, and sedition in the realme to make, and the gouernement thereof to subuert, and the sincere religion of God established in hir highnesse dominions to alter and supplant.

The indictment against Parrie wherein his heinous treason appeareth.

A god cleaning in the meane time that allow treasons in this sort.

*God spirit, nate malignāt spirit & more than diabolicall.

*Nate cursed and abhominable purposes, with destruction to the vndertaker.

Parrie sent letters to Gregorie the 13 bishop of Rome: and what was the scope of them.

And that, whereas thou William Parrie, by thy letters sent vnto Gregorie bishop of Rome, diddest signifie vnto the same bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby diddest praie and require the same bishop to giue thée absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to saie, the last day of March in the six and twentith yeare aforesaid, diddest traitorouslie receiue letters from one called cardinall de Como, directed vnto thée William Parrie, whereby the same cardinall did signifie vnto thée, that the bishop of Rome had perused thy letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had absolued thée of all thy sinnes, and by the same letter did animate and stir thée to proceed with thine enterprise; and that thereupon, thou, the last daie of August in the six and twentith yeare aforesaid, at saint Giles in the fields, in the same countie of Midleser, diddest traitorouslie confer with one Edmund Neuill esquier, vttering to him all thy wicked and traitorous deuises, and then and there diddest moue him to assist thée therein, and to ioine with thée in those wicked treasons aforesaid, against the peace of our said souereigne ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. What saiest thou William Parrie, art thou guiltie of these treasons whereof thou standest here indicted, or not guiltie?

Parrie moueth Neuill to aid him in his treasons.

Then Parrie said; Before I plead not guiltie, or confesse my selfe guiltie, I praie you giue me leaue to speake a few words: and with humbling himselfe began in this maner. God saue quéene Elisabeth, & God send me grace to discharge my dutie to hir, and to send you home in charitie. But touching the matters that I am indicted of, some were in one place, and some in another, and done so secretlie, as none can sée into them, except that they had eies like vnto God: wherefore I will not laie my blood vpon the iurie, but doo mind to confesse the indictment. It conteineth but the parts that haue béene openlie read, I praie you tell me. Whervnto it was answered, that the indictment conteined the parts he had heard read, & no other. Whervpon the clerke of the crowne said vnto Parrie; Parrie, thou must answer directlie to the indictment, whether thou be guiltie or not.

Parries answer to the indictment, wherein he confesseth it.

Then said Parrie, I doo confesse that I am guiltie of all that is therein conteined: and further to, I desire not life, but desire to die. Vnto which the clerke of the crowne said; If you confesse it, you must confesse it in maner and forme as it is comprised in the indictment. Wherevnto he said; I doo confesse it in maner and forme as the same is set downe, and all the circumstances thereof. Then the confession being recorded, the quéenes learned councell being readie to praie iudgement vpon the same confession, master vicechamberleine said: These matters conteined in this indictment, and confessed by this man, are of great importance; they touch the person of the quéenes most excellent maiestie in the highest degrée, the verie state and weldoing of the whole commonwealth, and the truth of Gods word established in these hir maiesties dominions, and the open demonstration of that capitall enuie of the man of Rome, that hath set himselfe against God and all godlinesse, all good princes and good gouernement, and against good men. Wherefore I praie you for the satisfaction of this great multitude, let the whole matter appéere, that euerie one may sée that the matter of it selfe is as bad as the indictment purporteth, and as he hath confessed.

Parrie confesseth that he is guiltie of all things conteined in the indictment.

Sir Christopher Hattons collection out of Parries indictment.

Whereto in respect that the iustice of the realme hath béene of late verie impudentlie slandered, all yealded as a thing necessarie to satisfie the world in particular, of that which was but summarilie comprised in the indictment, though in the law, his confession serued sufficientlie to haue proceeded thervpon vnto iudgement. Whervpon the lords and others the commissioners, hir maiesties lerned councell, and Parrie himselfe agréed, that Parries confession (taken the eleuenth and thirtenth of Februarie 1584, before the lord of Hunsdon, master Vicechamberleine, and master Secretarie) and cardinall de Como his letters, and Parries letters to the lord treasuror and lord steward, should be openlie read.

Certeine speciall matters vnder writing read in open audience of the multitude for their satisfaction.

And Parrie, for the better satisfieng of the people and slanders by, offered to read them himselfe: but being told how the order was, that the clerke of the crowne should read them, it was so resolued of all parts. And then master vicechamberleine caused to be shewed to Parrie his said confession, the cardinals letter, and his owne letter aforesaid: which after he had particularlie viewed euerie leafe thereof, he confessed, and said openlie they were the same. Then said master vicechamberleine; Before we proceed to shew what he hath confessed, what saie you (said he to Parrie) is that which you haue confessed here true, and did you confesse it freelie and willinglie of your selfe, or was there anie ertort means vsed to draw it from you? Surelie (said Parrie) I made that confession freelie without anie constraint, and that is all true, and more to: for there is no treason that hath bæne since the first yeare of the quæne anie waie touching

Parries confession was not *Coacta* but *Voluntaria*: ergo more credible.

Dom. 1584.
Cardinal de Como his animating letter to Parrie to perseuere in his wicked deuise.
But as God would, Parries enterprise wanted that wished *Buono & felice successo.*
Parri.
D.
The names of such personages of hos-

touching religion, saving receipt of *Agnus Dei*, and persuading of others, wherein I haue not much dealt, but I haue offended in it. And I haue also deliuered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be successor to the crowne: which he said to be treason also.

Parries confession of his treasons was read by his owne assent.

Then his confession of the eleuenth and thirteenth of Februarie, all of his owne handwriting, and before particularlie set downe, was openlie and distinctlie read by the clerke of the crowne. And that done, the cardinall *di Como* his letter in Italian was deliuered vnto Parries hand, by the direction of maister vicechamberleine, which Parrie there perused, & openlie affirmed to be wholie of the cardinals owne handwriting, and the seale to be his owne also, and to be with a cardinals hat on it: and himselfe did openly read it in Italian, as before is set downe. And the words bearing sense as it were written to a bishop or to a man of such degrée, it was demanded of him by maister vicechamberleine, whether he had not taken the degrée of a bishop? He said, No: but said at first, those tearmes were proper to the degrée he had taken: and after said that the cardinall did vouchsafe as of a fauour to write so to him. Then the copie of that letter in English as before is also set downe, was in like manner openlie read by the clerke of the crowne, which Parrie then acknowledged to be trulie translated. And therevpon was shewed vnto Parrie his letter of the eightéenth of Februarie, written to the lord treasuror, and the lord steward: which he confessed to be all of his owne handwriting, and was as before is set downe.

Parries letter of the eightéenth of Februarie to the lord treasuror and the earle of Leicester read.

These matters being read openlie for manifestation of the matter, Parrie praied leaue to speake; whereto maister vicechamberleine said: If you will saie anie thing for the better opening to the world of those your foule and horrible facts, speake on: but if you meane to make anie excuse of that which you haue confessed, which else would haue béene and dow stand proued against you; for my part, I will not sit to heare you. Then hir maiesties atturnie generall stood vp and said: It appeareth before you my lords, that this man hath béene indicted and arreigned of seuerall most heinous and horrible treasons, and hath confessed them, which is before you of record: wherefore there resteth no more to be done, but for the court to giue iudgement accordinglie, which here I require in the behalfe of the quéenes maiestie.

The quéenes atturnie requireth iudgement.

Then said Parrie, I praie you heare me for discharging of my conscience; I will not go about to excuse my selfe, nor to séeke to saue my life, I care not for it, you haue my confession of record, that is inough for my life: and I meane to vtter more, for which I were worthie to die; and said: I praie you heare me, in that I am to speake to discharge my conscience. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Parrie, then dow thy dutie according to conscience, and vtter all that thou canst saie concerning those thy most wicked facts.

Then said Parrie: My cause is rare, singular and vnnaturall, conceiued at Venice, presented in generall words to the pope, vndertaken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his holinesse, and was to haue béene executed in England, if it had not béene preuented. Yea, I haue committed manie treasons, for I haue committed treason in being reconciled, and treason in taking absolution. There hath béene no treason since the first yeare of the quénes reigne touching religion, but that I am guiltie of (except for receiuing of *Agnus Dei*, & persuading as I haue said) and yet neuer intended to kill quéene Elisabeth. I appeale to hir owne knowledge and to my lord treasurors and maister secretaries. Then said my lord of Hunsdon: Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainelie in writing vnder thy hand, and here of record; and now, when thou shouldest haue thy iudgement according to that which thou hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of, dwell thou go backe againe, and denie the effect of all? How can we beléeue that thou now saiest?

Parrie had for his credit afore time said vnto secretarie, that he had béene solicited beyond the seas to murther the queene, but he would not, wherewith he craftelie abused both the quéenes maiestie, & their two councellors, when he now went to helpe himselfe with their speeches against manifest proofes.

Then said maister vicechamberleine; This is absurd, thou hast not onelie confessed generallie, that thou wert guiltie according to the indictment, which summarilie, and yet in expresse words doth conteine that thou hadest traitorouslie compassed and intended the death & destruction of hir maiestie: but thou also saidst particularlie that thou wert guiltie of cuerie of the treasons conteined therein, whereof the same was one in plaine & expresse letter set downe, and read vnto thée; Yea thou saiedst that thou wert guiltie of more treasons too beside these; And diddest thou not vpon thy examination voluntarilie confesse, how thou wast moued first therevnto by mislike of thy state after thy departure out of the realme: And that thou diddest mislike hir maiestie for that she had done nothing for thée? How by wicked papists and popish bookes thou wert persuaded that it was lawfull to kill hir maiestie? How thou wert by reconciliation become one of that wicked sort, that held hir maiestie for neither lawfull quéene, nor christian? And that it was meritorious to kill hir? And diddest thou not signifie that thy purpose to the pope by letters, and receiuedst letters from the cardinall, how he allowed of thine intent, and excited thée to performe it, and therevpon diddest receiue absolution? And diddest thou not conceiue it, promise it, vow it, sweare it, and receiue the sacrament that thou wouldest dow it? And diddest not thou therevpon affirme, that thy vowes were in heauen, and thy letters and promises on earth to bind thée to dow it? And that what soeuer hir maiestie would haue done for thée, could not haue remoued thée from that intention or purpose, vnlesse she would haue desisted from dealing as she hath done with the catholikes, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainelie confessed; and I protest before this great assemblie, thou hast confessed it more plainelie & in better sort, than my memorie will serue me to vtter: and saiest thou now, that thou neuer meantest it?

Maister Vicechamberleine taxeth Parrie with vntruth.

Ah (said Parrie) your honors know how my confession vpon mine examination was extorted. Then both the lord Hunsdon and maister Vicechamberleine affirmed, that there was no torture or threatning words offered him. But Parrie then said, that they told him, that if he would not confesse willinglie, he should haue torture. Whereunto their honors answered, that they vsed not anie speech or word of torture to him. You said, said Parrie, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confesse it of my selfe. But their honors expreslie affirmed that they vsed no such words. But I will tell thée, said maister Vicechamberleine, what we said; I spake these words: If you will willinglie vtter the truth of your selfe, it may dow you good, and I wish you to dow so; if you will not, we must then proceed in ordinarie course to take your examination. Whereunto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your selfe. Was not this true? Which then he yéelded vnto. And hereunto, hir maiesties atturnie generall put Parrie in remembrance what speeches he vsed to the lieutenant of the Tower, the quenes maiesties sergeant at law, M. Gaudie, and the same atturnie on saturdaie the twentith of Februarie last at the Tower, vpon that he was by them then examined by order from the lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most mildlie and fauourablie dealt with, in all his examinations: which he also at the bar then acknowledged to be true.

Note all this charge of maister vicechamberleine to be a recapitulation of all or most the treasons of Parrie.

Parrie changeth the lords of the councell with vntruth.

Then maister vicechamberleine said, that it was wonder

Parrie proued of false speeches, and so by himselfe also convicted.

The magnanimitie of the queenes maiestie noticed by sir Christopher Hatton.

wonder to see the magnanimitie of hir maiestie, which after that thou haddest opened those traitorous practises in sort as thou hast laid it downe in thy confession, was neuertheless such, and so far from all feare, as that she would not so much as acquaint anie one of hir highnesse priuie councell with it, to his knowlege, no not vntill after this thine enterprise discouered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast set downe vnder thine owne hand, thou diddest confesse, that thou haddest prepared two Scottish daggers fit for such a purpose: and those being disposed awaie by thee, thou diddest saie that an other would serue thy turne. And withall, Parrie, diddest thou not also confesse before vs how wonderfullie thou wert appalled and perplexed vpon a sudden at the presence of hir maiestie at Hampton court this last summer, saieng that thou diddest thinke thou then sawest in hir the verie likenesse and image of king Henrie the seuenth? And that therewith, and vpon some speaches vsed by hir maiestie, thou diddest turne about and weepe bitterlie to thy selfe? And yet diddest call to mind that thy vowes were in heauen, thy letters and promises on earth; and that therefore thou diddest saie with thy selfe, that there was no remedie but to do it? Diddest thou not confesse this? The which he acknowledged.

Beyond the seas to commit the fact, but he would not bewraie wherewith he craftilie abused both the queenes maiestie, & those two councellors, wherof he now would helpe himselfe with these speeches against most manifest proofs.

The lord of Buckhurst his speeches concerning Parries manifestlie false treason.

Then said the lord Hunsdon; Saiest thou now, that thou diddest neuer meane to kill the queene? Diddest thou not confesse, that when thou diddest vtter this practise of trecherie to hir maiestie, that thou diddest couer it with all the skill thou haddest; and that it was done by thee, rather to get credit and accesse thereby, than for anie regard thou haddest of hir person? But in truth thou diddest it, that thereby thou mightest haue better opportunitie to performe thy wicked enterprise. And wouldest thou haue run into such feare as thou diddest confesse that thou wert in, when thou diddest vtter it, if thou haddest neuer meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy selfe? Which that he cried out in a furious maner: I neuer meant to kill hir: I will laie my bloud vpon queene Elisabeth and you, before God and the world: and therevpon fell into a rage and euill words with the quenes maiesties attourneie generall. Then said the lord Hunsdon; This is but thy popish pride & ostentation, which thou wouldest haue to be told to thy fellowes of that faction, to make them beleeue that thou diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous treasons against hir maiestie, and thy whole countrie. For thy laieng of thy bloud, it must lie on thine owne head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the realme most iustlie condemne thee to die out of thine owne mouth, for conspiring the destruction both of hir maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy bloud be vpon thee: neither hir maiestie, nor we at anie time sought it; thy selfe hast spilt it.

Parries exclamation of outrage and impatiencie.

Note all this charge of matter vicechamberleine to be a recapitulation of all or most the treasons of Parrie.

Parrie chargeth the lords of the councell with vntruth.

Then he was asked what he could saie, why iudgement of death ought not to be awarded against him? Whereto he said, he did see that he must die, because he was not setled. What meanest thou by that, said maister vicechamberleine? Said he, Looke into your studie, and into your new bookes, and you shall find what I meane. I protest (said his honor) I know not what thou meanest: thou dost not well to vse such darke speeches, vnlesse thou wouldest plainelie vtter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for death, and that he would laie his bloud amongst them. Then spake the lord chiefe iustice of England, being required to giue iudgement according to law, and said; Parrie, you haue beene much heard, and what you meane by being setled, I know not; but I see you are so setled in poperie, that you cannot setle your selfe to be a good subiect. But touching that you should saie to stale iudgement from being giuen against you, your speeches must be of one of these kinds; either to proue the indictment (which you haue confessed to be true) to be insufficient in law; or else to pleade somewhat touching hir maiesties mercie, why iustice should not be done of you. All other speeches wherein you haue vsed great libertie, is more than by law you can aske. These be the matters you must looke to, what saie you to them? Whereto he said nothing.

Parrie abuseth the honorable and worshipfull of the bench with termes vncouth and darke speeches.

More libertie of speech giuen to Parrie than by law was allowable.

Then said the lord chiefe iustice; Parrie, thou hast beene before this time indicted of diuerse most horrible and hatefull treasons, committed against thy most gratious soueregne, and natiue countrie: the matter most detestable, the maner most subtill and dangerous, and the occasions and meanes that lead thee thereunto most vngodlie and villanous. That thou diddest intend it, it is most euident by thy selfe. The matter was the destruction of a most sacred and an anointed queene thy soueregne and mistresse, who hath shewed thee such fauour, as some thy betters haue not obteined: yea, the ouerthrow of thy countrie wherein thou wert borne, & of a most happie common-wealth whereof thou art a member, and of such a queene, as hath bestowed on thee the benefit of all benefits in this world (that is to saie) thy life, hertofore granted thee by hir mercie when thou hadst lost it by iustice & desert. Yet thou hir seruant sworne to defend hir, mentest with thy bloudie hand to haue taken awaie hir life, that mercifullie gaue thee thine, when it was yeelded into hir hands. This is the matter wherein thou hast offended.

Parries treasons recapitulated by the lord chiefe iustice, both for maner and matter.

The maner was most subtill and dangerous, beyond all that before thee haue committed anie wickednesse against hir maiestie: for thou making shew as if thou wouldest simplie haue vttered for hir safetie the euill that others had contriued, diddest but seeke thereby credit & accesse, that thou mightest take the apter opportunitie for hir destruction. And for the occasions and meanes that drew thee on, they were most vngodlie and villanous: as the persuasions of the pope, of papists, and popish bookes. The pope pretendeth that he is a pastor, when as in truth he is far from feeding of the flocke of Christ, but rather as a wolfe seeketh but to feed on & to sucke out the bloud of true christians, and as it were thirsteth after the bloud of our most gratious and christian queene. And these papists and popish bookes, while they pretend to set forth diuinitie, they do indeed most vngodlie teach and persuade that which is quite contrarie both to God and his word. For the word teacheth obedience of subiects toward princes, & forbiddeth anie priuat man to kill; but they teach subiects to disobeie princes, & that a priuat wicked person may kill. Yea & whome? a most godlie queene, & their owne naturall and most gratious soueregne. Let all men therfore take heed how they receiue anie thing from him, heare or read anie of their bookes, and how they confer with anie papists. God grant hir maiestie, that the maie know by thee, how euer she trust such like to come so neere hir person!

The occasions and meanes that induced Parrie to these treasons.

The danger & damnablenesse of popish bookes either read or listened vnto of papists, &c.

But see the end, and why thou diddest it, and it will appeare to be a most miserable, fearefull, and foolish thing: for thou diddest imagine, that it was to releeue those that thou callest catholikes, who were most likelie amongst all others to haue felt the worst of it, if thy diuelish practise had taken effect. But sith thou hast beene indicted of the treasons comprised in the indictment, and therevpon arreigned, and hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of them; the court doth award, that thou shalt be had from hense to the place whense thou diddest come, and so drawne through the open citie of London vpon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let downe alme,

The forme of iudgement against the traitor pronounced by the lord chiefe iustice.

alive, and thy priuie parts cut off, and thy entrals taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cut off, and thy bodie to be diuided in foure parts, and to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure: and God haue mercie on thy soule.

Parrie rageth at the iustice bar without all reuerence.

Parrie neuertheles persisted still in his rage and fond speach, and raginglie there said, he there summoned queene Elisabeth to answer for his bloud before God: wherewith the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him from the barre: and so he did. And vpon his departure, the people striken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended enterprise, ceased not, but pursued him with outcries, as; Awaie with the traitor, awaie with him, & such like: whereupon he was conueied to the barge, to passe to the Tower againe by water: & the court was adiorned. After which, vpon the second daie of this instant March, William Parrie was by vertue of processe in that behalfe awarded from the same commissioners of oier and terminer, deliuered by the lieutenant of the Tower erlie in the morning vnto the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, who receiued him at the Tower hill, and thereupon, according to the iudgement, caused him there to be forthwith set on the hurdle: from whense he was drawne thereupon through the middest of the citie of London, vnto the place for his execution in the palace at Westminster: where, hauing long time of staie admitted vnto him before his execution, he most malicioustie and impudentlie, after some other vaine discourses eftsoons & often deliuered in speach, that he was neuer guiltie of anie intention to kill queene Elisabeth, and so (without anie request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or praier publikelie vsed by himselfe for ought that appeared: but such as he vsed, if he vsed anie, was priuat to himselfe) he was executed according to the iudgement. And now for his intent, how soeuer he pretended the contrarie in words, yet by these his owne writings, confessions, letters, & manie other proofes afore here expressed, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and treasons were, and how iustlie he suffered for the same: and thereby greatlie to be doubted, that as he had liued a long time vainelie and vngodlie, and like an atheist and godlesse man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men. ¶ Here endeth the true and plaine course and processe of the treasons, arrest, arreignement, and execution of William Parrie the traitor.

William Parrie the traitor executed.

Parrie (euen at the time of his death) seeketh to cleare and purge himselfe as innocent of the treasons for the which he was condemned.

An addition not vnnecessarie *for this purpose.*

FOrsomuch as Parrie in the aboundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his confession, and letters, pretended some great and grieuous causes of discontentment against hir maiestie, and the present state: it shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set forth simplie and trulie, the condition and qualitie of the man, what he was by birth and education, and in what course of life he had liued. This vile and traitorous wretch was one of the yonger sonnes of a poore man, called Parrie ap Dauid: he dwelled in Northwales in a little village called Northop in the countie of Flint: there he kept a common alehouse, which was the best and greatest staie of his liuing. In that house was this traitor borne, his mother was the reputed daughter of one Conwaie a priest, parson of a poore parish called Halkin in the same countie of Flint: his eldest brother dwelleth at this present in the same house, and there keepeth an alehouse as his father did before him. This traitor in his childhood so soone as he had learned a litle to write and read, was put to serue a poore man dwelling in Chester, named John Fisher, who professed to haue some small skill and vnderstanding in the law. With him he continued diuerse yeares, and serued as a clerke, to write such things as in that trade, which his master vsed, he was appointed.

A description of Parrie both by linage person, education, and qualitie, &c.

Parrie borne and baselie brought vp.

During this time, he learned the English tong, and at such times of leasure as the poore man his master had no occasion otherwise to vse him, he was suffered to go to the grammar schole, where he got some litle vnderstanding in the Latine tong. In this his childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature & disposition. He did often run awaie from his master, and was often taken & brought to him againe. His master, to correct his peruerse and froward conditions, did manie times shut him as prisoner in some close place of his house, and manie times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to staie his running awaie. Yet all was in vaine: for about the third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for his last farewell to his poore master, he ran awaie from him, and came to London to seeke his aduentures. He was then constreined to seeke what trade he could to liue by, and to get meat and drinke for his bellie, and clothes for his backe.

Parrie a verie runnagate and vagarant rakehell in his young yeares.

His good hap in the end was to be interteined in place of seruice aboue his desert, where he staied not long, but shifted himselfe diuerse times from seruice to seruice, and from one master to another. Now he began to forget his old home, his birth, his education, his parents, his friends, his owne name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, he vanted himselfe to be of kin and alied to noble and worshipfull, he left his old name which he did beare, and was commonlie called by in his childhood, & during all the time of his abode in the countrie, which was William ap Harrie (as the maner in Wales is.) And because he would seeme to be in deed the man which he pretended, he toke vpon him the name of Parrie, being the surname of diuerse gentlemen of great worship and hauiour. And because his mothers name by hir father a simple priest, was Conwaie: he pretended kinred to the familie of sir John Conwaie, and so thereby made himselfe of kin to Edmund Nevill.

Parrie maketh himselfe gentleman.

Parrie marieth himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales.

Being thus set forth with his new name and new title of gentleman, and commended by some of his good fauorers, he matched himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales, who brought him some reasonable portion of wealth. She liued with him but a short time, and the welth he had with hir lasted not long: it was soone consumed with his dissolute and wastfull maner of life. He was then driuen to his wonted shifts, his creditors were manie, the debt which he owed great, he had nothing wherewith to make paiment, he was continuallie pursued by sergeants and officers to arrest him, he did often by sleights and shifts escape from them. In this his needie and poore estate, he sought to repare himselfe againe by a new match in marriage with another widow, which before was the wife of one Richard Heiwood.

Parrie a shifter, in debt & danger; he marrieth a rich widow, &c.

This matter was so earnestlie followed by himselfe, and so effectuallie commended by his frends and fauourers, that the sillie woman yeelded to take him to husband: a match in euerie respect verie vnequall and vnfit. Hir wealth and yearelie liuelihood was verie great, his poore and base estate worse than nothing, he verie yong, she of such age as for yeares she might haue beene his mother. When he had thus possessed himselfe of his new wiues wealth, he omit-

ted

Parrie condemned for burglarie, is pardoned of the queene.

Note Parries ambitio, and how the priest forgetteth that euer he was parish clerke.

Parrie pretended a conscience of religion, being verie prophane and of no religion.

Parries voluntarie oth (thrise taken in 22 yeares) of obedience to hir maiestie.

And this is most like, for what will not the pope dispense withall?

ted nothing that might serue for a prodigall, dissolute, and most vngodlie course of life. His riot and excesse was vnmeasurable, he did most wickedlie deflоure his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie waies pitifullie abuse the old mother: he caried himselfe for his outward port and countenance (so long as his old wiues bags lasted) in such sort, as might well haue sufficed for a man of verie good hautour and degrée. But this lasted not long, his proud hart & wastfull hand had sone powred out old Yetwoods wealth.

Parrie deflowreth his wiues owne daughter, and lieth with his owne mother.

He then fell againe to his wonted shifts, borowed where he could find anie to lend, and ingaged his credit so far as anie would trust him. Amongst others, he became greatlie indebted to Hugh Hare, the gentleman before named. Who after long forbearing of his monie, sought to recouer it by law. For this cause Parrie conceiued great displeasure against him, which he pursued with all malice, euen to the seeking of his life. In this murtherous intent, he came in the night time to M. Hares chamber in the Temple, broke open the doore, assaulted him, and wounded him grieuoullie, and so left him in great danger of life. For this offense he was apprehended, committed to Newgate, indicted of burglarie, arreigned, and found guiltie by a verie substantiall iurie, and condemned to be hanged, as the law in that case requireth.

Parrie a verie runnagate and vagarant rakehell in his yong yeares.

Parrie condemned for burglarie, is pardoned of the queene.

He standing thus conuicted, hir maiestie of hir most gratious clemencie, and pitifull disposition, tooke compassion vpon him, pardoned his offense, & gaue him his life, which by the law & due course of iustice he ought then to haue lost. After this he taried not long, but pretending some causes of discontentment, departed the realme, and trauelled beyond the seas. How he demeaned himselfe there from time to time, and with whome he conuersed, is partlie in his owne confession touched before. This is the man, this is his race, which he feared should be spotted if he miscaried in the execution of his traitorous enterprise, this hath béene the course of his life, these are the great causes of his discontentment.

Note Parries ambitiō, and how the priest forgetteth that euer he was parish clerke.

Parrie pretended a conscience of religion, being diuerslie prophane and of no religion.

And whereas at his arreignement and execution, he pretended great care of the disobedient popish subiects of this realme, whom he called catholikes, and in verie insolent sort séemed to glorie greatlie in the profession of his pretensed catholike religion: the whole course and action of his life sheweth plainelie, how prophanelie & irreligiouslie he did alwaies beare himselfe. He vaunted, that for these two and twentie yeares past he had béene a catholike, and during all that time neuer receiued the communion: yet before he trauelled beyond the seas, at three seuerall times within the compasse of these two and twentie years, he did voluntarilie take the oth of obedience to the quœnes maiestie, set downe in the statute made in the first yeare of hir highnesse reigne; by which, amongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his conscience, that no forreine prince, person, prelat, state, or potentat, hath or ought to haue anie iurisdiction, power, preeminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within this realme; and therfore did vtterlie renounce & forsake all forren iurisdictions, powers, and authorities, and did promise to beare faith and true allegiance to the quœnes highnelle, hir heires and lawfull successours.

Parries voluntarie oth (shrift taken in 22 yeares) obedience to hir maiestie.

With what conscience or religion he tooke that oth so often, if so be he were then a papist in deed, as since the discouerie of his treasons he pretended, let his best frends the papists themselues iudge. But perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his offenses past: that since those three oths so taken by him, he was twise reconciled to the pope, and so his conscience cleared, and he become a new man, and (which is more) that in the time of his last trauell, he cast awaie all his former lewd maners: that he changed his degrée and habit, and bought or begged the graue title of a doctor of law, for which he was well qualified with a little grammar schole Latine: that he had plenarie indulgence and remission of all his sinnes, in consideration of his vndertaking of so holie an enterprise as to kill quœne Elisabeth, a sacred annointed quœne, his naturall and souereigne ladie: that he promised to the pope, & vowed to God to performe it: that he confirmed the same by receiuing the sacrament at the Jesuits, at one altar with his two beaupéres, the cardinals of Vandosme and Narbone: and that since his last returne into England, he did take his oth vpon the bible to execut it. These reasons may séeme to beare some weight in déed amongst his friends the Jesuits, and other papists of state, who haue speciall skill in matters of such importance.

Parries two beaupéers the cardinals of Vandosme & Narbone.

But now latelie in the beginning of this parlement in Nouember last, he did eftsoones solemnelie in publike place take the oth before mentioned, of obedience to hir maiestie. How that may stand with his reconciliations to the pope, and with his promises, vowes, and oth to kill the quœne, it is a thing can hardlie be warranted, vnlesse it be by some speciall priuilege of the popes omnipotencie. But let him haue the glorie he desired, to liue and die a papist. He deserued it, it is fit for him, his death was correspondent to the course of his life, which was disloiall, periured, and traitorous towards hir maiestie; and false and perfidious towards the pope himselfe, and his catholikes, if they will beléeue his solemne protestations which he made at his arreignement and execution, that he neuer meant nor intended anie hurt to hir highnesse person. For if that be true, where are then his vowes which he said were in heauen, his letters and promises vpon earth? Why hath he stollen out of the popes shop so large an indulgence and plenarie remission of all his sinnes, and meant to performe nothing that he promised? Why was his deuotion and zele so highlie commended? Why was he so specially praid for and remembred at the altar? All these great fauours were then bestowed vpon him without cause or desert: for he deceiued the pope, he deceiued the cardinals and Jesuits with a false semblance and pretense to do that thing which he neuer meant.

What a notable dissembler was this?

Parrie periured towards hir maiestie & perfidious to the pope, &c.

But the matter is cleere, the conspiracie, and his traitorous intent is to plaine and euident: it is the Lord that reuealed it in time, and preuented their malice: there lacked no will or readinesse in him to execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath preserued hir maiestie from all the wicked practises and conspiracies of that hellish rable: it is he that hath most gratiouslie deliuered hir from the hands of this traitorous miscreant. The Lord is hir onelie defense in whome she hath alwaies trusted, he will defend hir maiestie, and fulfill for hir sake no lesse than god king Dauid (sundrie times assalted with falsehearted enimies) and all loiall subiects will hartilie praie for; namelie such vengeance and heauie measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allotted them, as is wished against the malicious wicked in the eight and fiftith psalme, effectuallie set downe by the Paraphrast in these words following:

No trust nor certeine dealing vsed by Parrie to or fro.

Confringe malas (ô Deus) impudens
Os comminutis contere dentibus:
Et rictibus sæuis hiantes
Hos inhibe catulos leonum, &c.
Sensim liquescant, tardi gradus velut
Limax: acerbo funere deferant
Vitale lumen, more fœtus
Ante suum pereuntis ortum, &c.

Buch. in psalm. 58.

A few obſeruations gathered out of the *verie words and writings of William Parrie the* traitor, applied to prooue his traitorous coniuration, *with a reſolute intent, imagination, purpoſe, and obſtinate determination* to haue killed hir maieſtie, our moſt gratious ſouereigne: whom the Lord hath ſaued, and euer maie he ſaue by his mercie.

THis William Parrie the traitor, 1 confeſſeth to haue conceiued the treaſon at Uenice, by conference with B. Palmio, of whome he ſtill thinketh ſo well, as he can not but ſpeake of him with reuerend mention; whereas, if he had neuer thought, or did now forethinke the treaſon, he would rather curſſe the time that euer he met with ſuch a bloudie and treacherous ghoſtlie father. Well, this graue and learned frier Palmio (ſaith he) made the matter cleere in religion and conſcience, and commended the traitors deuotion. This treaſon Parrie ſo apprehended, as he wrote preſentlie to the pope, preſenting the ſeruice. 2 Returning to Paris, he conferred with Morgan, vowed to performe it for reſtitution of England, &c. 3 Being diſſuaded (as the credible man writeth) by Wats, he replied that he was gone ſo farre, as he could not go backe, but promiſed faithfullie to performe the enterpriſe, if the pope would vpon his offers and letters allow it, and grant remiſſion, &c.

Benedicto Palmio a Ieſuit, mentioned before, pag. 1385.

Thomas Morgan and Wats the one termed a catholike gentleman, pag. 1385.

Where this by the wale is to be noted, that if the opinions of theſe Engliſh prieſts (as he will néeds make vs beléeue) were differing from the pope, and our Engliſh Ieſuits, varieng from Ieſuit Palmio and others beyond ſea Ieſuits, in the queſtion of murthering a prince: ſome of them at leaſt would haue giuen totall intelligence of ſuch a treaſon conceiued and nouriſhed in that man, who had made ſo manie priuie both beyond and on this ſide the ſea, as could not be diſſuaded from his purpoſe, but euer departed with a reſolution contrarie vnto theſe cold diſſuaders. It were no god policie to truſt this popiſh traitor, but rather to ſuſpect all pope created prieſts to be of the ſame mind with their ſupreame head, and all Engliſh Ieſuits to conſent with forren Ieſuits their fellow members. They be all of one order and vow, they haue one ſuperior; and if they had deteſted this fact in déed, ſome of them, ſéeing the wretch to periſh, muſt néeds haue bewraied it, and not to ſuffer him to go on headlong in ſuch a ſinne, leauing hir totall perſon to the will and malice (as much as in them laie) of a murthering ruffian.

They cannot be found in loialtie that are vnſound in religion: *Ergo* how can they giue Caeſar his right, that denie God his due and true ſeruice?

But to prooue his intent with continuance and growing of the ſame, 4 Againe he writeth letters to the pope, in Januarie one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and foure by that account, toke aduiſe vpon them in confeſſion of A. Codreto, was commended, againe confeſſed, toke the ſacrament (verelie *Cruentum ſacramentum, & ſacrificium cruoris*) at the Ieſuits, at one altar, with the cardinals of Vandoſmi and of Narbone. Hereof he had certificat to the pope, which he ſent incloſed in his letters to his holineſſe, to lead him to abſolue him; which he required in conſideration of ſo great an enterpriſe vndertaken without reward. 5 The letter and certificat he read to Ragazzoni, and left with him to be ſent to the pope, who wiſhed him god ſpéed, promiſing he ſhould be remembred at the altar. 6 He doubteth, leaſt if Morgan died, and he miſcarried in the execution (as he did, God be thanked, and choked in the halter, notwithſtanding their remembrance at the altar) and his intent neuer trulie diſcouered; that is to ſaie, that he did it for the catholikes, it might be a ſpot in his race. Marke here the verie word (intent) in his owne confeſſion. 7 Morgan aſſureth him, that the lord Fernehurſt ſhould go into Scotland, and be readie to enter vpon the firſt newes of our quéenes fall. Thus much for his intent beyond the ſea, and before his conſpiration diſcouered.

Aniball a Ieſuit in Paris, of whome before, pag. 1385.

Ragazzoni the Nuntio; ſée before, pag. 1385.

Upon his arrinall in England, he wrote to court, that he had a ſpeciall ſeruice of diſcouerie vnto the quéene: but with what intent, let his owne words ſpeake, 8 More to prepare acceſſe and credit, than for anie care had of hir perſon. Admitted vnto hir gratious audience, he diſcouered the conſpiration; yet in what maner, let himſelfe ſaie, euen couered with all the ſkill he had. This intent was with déepe treaſon: for (as he ſaith) ſo he did, he diſcloſed onelie ſo much as he thought god and neceſſarie to ground in hir highneſſe a ſetled confidence towards him, whereby he might effect his traitorous intent with better opportunitie, and his owne ſafetie. He bewraied himſelfe ſo farre as he might couer his chiefe drift, manie principall things concealed, nothing of lord Fernehurſt with his Scotiſh forces, &c. 9 Receiuing from the pope himſelfe commendation and allowance of his enterpriſe, of incouragement, and plenarie indulgence by no meaner man than cardinall di Como, though he ſhewed the letter to hir maieſtie; not for anie care of hir perſon, but for his better acceſſe & credit, as the reſt, yet let his owne words tell what his intent was at the verie receiuing and ſhewing of the ſame letter. Forſooth (ſaith he) this letter confirmed his reſolution to kill the quéene, making it cléere in his conſcience, as a thing lawfull and meritorious.

See before, pag. 1386.

Cardinall di Como, of whom ſée before, pag. 138, and his letter to Parrie, pag. 1388.

Now is his intent grown to a reſolution, not doutfull, but cléere in conſcience, not alone lawfull, but meritorious. *Papa dixit*, a cardinall is Nuntio. What other thing is this, than for the pope and his cardinals, like an other *Antoninus Commodus*, to make one *Inter ſicarios & gladiatores*? The diuell inforcing this traitors heart to execute his intent, 10 He was troubled loking vpon the quéene, and remembring hir excellencies: yet he ſaw no remedie, his vowes were in heauen, his letters and promiſes on earth. Yea, he ſtroue to cloſe his eies at theſe excellencies, and obſtinated his hart by ſéeking reaſons to quench all ſparks of humanitie and allegiance ariſing in his thoughts. For thus reaſoneth he againſt his conſcience; Why ſhouldeſt thou care for hir? What hath ſhe done for thée? Haſt thou not ſpent ten thouſand marks, &c. What more diueliſh intent could poſſeſſe a traitor, than to labour to ſuppreſſe a ſmall remaine of conſcience, abhorring to kill ſo excellent a perſonage, which God ſtirred vp in his thoughts to his ſuiter condemnation? 11 Doctor Allens booke redoubled his former conceipts, euerie word was a warrant to a prepared mind.

See before, pag. 1386.

How could this hellhound die an innocent for innocent; the preſumptions conſidered.

See before, pag. 1386, part of Parries voluntarie confeſſion.

Sée how the ſmoth words of that catholike booke are interpreted and conceiued. One ſpirit occupieth the catholike reader with the catholike writer, and therefore can beſt expound the writers ſenſe in his readers mouth, euen to be a booke fraught with emphaticall ſpeaches of energeticall perſuaſion to kill and depoſe hir maieſtie, and yet doth the hypocrite writer, that traitor catholike, diſſemble and proteſt otherwiſe. 12 Parrie ſuffering repulſe in a ſute for S. Katharins, communeth with maiſter Neuill, recommendeth the enterpriſe as honorable & profitable to the catholike common-weale. Being preiudiced in opinion of Allens booke (as before) he commendeth it, and deliuereth it to Neuill, thereby to worke the ſame vile intent in him which it had alreadie confirmed in himſelfe. He toke now an other oth vpon the bible, after the maner of a proteſtant, to purſue the enterpriſe, and ment (he ſaith) to performe it, ſo far forth as the place and maner of doing was appointed. This ſecond conſpiration he neuer bewraied

Note the pernicious trafling of Parrie euerie waie hatefull. *Tes principi enim populi, ſanctiſſimi ſenatus, & patriæ ſimus.* pag. 1386.

wraied in six moneths, till accused by Neuill, and then at first denied it.

13 Finallie, to declare his height of malice, he saith, if the quéne had preferred him neuer so greatlie, yet must this bloudie enterprise haue holden, except she had releeued the catholikes. Was this no intent, which neither feare of God, nor reuerence of excellencie could repell? Which neither dread of punishment, nor tract of time could remoue? Did he conceiue it, conferre and aduise of it, vow himselfe to the execrable seruice, present and offer it, harden his heart against others dissuasions, beat backe contrarie motions of his owne conscience, go so farre as he could not go backe, promise it faithfullie, receiue a church sacrament therevpon, make certificat thereof, propound himselfe the end and reason of his intent, discourse vpon the contingent sequele, preuenting the spot of his race, receiue letters of allowance, commendation, incouragement, and absolution, could he vow in heauen, and promise on earth, could he do all this in a thing which he meant not?

Cardinall of Como, of whom see before, pag. 1387. and his letter to Parrie, pag. 1388.

All these circumstances proue that Parrie was resolute, and prepared both wherr and by hand to put in ure his conceiued vnnaturall treason.

Could he resolue and confirme his resolution of a thing which he intended not; yea, could he intend & meane (for all these be his owne words) that which he neuer meant nor intended? could he redouble his concerts, and haue a prepared mind for that he intended not? Would such a craftie traitor practise with others by persuasiue speach, & traitorous broke in such a matter, as the onelie broching thereof must capitallie indamage his kinsman and friend, and withall laie his owne head in his friends hand? And yet notwithstanding, either he meant this treason, either else he little loued his friend, to tempt him so dangerouslie; whom yet, he saith, he loued so, as to suffer his finger in his dith, & his hand in his purse. But which is aboue all, would anie man sweare againe on the bible, appoint time and place, conceals it with as much perill as if he had done it; would he denie it, would so ambitious a man discontent himselfe with all preferment, for the atchining of that which he meant not? Was this mischeefous course, begun and continued, a long time, at home and abroad, in manie kingdomes, communicated with manie persons, of seuerall nation and qualitie, as pope, cardinall, *Nuntio*, frier, priest, kings secretarie and ambassadors, all this while not meant? Was it frankelie and voluntarilie confessed meant, finallie, recorded by pleading guiltie in maner & forme with all circumstance, and yet could he die an innocent for intent?

See before, pag. 1386.

How could this hethound be an innocent for intent; the praemisses considered.

See before, pag. 1386. part of Parries voluntarie confession.

All this falling vpon no simple man, but vpon one, not now the first time holding vp his hand at barre, & vpon a doctor of law, the verie hood whereof is able to giue a man more iudgement, than to slip without light in all these things: I know not how he maie be excused without strong suspicion of the excuser. And if a prince may not iudge a wicked seruant out of his owne mouth, nor determine an offense by two or three mouthes, it were a notable world for traitors and murtherers, thus to haue all proceedings set lose, as well of our common lawes, which condemne vpon all euidences, as of the ciuill lawes, which giue capitall sentence vpon confession onelie: yea, Moses wisedome is ouerreached, and Christes equitie in his euangelicall parable against the lewd seruant not vsing his talent is eluded. All this is also ratified by voluntarie letters of his to hir maiestie apart, and to hir honorable councell. And if anie Italianat papist neuertheless will néeds beleeue this repugnancie of his last speaches, let him yet take this one note of him, whereby to consider how credible a man he creditch.

Note the pretious dealing of Parrie euerie waie hurtfull, *Tam principi quàm populo, dem ceps sibimet & proditori summo.* pag. 1386.

Either Parrie meant this monstrous murther according to his vowes in heauen, and sworne promises in earth, and so died a desperat traitor, protesting the contrarie in his last words vpon his soule and damnation: or else was he periured, to the foule abuse of pope & all poperie, most execrablie prophaning Gods name by promising, swearing, vowing, &c: that which he meant not. Necessarilie therefore must he perish vpon periured treason, or wrecke vpon desperat detestation. Nothing auoideth this dilemma, but a popish bull of dispensation, which if he had, I know not how princes may not as safelie suffer wolues and beares come to their presence, as such papists. And verie like it is that Parrie had a speciall bull, either else was it comprehended in his indulgence, that he might take othes contrarie to his catholike conscience, as he did the oth of supremasie in the beginning of the last parlement. Which if his conjuratours had not béene priuie with what intention he did sweare, he neuer durst haue taken it, least they should haue now bewraied him as a man sworne against the pope, therefore not to be trusted. But the truth is, this papist Parrie was both a traitor, and a manifold periured traitor, whome (with all other of the like stampe) we leaue to the finall iudgement of God at the last and dreadfull dome: registring (in the meane time) a proper epigram, and of no lesse fit than true deuise, in memorie of the said capitall traitor, requiting that prophetically posie concerning Darnell Gatheren and frier Forrest, of whome you shall read in the thirteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight; this of Parrie being as followeth:

A dilemma of reason of aduantage, concluding that Parrie died a periured traitor.

William Parrie
Was ap Harrie
By his name:
From the alehouse
To the gallows
Grew his fame.

Gotten westward
On a bastard
As is thought:
Wherefore one waie
Kin to Conwaie
Hath he sought.

Like a beast
With inceast
He begon:
Mother maried
Daughter caried
Him a sonne.

Much he borrowed
Which he sorrowed
To repaie:
Hare his good
Bought with blood
As they saie.

Yet for paiment
Had arrainment
Of his detter:
Shee that gaue him
Life to saue him
Hangd a better.

Parrie his pardon
Thought no guardon
For his worth:
Wherefore sought
That he mought
Trauell forth.

Which obtained
He remained
As before:
And with rashnes
Shewd his bashnes
More and more.

He did enter
To aduenter
Euen his death:
By whose fauor
He did euer
Draw his breath.

It was pittie
One so wittie
Malcontent:
Leauing reason
Should to treason
So be bent.

But his gifts
Were but shifts
Void of grace:
And his brauerie
Was but knauerie
Vile and base.

Wales did beare him
France did sweare him
To the pope:
Venice wrought him
London brought him
To the rope.

Wherewith strangled
And then mangled
Being dead:
Poles supporters
Of his quarters
And his head.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie & foure, sir Walter Mildmaie knight, one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, founded a college in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and named it Emmanuell college. ¶ The same was sometimes a house of friers, and came to king Henrie the eight by dissolution, as appeareth by the sequeale, being an extract out of a substantiall and large booke written in parchment (which I haue seene, and whense I had this transcript) conteining the entrie or inrolment of certeine letters patents, writings and euidences touching the said college. First the premisses came vnto king Henrie the eight by act of parlement touching the dissolution of monasteries; & afterwards the said king by letters patents vnder the great seale of England, dated *Decimo sexto Aprilis, anno tricesimo quinto regni sui*, did grant the same to Edward Elrington and Humfreie Metcalfe, and to the heires of the said Edward for euer. After that, the said Edward Elrington and Humfreie Metcalfe by their deed pold dated *Quarto Martij, anno tricesimo sexto Henrici octaui*, did grant the premisses to William Sherwood gentleman & his heires for euer. Then George Sherewood gentleman, sonne and heire to William Sherwood by deed pold dated *Vicesimo nono Septembris, anno vicesimo tertio Elisabethæ reginæ*, did grant the premisses to Robert Tailor esquier and to his heires for euer.

Abr. Fl. *ex lib. manuscripto.*

Situm nuper domus fratrum prædicatorũ vocata le Blackefriers in villa Cantabrigiæ.

And afterwards, the said Robert Tailor by deed pold dated *Duodecimo Iunij, anno vicesimo quinto Elisabethæ reginæ*, did grant the premisses to Richard Culuerwell citizen & mercer of London and Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge bachelor of diuinitie, and their heires for euer. And after that, the premisses were conueied to sir Walter Mildmaie, who hath conuerted the same into a seedplot of learning, for the benefit of the church & common-wealth: so that the students maie verie trulie saie this, and more to, of so good, so honorable, and vertuous a founder:

——fluuijs dum creuerit æquor,
Dúmque vagas stellas pascet vterque polus,
Dum steriles altis lustrabunt montibus vmbræ,
Virtutis stabit fama decúsque tuæ.

1585 The parlement dissolued.

On the nine and twentith daie of March, which was in the yeare of Christ 1585, the parlement was dissolued: at the breaking vp whereof, the quéenes maiestie in the parlement house made an oration, to such effect as followeth.

The queenes maiesties oration *in the parlement house.*

The quéenes maiesties oration in the parlement house.

MY Lords and ye of the lower house, my silence must not iniurie the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yeeldeth you: not so much for the safe keeping of my life (for which your care appeareth so manifest) as for the neglecting your priuat future perill, not regarding other waie than my present state. No prince herein (I confesse) can be surer tied, or faster bound than I am, with the linke of your good will; and can for that, but yeeld a hart & head to seeke for euer all your best. Yet one matter toucheth me so neere, as I may not ouerskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take rote, and being corrupted may marre all the tree: and that there be some faultfinders with the order of the cleargie, which so may make a slander to my selfe & the church, whose ouer ruler God hath made me; whose negligence can not be excused, if anie schismes or errors hereticall were suffered.

O the care that hir maiestie hath of true religion, the lord of life lengthen hir graces life.

Thus much I must saie, that some faults and negligences may grow and bee (as in all other great charges it happeneth) and what vocation without? All which if you my lords of the cleargie do not amend, I meane to depose you: loke you therfore well to your charges; this may be amended without heedlesse or open exclamation. I am supposed to haue manie studies, but most philosophicall: I must yeeld this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no professors) haue read more. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple that I vnderstand not, nor so forgetfull that I remember not; & yet amongst my manie volumes, I hope Gods booke hath not beene my fildomest lectures, in which we find that, which by reson (for my part) we ought to beleeue, that seeing so great wickednes & griefs in the world, in which we liue but as waie-faring pilgrims, we must suppose that God would neuer haue made vs but for a better place, and of more comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth heerelie in more perill for it than mine owne, who entered not into my state without fight of manifold dangers of life and crowne, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I left my selfe behind my care.

Hir maiesties reuerend estimation of Gods word and sacred scriptures.

And so you see that you wrong me too much (if anie such there be) as doubt my coldnesse in that behalfe. For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true waie of Gods will, God forbid I should liue to prescribe it to you. Take heed, lest Ecclesiastes saie not too true; They that feare the horie frost, the snow shall fall vpon them. I see manie ouer bold with God almightie, making too manie subtill scannings of his blessed will, as lawiers do with humane testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate *Romanists, which what aduersaries they be to mine estate is sufficientlie knowne) nor tolerate new fangledenesse. I meane to guide them both by Gods true rule: in both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kinglie rule, to haue euerie man according to his owne censure to make a doome of the validitie and priuitie of his princes gouernement, with a common beile and couer of Gods word, whose followers must not be iudged but by priuat mens exposition, God defend you from such a ruler that so euill will guide you. Now I conclude, that your loue and care neither is nor shall be bestowed vpon a careless prince, but such as for your good will passeth as litle for this world as who careth least; with thanks for your free subsidie: a manifest shew of the aboundance of your good wils, the which I assure you, but to be imploid to your weale, I could be better pleased to returne than receiue.

O most princelie resolution and persuasion!

* The Gods vengeance and iustice rote them out, that the Lords annointed maie be free from all feare of hurt.

What subiect would thinke life and lands too deere to lose (if need were) for so gracious a quéene?

This is the summe of hir maiesties oration vttered in a solemne assemblie, and well worthie the recording, as tesstifieng no lesse in sinceritie and truth, than euerie good subiect may seale vnto himselfe, and laie his hand vpon his hart to be faithfullie meant for his securitie. Wherein is speciallie to be noted the religious care which hir maiestie hath vowed to haue of the propagation and supportation of the gospell; according to that which is reported of hir by waie of prophesie in the vision of quéene Anne in a dreame; where (after a repetition of miseries foretold to befall in quéene Maries daies) these words are inferred:

Ecce malis tantis tua parua medebitur infans,
Iámque tenella geret post sceptrum patris adulta,
Solamen magnum patriæ, solamen amicis:
Qua regnante diu, cœlis ea fata feruntur,
Britanni populus fœlix, erit Anglia fœlix,
Et longa tali sub principe pace fruetur.

C. O. in sua Elisabetha.

Papa

Papa relegatus fallax ad littora Tybris
Ausonij, propria ditione inhebitur esse
Contentus, vænimque domi protrudere merces.
Hic iuris papalis erit tum terminus Anglis.
Vestra dabit proles papæ immedicabile vulnus,
Non post idolis genua incuruare licebit
Amplius, aut statuis benè olentia thura cremare;
Hinc papæ incassum furibunda monebitur ira,
Dentibus infrendens & quæret tollere prolem
Πλὴν Ἥνου insidijs structis, quæ numine cœli
Protectore suo semotis hostibus æuum
Pace colet, seros ornabit honoribus annos,
Pace suos placida ciues: sua regna beabit.
Non tamen in claram bacchari desinet atrox
Reginam, pus ore vomens & virus vt aspis,
Promittet cœlum verbis (quis crederet illud?)
Principis obsequium quicunque reliquerit vltrò,
Cum pacto hoc miseros reuera in Tartara mittat, &c.

¶ In this yeare of Grace, on the eleuenth of Aprill died pope Gregorie the thirteenth, termed the last & lewd pope of that name; one that wanted not the waies to aplie his vsurped supremasie to the common abuse of all christendome, according to the receiued custome of his predecessors; who rather than they would abide anie be it neuer so small an eclipse of their worldlie pompe, all the world shalbe set together by the ears, in so much that heauen & earth shall ring with the noise of the tumults. This is he that (among other acts by him vndertaken & done) after the old Romane or Julian kalendar was by popish arguments accused & charged with manifold imperfections, whereinto by continuance of time it fortuned to fall, thrust forth into the world a reformed kalendar, exhibited to his holinesse by one Antonie Lillie doctor of arts & physicke, wherein (by a certeine new cycle of epacts by one Aloisius the said Antonies brother germane deuised, and to an vndoubted rule of the golden number directed, as also to what soeuer magnitude or greatnesse of the yeare of the sunne aplied) all things that in the old kalendar were faultie, may by constant reason and for euer to last be so reformed; that the kalendar once reformed according to this plot, need neuer hereafter either to be altered or amended. Howbeit, in commending the perfect reformation of this new kalendar, whereby not onelie all things erronious are abolished; but also such foresight is had of the time to come, that the calculation of this kalendar shall neuer hereafter saeme subiect vnto change: an occasion of some demands may hereof arise, touching christian libertie; namlie; Whether the church be tied to a certeine time according to the reformed calculation astronomicall, in the celebration of yearelie festiuals: Whether it be lawfull for the bishop of Rome to reforme the time and the kalendar: Whether the church of Christ be bound by necessitie of religion to receiue that kalendar, at the first originall beginning proceeding from the pope, though the same afterwards were set forth vnder another title: Whether it profiteth or be requisit that for the keeping of peace and concord, in contracts, bargainings, and intercourse of traffike and merchandize; the one partie should submit himselfe to that kalendar, wherevnto the pope hath yoked his popelings; and persuaded manie more to doo the same, &c. Although these and the like interrogatories may be made against the papists; yet bicause to giue an instance is not to answer a doubt, it is to be wished that this kalendar were throughlie sifted by some sound and sober mathematician, and the three heads, whereof this new reformed kalendar of Gregorie doth consist, dispersed: which three heads, repeated by Gregorie in his bull before the said kalendar, are these.

¶ The reforming and coupling of the equinoctiall in the spring to the one and twentith daie of March, with such a caueat giuen, that from thense, as from the proper and fixed seat, it may not possiblie hereafter at anie time remoue. 2 The correction of the golden number by the cycle of epacts, in such sort, that the numbers of epacts may shew not onelie the daie of the new mone in euerie moneth of all years; but also, and that principallie the terme of Easter: that is, the certeine & full daie of the verie next full mone following after the equinoctiall of the spring; and that euerie yeare without error or deceipt. 3 The verie iust and certeine sundaie of Easter, that ought to be celebrated and kept on the verie next sundaie after the full mone, which doth follow first after the iust equinoctiall of the spring. These three heads being so anatomized and opened by mathematicians as were meet, it should be found in the end, that this new kalendar, in all and euerie part thereof, euen wherin it is best reformed, or so thought to be, is manie waies faultie, & erronious in the verie grounds: in which qualitie leauing it, as not to be put to the touch in a publike chronicle, but otherwise to be had in triall, Gregorie the preferrer thereof is now to be handled by description, which is no fiction or imagined fable, but deriued out of an oration or funerall sermon in Rome, at the burtall of his holinesse, conteining his maners, life, deeds, and last words at his death: togither with the lamentations of the cardinals and whole Romish clergie: otherwise to be intituled as followeth:

Vide M. Michaelem Mæstlinum Gœppingensem in Tubingensi academia mathematicum, &c.

A sermon full of papisticall adulation, *and matter sufficient to procure the wise and vertuous* minded to contemne such grosse and palpable blindnesse, and all persons to laugh at the Romanists absurd and erronious follies.

THere is nothing so certeine as death, either vncerteine as the moment thereof. Wherefore the holie doctor saith: Keepe thy selfe continuallie in that estate wherin thou desirest to die. And the prouerbe goeth, that manie a one thinketh himselfe in perfect helth, when he beareth death in his bosome. To saie the truth, we doo continuallie carrie death about with vs, it is in vs immediatlie after we take life and mouing in our mothers wombe; and whersoeuer we walke, it is still at our heeles: if we take horsse, it is with vs: if we be on the water, it is the guide of our ship: so as we can neuer saie death to be absent from vs: for our selues are verie death, and no part of our bodie immortall. Wherefore those that suppose themselues to liue in this world, are far deceiued in their owne opinions, and the pilgrimage of man in this world is but a shadow of life, which vnto vs seemeth life, but in deed is none. The better therefore to describe the said shadow, I will make an abstraction of the dead time of mans age, from the full and greatest age that a creature can liue in the world.

A good and plausible beginning, if the proceeding were agreeable.

First, the longest age that man can liue is but sirtie yeares. From sirtie yeares we must deduct the nights, for man when he sleepeth liueth not. Beside that, sleepe is termed the image of death: so that deducting the nights, which comprehend one halfe of the time, man liueth but three score yeares in the world. Whiles man liueth these sirtie yeares, he liueth but the one halfe of them, for if he haue one daie of mirth and quiet, he hath another of sorrow and care, bicause griefe doth still secretlie creepe into mirth. And anie person troubled with cares and vered in mind, doth rather die than liue. We must therfore take from the sirtie yeares aforesaid the one halfe, and so there remaine but thirtie. Now, let vs see whether in the

Popish diuines doo rather imitate anie duns than the prophet Dauid, who setteth downe the age of man to consist of 70. yeares.

Hir maiesties reuerend estimation of Gods word and sacred scriptures.

O most princelie resolution and persuasion!

* The God of vengeance and iustice rote them out, that the Lords annointed maie be free from all feare of hurt.

what subiect would thinke life and land too deere to lose (if need were) for so gratious a queene?

C. O. in sua Elisabetha.

Papa

Sir Rem. the death of pope Gregorie the thirteenth: end of this mans practises against England in diuerse treaties, pag. 311, &c.

The pope is verie liuelie set out by his owne proclamations & good enterludes to vnteach christian liertie.

This hath been done in such sort by a mathematicus stranger, that he is bold to challenge euer holding the contrarie sermon to a regent of his examination.

A further examination of mans age by popish learning.

space of six score yeares a man may not passe awaie ten at the least in sickenesse, mischances, or other infirmities? I may tell you there is no man that liueth six score yeares in the world, but at seuerall times and during the said age he hath aboue ten yeares infirmitie: and therefore we must take from the thirtie yeares which are the remainder of mans life yet ten yeares, & then there are but twentie left, which are now the twentie yeares of his life. We must take them at his infancie & in his oldest age: that is, ten yeares from his verie childhood, & the other ten from his extreame old age. But sith aswell in infancie as in extremitie of age there is no life, but rather a liuing death; I conclude, that man hath not one onelie houre of life in this world, also that whosoeuer seeketh life in this world doth much deceiue himselfe. In heauen therefore it is that we must assure our selues to liue, and seeke for life; but not vpon earth where death doth continuallie haunt vs. For we ought to die to the world, to the end to be borne in Jesus Christ; according to the soueraigne sentence and decree, O ye inhabitants of Rome we see your great bishop and mine is dead: behold our crowne is fallen: our lodestar vanished awaie, and our light extinguished.

Happie newes to the true church, when the members of antichrist decrease.

And for mine owne part, O miserable man, who am depriued of him, of two things I wish for one, that is, either neuer to remember the good that we haue lost; either else calling the same to mind, to find some one that were able to giue me comfort correspondent to the greatnesse of the heauinesse wherinto I am fallen. And indeed my selfe do now come into the pulpit vpon two seuerall occasions meere contrarie ech to other, to wit, to reherse the gretnes of the good that is taken from vs, & to comfort those that sustaine the losse: naie rather, to do two things which seeme to repugne ech other. For if it be true that nothing doth more aggrauate the griefe of the losse, than the remembrance of the value of the thing lost; then doth nothing seeme more contrarie to the comfort of the liuing, than the praises of him that is dead, as in this case, wherein so far do the merits of the deceased exceed, that the arrowes which pearse his hart that is depriued of him are the more sharpe and grieuous. Howbeit some man would answer, that contrariwise by the commendations of him that is departed, we do declare that he is not dead, but liueth, and thus we may by litle and litle asswage the sorrow of our losse and damage in whatsoeuer maner.

This is no adulation to a dead carrion, what did this fellow (thinke you) to the beast when he was aliue?

A comparison abused to the commendation of lewd pope Gregorie.

But as it were hard for a painter in the face of a sorrowfull person to represent a smiling countenance, so doth it seeme to me a difficult enterprise to vndertake to comfort a man by rehearsing the vertues of him that is taken awaie from vs: and that the more, if we should enter into consideration of him that is spoken of: of your selues that are the hearers: and of me that do make the discourse: for in each of these three, the same circumstances that seeme to make mine enterprise easie, are those that indeed do yeeld it most difficult and troublesome. As if a man should in respect of him saie, that if the multitude of his great vertues do seeme to abridge my labour, in seeking some argument whereupon to ground his praises: so contrariwise the aboundance of so great vertues do hold me so short, that I can not certeinelie resolue vpon the choice of one onlie whereupon worthilie to commend him. For you, if a man should saie, in that you all knew him and vsed him to your great profit, it should seeme sufficient for me onelie to decipher matters: so contrariwise your own perfect knowlege, togither with your dealings with him, would sufficientlie open vnto you all my defaults in displaieng of him. And for mine owne part, if infinit courtesies and great fauors, wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, do seeme without seeking anie cuning to breed in me as much affection as is requisit: so by contrarie reason, the great fauours and benefits, wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, do not leaue me anie cunning meanes to hinder me from hauing greater affection than is heere to be required of me. And this was the principall reason that moued me somewhat to refuse this so honorable a commission, and vnto me in manie other respects most welcome, and to request you to apoint and commit to some other the charge to discourse herevpon, and to leaue vnto me teares and lamentations onelie.

How big the fellow looked Gregorie, when he was so magnified being dead.

But now vnto thee, Oh my good maister and father (for so will I alwaies call thee) do I turne my selfe. Saie it be possible that this my oration, which latelie in thy life thou diddest harken vnto, should now be imploied in praising of thee being dead, either that this my tong, which imploieng me to the seruice of this countrie, thou diddest so greatlie honor, should now be occupied, alas, in lamentations for thy so hurtfull death to all christendome? And what? Hast thou then brought me so toilfullie to Rome, to the end here to celebrate thy funerals? Oh how that commission to read Hieremie might well forshew vnto me (but I perceiued it not) that my lecture thereof should end in lamentations, and now behold that diuination accomplished! See *Quomodo sedet sola ciuitas*, how the citie sitteth desolat, notwithstanding it be *Plena populo*, full of people: also how this spouse, the church of Rome, who by great brightnes seemed to be *Domina gentium*, ladie of nations, now hauing lost thee, *Est facta quasi vidua*, is made as it were a widow: and as a widow all dipped in teares and lamentations, willeth me to celebrate the praises of hir deere spouse, which she all wholie togither can not celebrate: wherein although I can not (as in truth I am not able) atteine to the least parcell of thy deserts, which are not well to be expressed, yet at all aduentures I assure my selfe, O happie soule, that as in thy life time thou diddest pardon me a number of other imperfections, so now thou wilt likewise forgiue me this: I know that as thou wert accustomed, thou wilt make better accompt of the good will than of the glose and pompe of words, and as discreet thalt well see, that not onelie I, but also that no orator is able to atteine to the type of thy commendations.

A fit child to scholer such a father and maister.

No spouse to a strumpet sported with spirituall fornication.

Wealthie and blasphemous diuinitie, to forsweare a bishop, and vnlearned a chaplaine.

Among the which my lords, and ye my hearers, I do freelie confesse, that I haue greatlie doubted whether I were best to begin, as I take the maner to be, at the greatnesse and eminencie of the familie from whense he is extract: and at the first I was purposed so to do, and that the rather bicause it is not yet scarse two months since that my selfe heard him in this temple, discourse how our sauiour Jesus Christ was content to be borne of a mother though poore, yet noble, and descended of a noble race; also that nobilitie was verie effectuall euen to spirituall life, as it may be said of him that is noble, that whether it be through conformitie or resemblance of mind with his predecessors, either through the remembrance of such things as they haue done, either else through the effect of good bringing vp, or for what other reason he is better disposed to do well; that nobilitie serueth him as a spur to goodnesse and a bridle to euill: also that as the pretious stone being set in gold maketh a greater shew than in iron, euen so the same vertuous deeds do giue a more effectuall example, when they proceed from noble personages than from men of base estat, with other things which he spake to the same purpose.

Noble birth (no doubt) was this Gregorie, yet thereof he called Hugh the good fellow.

A similitude of a pretious stone set in gold, and vertues in personages noble descended.

Childish reasons and worse diuinitie.

Howbeit I will not speake thereof, in that it might

might be accompted rashnesse in me, euen in Rome to seeke to make his holinesse familie more famous than it is. It may be that some may saie that this familie doth want glorious titles, preeminence, riches, possessions, iurisdictions, pretentions of rights, patronages, ancient petidegrees of their predecessors, commendations of learning, praise of armes, noble and famous aliances either in Italie or without, and to be briefe, all such things collected into one, as being seuerallie taken are sufficient to set a faire shew vpon a whole progenie. Notwithstanding all these things which are terrestriall & too common with others, and for the causes aforesaid his holinesse perceiuing (as he perceiued all things) that it is not inough for a house to be of a good race, except himselfe be also good, and that they are happie and wise, who as the sea, doo not receiue the sweetnesse of this vaine glorie of the riuers of their predecessours, but returning their course and swelling ouer the mouths of the riuers themselues, can yeeld to their forerunners the reward of firme and permanent commendation; so of that great nobilitie which he had brought forth of his mothers wombe with him, he did therin onelie yeeld thankes to God, for that his actions with their circumstances, thereby, and in respect thereof, were more notable and exemplarie.

Gregorie perceiued all things: but it should be knowen how.

A long similitude most fond and most ridiculous applied.

Oh most happie person, who in the middest of so great eminencie of birth, could so well subdue pride, and in himselfe giue example vnto other! Euen like vnto the pearle, which although it lieth in the bottome of the sea, yet keeping it selfe close in the shell, and neuer opening vntill it ascendeth to receiue the dew of heauen, we find therein no smell, no sauour, or drop that tasteth of hir sea; but being pure, cleare and white, it seemeth to be formed euen in heauen. We must not therfore take commendations of this people at the transitorie things of the sea of this world, and although he be therein extract of a most noble birth, yet will I not saie anie more thereof as of that which is none of his.

Marke this principallie, that Gregorie was mortified euen vpon the first hir.

But discoursing and speaking of that which properlie apperteineth to himselfe, I would aske whether his mind commanded not his bodie? Also whether it were possible to find a bodie more withered, afflicted, macerated, dried vp, or pale through the effect of austere and hard penance? Other mens bodies (O christian hearers) are for the most part wished to be of this or that forme, bicause they yeeld such or such inclination to the mind. But in this I will shew you a matter worth the noting; that is, that here the case was altered, for it was the mind that ministred inclination to the bodie: so that being waren altogither spirituall, had not extreame need forced him, he neuer desired meat, drinke, or bodilie rest: and he liued in such sort as it was a miracle (whereof, alas, we haue but too soone seene the issue) how he could liue so manie yeeres, but rather liuing was dead. And for my part I assure you, I neuer, euen in the hart of summer, killing his holie hands (good God shall I neuer doo so more?) found them other than cold, wherein there was no heat, except the same proceeded of some excesse or immoderate labor, or of some motion of a sudden feuer. O most deere bodie! O most holie members! But looke yet once againe vpon them, O ye Romane people, and saie: Are not these the verie hands which so often haue bin ioined togither, and lifted vp to praie and offer sacrifice for vs? Be not these the feet that haue trauelled so far for our sakes? Is not this the head that neuer imagined anie thing but for our benefit? Is not this the heart that burned in loue of vs? O deere members! O members so deere! What? Shall you then go vnder the earth? And what? Must you be buried? Alas my God! who is that thou hast taken awaie from vs? And wherefore doo ye hide your selues? For my part, none but onlie death shall euer plucke out of my heart the liuelie image of that so well beloued countenance: especiallie in this act, wherein with your eies toward heauen as it were smiling, and with an angelicall countenance I see you depart and remaine dead.

But it is time for vs (O christian hearers) to proceed to matters of greater importance, which are so manie & withall so intangled one within an other, that I could not find anie more fit meane to part and diuide them; neither doo I thinke that we can take anie better course, than the verie course of his holie life: and there to begin. When he was a little child he was verie deuout, and it is well knowne that God, euen in his first youth, wrought in him maruellous signes of singular goodnesse. The like is read of saint Basill, saint Gregorie, saint Dominike, saint Francis, and manie others, as was to be seene in this yong child (saie they that doo remember it) namelie, that at his returne from the college, all the delite that that age vsed to take in anie other thing, he tooke onelie in framing of little altars, adorning of small chapels, and counterfeiting of holie things. Matters, which although the wisest maie thinke too base for this place, and for the occasion now ministred, yet would I not onelie not disdaine, but also take great and singular pleasure in the same.

And although some doo saie, that among such serious affaires such small trifles should haue no place: yet doo I delite to shew how commendable, not onelie graue matters, but euen such small things were in him. Concerning the rest, according to the proportion of his age, or rather beyond the reach of that age (as occasions doo increase so must my stile arise) his holinesse being past the inferiour schooles, and comming to studie the law, it is not possible to make an end of writing with what modestie and grauitie he there passed the yeares of his studie: he was apparelled in clerks attire, but, which was of greater importance, he obserued clergie maners, much continencie, & (as is supposed) perpetuall virginitie, with modest behauiour, no vanitie, continuall studie: these were his exercises. And to be briefe, although thorough our mishaps, the vniuersitie wherin he studied were not vsuallie either the quietest or the holiest in the world, yet might the writing of Nazianzen concerning the great Basill and the towne of Athens be aplied to him. Like as there is one riuer, which flowing thorough the sea, taketh no bitternesse thereof; also a certeine beast that liueth in the fire and consumeth not: euen so he with great quietnesse passing these troubles, and with soueregne vertues such vices, did first and most worthilie atteine to the doctorall degree, & afterward was called to Rome, and made cardinall, onelie thorough desert, for his learned studies, and not by fauour, as the most part doo now vsuallie practise.

A happie departure, a blessed iournie for all the holie church, but especiallie for this great citie of Rome, which haue receiued so great benefits and so much comfort at his hands. Notwithstanding, whatsoeuer affaires he had in hand, yet did he dailie aplie his studie at a certeine houre, & so continued his studie euen to his death, with so deepe iudgement and good successe, that although his intellectuall habitudes had not beene verie farre surmounted & darkened thorough the marueilous brightnesse of his morall and theologicall vertues: yet in respect of his learning and studie onelie, he deserued great praise, and in truth he was neuer other than most learned and a great fauourer of learned men. Who did euer shew them more pleasure, or receiue them more

maintaine his owne pompe and glorie.

For all that is hitherto spoken is verie ridiculous, idle and meere lyng labour.

Notes that he would in time prooue a strong piller of idolatrie.

The continencie and virginitie of the popish clergie doth consist in keeping of concubines.

Note how Gregorie is extolled by waie of comparison.

A great thrift was Gregorie, but in no good facultie.

Better had that liberalitie bene exhibited to theues than to sacrilegious beasts &c.

courteoustie? Besides the seminaries and colleges, as well at Pauie as here, the lectures, the stipends, with such & so manie things done to the behoofe of learning, and besides the bookes which he hath of himselfe written: and now that the bridle of his modestie doth no longer deteine, I hope, as my selfe haue séene them, so comming to light, all the world shall behold them, and in them perceiue as in himselfe whether were more his holie writings or good maners. This loue of learning and holinesse of life he practised so diligentlie in himselfe, that thorough Gods grace, and the inspiration of the holie ghost, he was in respect of his vertues, knowledge, and holie life, elected pope, and his name from Hugh good Companion, was changed and called Gregorie the thirteenth. During his papasse he liued so religiouslie and deuoutlie, that the whole life of a man were little enough to rehearse the same. But herein I repose my selfe vpon that zeale which I perceiue in euerie one to commend him, whereby I maie shortlie sée so manie poesies, verses, and rimes, with such hiperboles, so manie orations, and volumes to his honor, that all these things, as well such as I can not touch, as the rest which I mention and speake of, shall briefflie be deciphered and liuelie set forth.

Gregorie a good companion to traitors, but an ill companion to the godlie.

It is impossible (if you will beléeue this flattering parasite) to rehearse Gregories workes &c.

For to rehearse all the holie works of our good shépheard, or to indeuour to set forth that verie patterne of a bishop which he hath expressed in himselfe, to saie truth, I thinke impossible, and much lesse to beléeue that the verie summarie of those things that he hath done maie be drawne into anie annals or chronicle. Neither can I conceiue anie means to atteine thereto, vnlesse some one haue in forme of remembrances béene dailie collecting the course of his déeds and works. For my part in this short discourse that I haue to prosecute, as one not able to restreine the whole sea, I will go sée if I maie gather the water at the riuers and brooks from whense this sea doth arise, that is, from his vertues, which in him haue wrought so manie holie works. Notwithstanding I might at once in generall words saie, that all vertues beséeming a bishop, which saint Paule & others do speake of, were to be found in him.

The woolfe is dead, and the shéepe want a good shéepheard.

Alas how this holie pastor burning in loue, made himselfe leane for you, O ye poore artificers, ladies, yong infants, and poore beggers! Alas ye all haue lost your father, the shépheard is dead, & the shéepe remaine a preie to the wolues. How soeuer it is, hereof maie we plainelie sée O Rome, that he bare thée singular good will: and in déed (for I will not conceale thy commendation) it is euident that thou diddest answer his good will with reciprocall amitie, witnesse this thy assemblie: these sobs & these teares do testifie thy acknowledging thereof, besides all other things, alas, too bitter and too swéet togither; euen the night of his departure was to you and to me infortunate. O great, O great pitie, what could be séene more worthie compassion and teares, than the fearefull stirre of the people? It seemed, when the most horrible sound of the bell called *Aue Maria*, that gaue notice of his death, to the end to praie to God for him, sent furies to all both men and women.

How could the pope néed the praiers of men, sith himselfe can forgiue sinnes?

One ran here, an other there, some two togither, others without order or reason: all wept, all cried, all howled out, saieng: Ah, good God whereto are we brought? What shall become of vs? If the infection doth afflict vs, who shall praie for vs? Ah that we had not deserued it! Oh how God is wroth with vs! With manie other exclamations sufficient to haue rent the marble stones, and clouen the wals in sunder. He was a man of much praier and reading, as euer was ante, and in priuat behauior had not his like. Two things there were that made him wonderfull wise. The one, he would in all affaires heare

Two things made Gregorie

counsell. The other, he had still recourse vnto praier. Truelie he was as wise as holie. I confesse that in respect of his example onelie, I learned to vnderstand this place of saint Paule concerning his care of all the churches: *Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur & ego non vror?* Who is weake and I am not sicke? Or who is offended and I burne not? And that which followeth.

Vrie saith he will become the reporter.

To be briefe, toward the end of his daies, and being hoze hated, he conceiued two excellent imaginations. The one, concerning that great and wonderfull college that is now at building in your Rome, for the teaching (a wonderfull matter) of all languages in the world. The other, the same which he propounded and began to put in execution touching the recouerie of the goods of the catholike apostolike Romish church. The same was it which he did so highlie commend to the clergie, yea to the christian princes, and vnto his successor, to the end that the Romane sée might recouer the full brightnesse of hir glorie, and to depriue the enimie of mankind of that innumerable gaine of soules, that through his subtiltie he doth dailie make. These were his last words when he left vs with the water in our eies, and sorrow in our harts, for the losse of a thing of so great value. Neuertheleslie, sith it is to no purpose to weepe, it resteth that we do two things. The one, that so much as in vs lieth, we indeuour to reteine those notable institutions, and walke in that path which he hath prescribed for vs. The other, that we haue recourse to God with praier, that he will send vs a successor worthie him: and that as Simplician succéeded saint Ambrose, so to this Ambrose an other Simplician in vertue and holinesse maie succéed.

Two imaginations in Gregories head toward his death.

Some traitorous deuise for the persecution of the gospell.

God rest our all of the succession, & giue his truth free passage against popery.

This is that small matter, Oh blessed soule, which my foolish and vnméete tong is able this day to vtter of thée in middest of these sighs and lamentations. Now shall it cease: howbeit, at time conuenient, both this daie and euer, my heart shall discourse of thée. Oh wretch that I am! O ye Romane people, to whome happeneth still the contrarie of that which happened to the Romane souldior, that was wounded and maimed vpon one of his legs, at a certeine victorie that he obteined. For he said, that at euerie step that he set, and vpon the least paine that he felt of his leg, he called to mind the most honorable blason of his glorie: but I contrariwise, in the least commendations that I may obteine, shall thinke vpon my losses. For when soeuer I shall boast, that I haue béene seruant to such a holinesse, and so great a personage, I must necessarilie withall remember what a good I am depriued of. Let vs therefore praie to our good God, that it may please him of his grace with his holie spirit to inspire the most reuerend cardinals, the electors of the holie apostolike and Romish sée, to the end his holinesse successor, succéeding in the holie sée, may likewise succéed in those vertues and holinesse, wherewith he was indued and replenished.

Flacke good soule that hast lost thy solace and comfort.

¶ This is the parasiticall and flattering* sermon of a popeling, patched togither like a beggers mantle of sundrie rotten rags diuerslie colored: wherein there is as much learning as wit; and as much of both as of truth and goodnesse in this praiser and the praised: of whome (because it is sinne against the holie ghost to speake otherwise than according to the motion of a good and sound conscience) an epitaph imprecatorie (as fit for him as a pudding for a friers mouth) is here placed as a conclusion of this his memoriall, and apliable vnto all and euerie one of that antichristian and diabolicall succession:

Albus an ater (lector) cognoscere quiuis
Papa, tibi dicam qua ratione licet;
Tu metamorphosin lepidam spectabis: olorem

* Faithfullie translated out of the French copie printed at Paris for Peter Iabert dwelling in Harpe street, with the kings priuiledge.

An. Reg. 27.

Fac papam, cornus protinus ater erit.
Vt quocunque meat sordes testudo relinquit,
Sic immunditiem linquit vbique suam.
Monstrum tale vorax absorbeat ergò barathrum,
Atque Deo pœnas tempus in omne luat.

When this Gregozie was deceased, shortlie after (least the ouerlong vacancie of the sacred and apostolike sée should prejudice the Romish prelasie and cleargie) the succession came to *Sixtus Quintus*, who according to the disposition of his predecessors) indeuoring to mainteine the title of his supremasie, and to beare rule ouer mens consciences, as though perempzorie authozitie had by priuilege passed vnto the bishops of that sée to controll and giue the checke to all christendome; one iot oz minute whereof the beast now residing at Rome not meaning to relinquish, but rather to fortifie and aduance, vndertooke to intermedle with princes of renowme, as proffering to bring them within the compasse of his iurisdiction: insomuch that falling to the extreame point of his antichristian power, he let flie (but as paper shot) his excommunications, thinking that if anie thing were able to daunt and appall the courages of mightie men, this were the waie. But herein *Sixtus Quintus* was foiled, for prose whereof behold an answer to the excommunication latelie denounced and published by the said *Sixtus Quintus*, pope of Rome so called, against two christian princes vndernamed, and sent to Rome as followeth.

Sixtus quintus pope of Rome next after Gregozie the good fellow a bloudie comedian.

Excommunication a perilous bolt to shoot at princes.

The answer of Henrie king of Nauarre, *and Henrie prince of Conde, to the excommunication of Sixtus Quintus, now pope, &c.*

HEnrie by the grace of God king of Nauarre, prince of Bearne, chiefe péere and prince of France, opposeth himselfe against the excommunication of *Sixtus Quintus*, terming himselfe pope of Rome, auouching the same to be false, and appealeth to the court of péeres of France, of whome he hath the reputation to be the first in degrée. And as concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falslie accused by the said excommunication, he auoweth and affirmeth, that my lord the pope, saluing his holinesse and reuerence, hath therein most falselie and wickedlie lied: and that the pope himselfe is an heretike, which he offereth to proue publikelie in a generall oz common councell lawfullie assembled. Where if he shall refuse to appeare and submit himselfe, as by his owne canons and decrées he is speciallie bound, the said king doth and will hold and repute him a verie antichrist, and in that qualitie of antichrist denounceth perpetuall warre against him: protesting in the meane time, the popes wicked sentence to be vnlawfull and insufficient, and to prosecute against him and his successors (for reparation of honor) reuenge of the iniurie thereby offered to him and all the princes of his bloud, as the lewdnesse of the act and the present necessitie dw require. For if in times past, the princes and kings his progenitors haue béene able to chastise the insolencie and arrogancie of such companions as the pope is, when they forgat their duties, and exceeded the limits of their vocation and place, confounding and intermixing their spirituall iurisdiction with the temporall: the said king of Nauarre being in state nothing inferior to them, doth hope, that God will giue him the grace to reuenge the wrong and iniurie hereby done to his souereigne, his familie and bloud, and to the supreame courts and seats of iustice and parlement in France, vpon the said pope and his successors: and to that end and purpose he implozeth the aid, succour, and assistance of all true christian kings, princes & common-weales, whome this case doth concerne, together with the allies and confederats of the crowne of France, against the tyrannie and vsurpation of the said pope, and of the associated conspirators against the state of their souereigne, enimies to God, France, and the common peace and quiet of christendome. The like protestation is also made by Henrie of Burbon prince of Conde, vnto whome the excommunication likewise reacheth. ¶ Fired and set vp vpon the Pasquile at Rome to the view of all men.

The king of Nauarre implozeth the aid of all christian kings, &c. against the tyranne and vsurpation of the pope.

¶ Thus farre of two popes, who though they be but prophane priests, & meere forreners to England both by birth and beléefe; yet sith they haue béene ouerbold to busie themselues with the affaires not onelie of other christian princes, but also with the state of our nation, wherinto they haue had to far an insight, by the aid of certeine vnnaturall and degenerat people; manie of them being fugitiues, and carieng about them euen in their bosome a conscience bespotted with sinnes of excéeding horror and heinousnesse: in consideration hereof, as also of other practises tending to an vniuersall desolation of truth and louers of truth, as also to the dissolution of ciuill policie and destruction of our most gratious souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth, the lords annointed and lieutenant, principall within hir owne dominions: what faithfull subiect can but note them; howbeit, none otherwise than the reports of them haue passed vnder manie eies and through manie hands, printed euen in forren speach, before the same were published in English. At which popes, meaning now to make a stop, we will come againe to matters of our owne.

The popes excommunications against princes are to be esteemed but as paper shot.

The king of Nauarre giueth the pope the lie.

Blacke gowns doone that haue lost thy solace and comfort.

The king of Nauarre denounceth perpetuall warre against the pope.

This their forgetfulnesse is wilfull, as agreeable to their ambitious humor.

¶ In this yeare 1585, euen in Aprill, at the pleasant prime, sir Walter Raleigh knight, being incouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the countrie, which they had discouered this yeare last past, and now by hir maiestie called Virginia, with knightlie courage counteruaileable to his double desire of honour, by vndertaking hard aduentures, furnished to his great charges eight sailes of all sorts, and immediatlie set them to the sea, ordeining sir Richard Grænfield his kinsman (a gentleman of verie good estimation both for his parentage and sundrie good vertues, who for loue he bare vnto sir Walter Raleigh, together with a disposition that he had to attempt honorable actions worthie of honour, was willing to hazard himselfe in this voiage) his lieutenant, inioining him either to tarrie himselfe, or to leaue some gentleman of good worth with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of Virginia, to begin an English colonie there. Who with the ships aforesaid, hauing in his companie sir John Arundell, Thomas Candish, Rafe Lane, Edward Gorges, John Stukle, Edward Stafford, Philip Amadis, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Heriot, and diuerse other gentlemen with a competent number of souldiers, departed from London in Aprill aforesaid. But after they had sailed certeine numbers of leagues at the sea, by force and violence of fowle weather they were separated one from another; so that sir Richard Grænefield being singled from his fleet, all alone arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola in the west Indies, about the middest of June following, where he determined resolutelie to remaine, vntill he had built a bote (for he had lost his owne bote in the tempests aforesaid.)

Abr. Flexchirographo D. G. militis.

Sir Walter Raleighs chargeable voiage to the foresaid land latelie discouered, and by the quéenes maiestie named Virginia.

Sir Richard Grænefield lieutenant to sir Walter Raleigh for this voiage.

Gentlemen that associated sir Richard Grænefield.

Sir Richard Grænefield singled from his companie by fowle weather arriueth in Hispaniola.

Whereupon immediatlie after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he esconsed himselfe in despite of the Spaniards, who by all possible means did there best indeuour by proffering of sundrie skirmishes,

The valiantnesse of sir Richard Grænefield against the Spaniards.

shes, to inforce him to retire to his ship: but he nothing appalled with their brags kept his ground. Twelue daies after his arriuall there, after Thomas Candish arriued at the same place, where sir Richard Grænfield was ensconsing of himselfe, to the great reioising both of themselues & their companies. The Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwithstanding their multitudes) to remoue these few resolute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlee, and in the same concluded an amitie, that the one nation might in safetie traffike with the other. Now when sir Richard Grænefield had taried in that Iland almost a moneth, and had built his bote, reuittelled himselfe, and laden his ships with horsses, mares, kine, sheep, swine, &c: to transport with him to Virginia (bicause these sorts of cattell heretofore were not to be found in that countrie) he departed thense; and in his waie he made discouerie of manie Ilands and hauens vpon the continent adioining, and arriued safelie in the new discouered countrie (where he met with the rest of his fleet that attended his comming thither) about the middest of Julie next insuing, not without great danger of shipwracke. For at the verie entrance into the harborough, his ship strake on the ground, and did beat so manie strokes vpon the sands, that if God had not miraculouslie deliuered him, there had beene no waie to auoid present death. In this danger his ship was so bruised, that the saltwater came so aboundantlie into hir, that the most part of his corne, salt, meale, rice, bisket, & other prouisions that he should haue left with them that remained behind him in the countrie was spoiled.

A parlee tending to the concluding of an amitie betweene the English and Spanish.

What kind of cattell for victelling sir Richard Grænefield transported to Virginia.

Sir Richard Grænefield meeteth with the rest of his fleet and is in danger of shipwracke.

Sir Richard Grænefield establisheth an English colonie in Virginia by commission.

After he had remained there certeine daies, according to his commission from sir Walter Raleigh, he began to establish a colonie, appointing maister Rafe Lane (a gentleman of good account) generall of those English which were to remaine there, being in all to the number of an hundred and seauen persons, amongst whom diuerse gentlemen remained; namelie, Philip Amadis, Edward Stafford, Heruin, Kendall, Prideaux, Acton, Heriot, and others. When he had taken sufficient order for the establishing of maister Lane and his companie aforesaid, leauing with them as much of all prouisions as his plentie would giue him leaue, he weighed anchor for Engl nd. But in his returne, not hauing sailed manie leagues from the coast of Virginia, he descried a tall ship of foure hundred tuns or thereabouts, making the same course that he did, vnto whom he gaue chase, and in few houres by goodnesse of saile ouertooke, and by violence wan, richlie laden with sugar, hides, spices, and some quantitie of gold, siluer, and pearle: she was the viceadmerall of the fleet of *Sancto Domingo* that were for Spaine. After this good fortune, hauing a merie gale, not manie daies after he arriued at Plimmouth in October next insuing; where sir Walter Raleigh meeting with him, did presentlie resolue vpon another voiage, to supplie Rafe Lane, and his companie that were left with him in Virginia, the next spring following: which accordinglie was performed with all expedition.]

Sir Richard Grænefield descrieth a Spanish ship, chaseth and surpriseth hir.

An other voiage resolued vpon by sir Walter Raleigh for the supplie of those that were left in Virginia.

In Aprill about the fourteenth daie, by commandement of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, the citizens of London appointed out of the companies of the same citie to the number of foure thousand men, with armour, ensignes, drums, fifes, and other furniture for the warres, the greater part whereof (or almost all of them) were shot, the other were pikes and halberds in faire corslets: all those to be trained vp vnder expert capteins, with sergeants of the bands, viuelers, and other necessarie officers, mustered and skirmished dailie at the Miles end, and in saint Georges field, and on the eightenth daie of Maie (hauing ouernight set forward out of saint Georges field) mustered in the parke at Grænwich, and skirmished before the quenes maiestie, who gaue to them great thankes for their actiuenesse and paines: sith hir maiestie might perceiue the appliablenesse of those hir people, euen in passime not void of perill, to delight hir eies and reioise hir hart; esteeming nothing too deere to part withall, so it might anie waies concerne dutie to hir highnesse.

Foure thousand men trained vp with shot in the citie of London.

Skirmish before the queens maiestie at Grænewich.

In discharge whereof as she hath no forwarder subiects in hir land, so to discouer, inquire, and persecute the disloiall none readier, euen to the hazzard of their liues, for the safetie of hir life, which is the life of the whole land, and the prop of true religion: in respect whereof we saie and praie with the well wishing subiect, that vpon seeing & hearing of hir highnesse, fell into such an admiration of hir excellencie, that he left these verses among manie after his godlie death:

Inclyte da longum dici, Dens, Elisabetha Est,
Elisabetha tua Est, religióque tua Est:
Da Deus haud vnquam dici, Fuit Elisabetha,
Elisabetha Fuit, religióque Fuit.

The Londoners commended.

¶ On the nineteenth of Maie being Ascension eeue, Edward Wotton esquier, descended of a worthie parentage, was ambassador into Scotland, to establish a league of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland: whome I will now leaue in that countrie executing his commission, and turne my pen to some persons of that surname, who for their singularitie of wit & lerning, for their honour and gouernement in and of the realme about the prince, and elsewhere at home and abroad, deserue such commendations, that they merit *Nineo signari lapillo*. In treating of whome I will neither make mention of the antiquitie of that worshipfull familie from the first originall, nor yet treat of Richard Wootton, liuing in the time of Edward the first, the father of John Wootton coroner of Dunstable an officer of great account in those daies and father to an other John Wootton, &c: nor of Richard Wootton or Wocton, an officer of the exchekar in the time of Edward the second, nor of sir Nicholas Wootton knight, liuing about the daies of Richard the second, nor of anie other Woottons whereof this Edward Wootton is descended: but onelie of such Woottons his ancestors, who of late time liued within the compasse of my memorie, and were the sonnes of sir Robert Wootton of Boton Malherbe in Kent knight, deseruing not to be forgotten, in that he was father to two such worthie sonnes, as I do not remember that euer England nourished at one time for like honour, disposition of mind, fauour and seruice to their countrie.

Fr. Thin.

A league of amitie betweene England and Scotland established: Edward Wootton esquier ambassador.

The Woottons an ancient familie, and of speciall name in diuerse kings reignes.

Sir Robert Wootton of Boton Malherbe in Kent, a man of singular note.

The sonnes of this sir Robert Wootton, whereof we intend to intreat, were sir Edward Wootton knight the eldest, and Nicholas Wootton doctor of both lawes the yonger sonne. Whereof the first being a man of great estimation in the countrie for his orderlie and wise managing of the priuat affaires of his countrie of Kent, was for his fidelitie and good carriage in small things made lord and ruler of great things. For king Henrie the eight, vnderstanding the grauitie of the man, his rare wit, deepe iudgement, great experience, and other parts required in a sound councellor, did admit this sir Edward into his owne bosome, and made him of his priuie councell: whose modest mind being so farre estranged from desire of honour, as that he would not accept it by great inforcement (a vertue verie rare, and such as declareth a noble mind iudiciallie grounded vpon the truth of diuine philosophie) refused the honorable place of the chancellorship of England, accounting that the vertue of the mind made a man honorable, and not the honorable place. For

Sir Edward Wootton and Nicholas Wootton doctor of both lawes, the rare sonnes of a rare father.

Sir Edward Wootton one of king Henrie the eights priuie councell.

Sir Edward Wootton refuseth to be lord chancellor of England.

as

saith saint Chrysostome; *Honor verus virtus animi est, hic honor nec à Cæsaribus præstatur, neque adulatione conquiritur, neque pecunia præparatur; nihil fucati in se habet, nihil simulati, nihil occulti huius honoris successor est, nullus est accusator: nullus ingratus.*

Crisost. de reparatione lapsi.

Wherefore not being ambitious of honour (after which the best do often hunt, although such greedie desire of honour and ambition be, as saith Barnard, *Futile malum, secretum virus, pestis occulta, doli artifex, mater hypocrisis, liuoris parens, vitiorum origo, tinea sanctitatis, excæcatrix cordium, ex remedijs morbos creans, ex medicina languorem generans*) did further increase his honour and aduance him to greater credit; as appeareth by this, that king Henrie the eight, whom this man had long and faithfullie serued in his life time, made him one of his executors, and the disposer of his testament at the time of his death; with whom also in the same authoritie he ioined his brother doctor Nicholas Wotton, a man of no lesse merit than the other, and rightlie deseruing to be here ioined in remembrance with his brother after their deaths, since almost equall honor, like loue, the same authoritie in the common-weale, one bloud, and one Christ did ioine them togither in perfect amitie during their liues: of which Nicholas Wotton I will not speake anie more (except that as his brother refused the chancellorship, so he in the beginning of the reigne of this queene refused the bishoprike of Canturburie) but that which the worthie gentleman Thomas Wotton of Boton Malherbe esquire now liuing (sonne to the said sir Edward, and nephew to the said Nicholas, this Thomas being a great and fast fauorer of his countrie, not vnthankefull vnto him wherefore) hath set downe in a statelie and rich tome of curious workemanship, formed after the order of a pyramis, and placed in the church of Canturburie, on which is ingraued in a faire stone of marble this epitaph following: wherin his birth, his parents, his honors at home, his ambassages abroad, and other things necessarie the knowledge are faithfullie set downe.

Leonard. in ser. quadrages.

Nicholas Wotton doctor of both lawes refuseth to be archbishop of Canturburie: a rare note in him (as also in his brother) of contentation with their estates.

Thomas Wotton of Boton Malherbe (sonne to the said sir Edward) a great regarder of his progenitors eltmanō.

Epitaphium celebre Nicholai Wottoni primi & monasteriorū dissolutionem Cantuar. decani.

Nicholaus Woottonus Roberti Woottoni equitis aurati ex Anna Belknappa filius, vtriusq; iuris doctor, ecclesiæ huius primus itémq; metropolitanæ ecclesiæ diui Petri Eboracensis decanus, Henrico 8. Eduardo 6. Mariæ & Elisabethæ Angliæ regibus à secretis consilijs; ad Carolum 5. Cæsarem bis, ad Philippum Hispaniarum regem semel, ad Franciscum primū Francorum regem semel, ad Henricum secundum eius filium ter, ad Mariæ Hungariæ reginam Belgarum præsidem semel, ad Gulielmum Cleuensem ducem bis, legatione functus. Renouatæ pacis inter Anglos, Francos, & Scotos, inter Guinas & Arderam anno. 1540. similiter, & ad castrum Cameracense anno. 1559. Denq; Edinburgi Scotiæ anno 1560. oratorum vnus, hic tandem ferè septuagenarius requiescit. Hæc ille ante mortem & ante morbum quasi fatalem diem præsentiens, & cygneam cantionem propheticè canens, sua manu in museo scripta reliquit.

Qui apud tales principes (diuina prouidentia gubernante) laudabiliter, & in tot ac tantis causis (quarum magnitudo grauissima, vtilitas publica fuit) feliciter bonam vitæ suæ partem consumpsit; eum virum sapientem & experientissimum ipsa inuidia indicare debet. Quàm semper ab omni contentione honorum fuerit alienus, illud declarat, quòd ad hanc ecclesiasticam dignitatem non ambitione vlla sua inflammatus, nec amicorum opera vsus, aspirauit: sed eam vtramq; Henricus octauus (hominis merito & virtute prouocatus) vltro detulit. Cumq; idem rex illustrissimus morbum læthalem ingraueſcere persentiret, & Eduardi principis sanè excellentissimi, adhuc tandem pueri & reipublicæ administrandæ imparis, imbecillam ætatem senili prudentia secretioris consilij sui, regendam existimaret, ille instituit, hunc Nicholaum (absentem tunc in Francia legatum) & vnum esse voluit. Eduardi regi iam medio regni curriculo propè confecto, vnus è primarijs secretarijs fuit, quem locum tenere potuisset, nisi & suis & assiduis amicorum precibus abdicandi veniam impetrasset. Corpus illi erat gracile quidem & paruum sed erectum, habitudo sana, vultus liberalis, victus exquisitus, quem semel tantùm in die capere consueuerat: valitudo adeo firma vt rarò morbum aliquem sentiret: animus verò totus libris ac literis dicatus: artium medicinæ, iurisprudentiæ, & theologiæ studio intentus: linguarum Romanæ, Italicæ, Gallicæ, & Germanicæ inferioris cognitione pulchrè exornatus. Ita vir iste genere clarus, legationibus clarior, domi ac foris clarissimus, honore florens, labore fractus, ætate confectus; postquam decanus huius ecclesiæ annis 25. dies 293. præfuisset, Londini Ianuarij 26. anno nostræ salutis 1566. pie & suauiter in Domino obdormiuit. Thomæ Woottono nepote hærede relicto, qui ei hoc monumentum non honoris ergò quo abundauit viuus & floreſcit mortuus, sed amoris causa quem memoria colet vt debet sempiterna, conſecrauit.

Rerum quarundam in isto Woottono memorabilium luculenta descriptio.

Videlicet ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis.

Monumentum in demortui memoriam amoris ergò extructū

In which epitaph it appeareth what he was, & how greatlie learned and reuerenced for the same. Wherfore néeding not to speake anie more of him, sith I shall not be able with due maiestie of stile to expresse his worthinesse; I will yet, leauing what otherwise his merit might challenge to be spoken, note one strange and rare thing, which to my remembrance neuer happened to anie one man before the same; being this, that he had not onelie béene councellor to foure kings and quéenes of England following in succession of time, but also that he had béen thirteene seuerall times ambassador and orator to diuerse princes for the affaires of the publike wealth, and the princes honor. Thus leauing this worthie doctor with his nephue Thomas Wotton, father to Edward Wotton sent ambassador to Scotland, which occasioned me to treat thus much of the Wottons, I conclude, that it is a singular blessing of God, not commonlie giuen to euerie race, to be beautified with such great and succeeding honor in the descents of the familie. Whereof this Edward Wotton now liuing, hath in the life of his father giuen great proofe of continuance to descend to their posteritie, in that he in these his yoong yeares, hath béene (after his trauell ouer the most part of Europe) twise imploied in ambassages for the seruice of his countrie; first to the king of Portingall, & now to the king of Scots: with whome I will at this time set end to this discourse of the Wottons.]

This is touched in the former epitaph among other his preferments.

Commendation of Edward Wotton, in respect of his great trauelling ouer the most part of Europe and his imploiments in ambassages &c.

On the one and twentith date of June, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, prisoner in the Tower of London vpon vehement suspicion of high treason, was there found dead, and also of his owne diuelish intent, and of his malice before pretended to haue murthered himselfe, as more manifestlie and at large may appeare, by an inquisition made by a substantiall iurie, taken before the coroner as followeth verbatim with the record.

Earle of Northumberland found to haue murthered himselfe in the tower of London.

¶ A copie of the said inquisition.

A quest of inquirie vpon his violent & voluntarie death.

AN inquisition taken at the citie of London, that is within the tower of London, in the parish of Alhallowes Barking, in the ward of the Tower of London, on Mondaie being the one and twentith date of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith &c, the seuen and twentith: before William Squier gentleman coroner to our said soueraigne ladie the quéene within the citie of London and the liberties of the same, vpon the view of the bodie of Henrie Persie knight, late earle of Northumberland, late prisoner there within the Tower of London aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason by him supposed to be done, there lieng dead, and slaine: by the othes of Nicholas Wheeler, Simon Horsepole, Thomas Gardener, William Leaueson, Owen Morgan, Henrie Lodge, William Abraham, William Horne, Thomas Russell, John Porter, Robert Dowe,

Fr. Thin.

A league offensiue and defensiue betweene England and Scotland established: Edward Wotton esquier ambassador.

The Wottons an ancient familie, and of speciall name in diuerse kings reignes.

Sir Robert Wotton of Boton Malherbe in Kent, a man of singular note.

Sir Edward Wotton and Nicholas Wotton doctor of both lawes, the rare sonnes of a rare father.

Sir Edward Wotton one of king Henrie the eights priuie councell.

Sir Edward Wotton refuseth to be lord chancellor of England.

The Londoners commended.

Dowe, Anthonie Hall, William Curtis, Thomas Wood, Matthew Dolman, Thomas Martin, Richard Slefoꝛd, John Trot, Philip Smith, Thomas Taylor, and Henrie Bowdler, of good and lawfull men of the same ward, and of three other wards to the same ward next adioining, as the maner and custome is in the citie afoꝛesaid, to inquire how, in what maner, and when the said Henrie Persie late earle of Noꝛthumberland came to his death.

The verdict of the iurie deliuered vpon their oths.

Which iurie doo saie vpon their oths, that on the one & twentith daie of this instant moneth of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defendoꝛ of the faith, &c: the seuen and twentith afoꝛesaid, and long befoꝛe the foꝛesaid Henrie late earle of Noꝛthumberland pꝛisoner in the Tower of London situat in the parish of Alhallows Barking afoꝛesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London afoꝛesaid, foꝛ suspicion of high treason afoꝛesaid, by him against our souereigne ladie the quéene supposed to be committed; and the foꝛesaid earle so remaining pꝛisoner, and being placed in a certeine chamber within the Tower of London afoꝛesaid, there pꝛisoner remaining, imagining and intending himselfe diuelishlie and feloniouslie to kill and murther befoꝛe the foꝛesaid one & twentith daie of June: that is to saie, the sixteenth daie of June in the seuen and twentith yeare afoꝛesaid, did pꝛepare a certeine dag of iron and steele of the value of ten shillings: and also certeine bullets of lead, and a certeine quantitie of gunpowder, conteined in a certeine small boꝛ, and caused the foꝛesaid gun, the bullets of lead and the gunpowder to be bꝛought into the foꝛesaid chamber vnto him the same earle of Noꝛthumberland, and to be deliuered to the same earle then and there by the hands of James a Pꝛice yeoman, to execute his diuelish and felonious purpose and intention.

The meanes that the earle made and pꝛepared to destroie himselfe.

Which dag afoꝛesaid, the foꝛesaid earle caused secretlie to be hidden in a certeine mattris vnder the bolster of his bed in the chamber afoꝛesaid, and then and there, the foꝛesaid one and twentith daie of June in the seuen and twentith yeare afoꝛesaid, betweene the houres of twelue and one in the night of the foꝛesaid one and twentith daie of June, thinking and intending to pꝛosecute and follow his diuelish intention and purpose afoꝛesaid, did bolt the doꝛe of the foꝛesaid chamber, and the inner part of his said chamber towards himselfe, least anie man should foꝛsee oꝛ withstand his diuelish, felonious, and malicious intent: and the said doꝛe of his foꝛesaid chamber, being so bolted; the same earle then and there into his bed himselfe did laie; and vpon this afterward, that is to saie, the foꝛesaid one and twentith daie of June, in the seuen & twentith yeare afoꝛesaid, about the houres afoꝛesaid, within the Tower of London afoꝛesaid, situat and being in the parish of Alhallows Barking afoꝛesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London afoꝛesaid, not hauing the almightie God oꝛ his feare befoꝛe his eies, but being moued and seduced by the instigation of the diuell, of his malice afoꝛe pꝛetended; did take vp into his hands the foꝛesaid dag of iron and steele, then and there made readie, charged with gunpowder, and three bullets of lead, and the foꝛesaid dag to the left part of his breast neere vnto the pappe of the same part of his brest, then and there feloniouslie and diuelishlie did put, and vpon the same part of his brest the foꝛesaid dag did discharge.

This consenteth with the discourse following, wherein the same matter is more largelie handled.

The order of the action that was the earls destruction.

By reason of the violence of which gunpowder, and of the foꝛesaid three bullets of lead, the foꝛesaid earle into his bodie and heart, and through his chinebone, euen into his right shoulder, himselfe then and there with the foꝛesaid bullets of lead feloniouslie and voluntarilie did strike; giuing vnto himselfe then and there one mooꝛtall wound, of the depth of twelue inches, and of the bꝛeadth of two inches: of which mooꝛtall wound afoꝛesaid, the foꝛesaid earle within the Tower of London afoꝛesaid, the daie, yeare, pꝛish, and ward afoꝛesaid, instantlie died. And so the iurie doth saie vpon their oths afoꝛesaid, that the foꝛesaid earle, the daie, yeare, and place aboue written, of his diuelish intent afoꝛesaid, and of his malice befoꝛe pꝛetended, felonioulie and voluntarilie himselfe did kill and murther in manner and foꝛme afoꝛesaid, against the peace of our souereigne ladie the quéene, hir crowne and dignitie. But what goods and cattels the foꝛesaid earle in the time of the felonie and murther to himselfe afoꝛesaid committed, had, oꝛ as yet hath, the iurie knew not, &c: in witnesse whereof, &c.

The bꝛeadth and depth of his wound.

¶ This was the verdict of the iuroꝛs, whereby the manner how, and the matter whereby the earle dispatched himselfe is trulie declared: which being taken foꝛ truth (as deseruing no lesse, the parties welwoꝛthie of credit) it remained to pꝛouide foꝛ the bestowing of his wꝛetched carcase, which on the three and twentith daie of June was buried in saint Peters church within the said Tower of London. This was the end of that graceless earle, the manner of whose murther, and part of his treasons are here dilated, as the same was publikelie deliuered in the Starchamber, and after published in a booke intituled:

Henrie earle of Noꝛthumberland buried in the Tower.

A true and summarie report of the declaration of some part of the earle of Northumberlands treasons, deliuered publikelie in the court at the Starchamber by the lord Chancellor and others of hir maiesties most honoꝛable priuie councell, & councell learned, by hir maiesties speciall commandement, togither with the examinations & depositions of sundrie persons touching the maner of his most wicked and violent murther committed vpon himselfe with his owne hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 daie of June, 1585.

MAlice, among other essentiall pꝛoperties pertaining to hir ouglie nature, hath this one not inferioꝛ to the rest and the woꝛst, incredulitie, wherewith the commonlie possesseth the minds and affections of all those that are infected with hir, so blinding the eies & iudgement of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see oꝛ perceiue the bꝛight beames of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, pꝛofe, circumstance and pꝛobabilitie. It is said that no truth passeth abꝛoad vnaccompanied with hir contrarie; and as they go, truth is euer constreined to yeeld the pꝛecedence and pꝛeheminence to hir yokefellow falshood, whose lodging is alwaies first made and pꝛepared without a harbenger in the coꝛrupt nature of mankind, by whome she is first receiued, interteined and harboꝛed at all times: whereof in our dailie experience there happen manie and dangerous demonstrations, especiallie in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse oꝛ accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

Incredulitie an essentiall pꝛoperti of malice.

Truth and falshood commonlie concur & are oppolite.

There was of late deliuered in publike by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certeine treasons pꝛactised by the late earle of Noꝛthumberland, of the maner of his vntimelie death, being with his owne hand murthered in the Tower, and of the causes that wꝛought him thereunto. The particularities whereof are such and so manie, as foꝛ the helpe of my memoꝛie (comming then to the Starchamber by occasion, and not looking foꝛ anie such pꝛesence of the nobilitie and priuie councell as I found there at that time, and not looking foꝛ anie such cause of that nature to haue béene handled there that daie) I toke notes of the seuerall matters

An ingredience into the historie of Noꝛthumberland.

ters declared by the lord chancellor, maiſter attourneie, and ſolicitor generall, the lord chiefe baron, and maiſter vicechamberlaine: for (as I remember) they ſpake in order as they are here marſhalled, and therefore I place them in this ſort, and not according to their precedence in dignitie.

Upon the hearing of the treaſons with their proofs and circumſtances, and the deſperat maner of the earles deſtruction deliuered in that place, and by perſons of that qualitie, I ſuppoſed no man to haue bene ſo void of iudgement or the vſe of common reaſon, that would haue doubted of anie one point or particle thereof, vntill it was my chance (falling in companie with diuerſe perſons at ſundrie times, as well about the citie of London as abroad) to heare manie men report variablie and corruptlie of the maner and matter of this publike declaration, poſſeſſing the minds and opinions of the people with manifeſt vntruths: as, that the earle had bene vniuſtlie deteined in priſon without proofe or iuſt cauſe of ſuſpicion of treaſon: and that he had bene murthered by deuiſe and practiſe of ſome great enimies, and not deſtroied by himſelfe. Theſe ſlanderous reports haue miniſtred vnto me this occaſion to ſet forth vnto thy view and conſideration (gentle reader) this ſhort collection of the ſaid treaſons and murther, as neere vnto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permit me, with the view of ſome of the examinations them ſelues concerning this cauſe for my better ſatisfaction ſince obteined. Which I haue vndertaken for two reſpects: the one, to conuince the falſe and malicious impreſſions and conſtructions receiued and made of theſe actions, by ſuch as are in heart enimies to the happie eſtate of his maieſties preſent gouernement: the other, becauſe it may be thought neceſſarie for the preuenting of a further contagion like to grow (by this creeping infection) in the minds of ſuch as are apt (though otherwiſe indifferent) in theſe and the like rumors, to receiue the bad as the good, and they the moſt in number. Wherein if I haue ſeemed more bold than wiſe, or intermedled my ſelfe in matters aboue my reach, and not apperteining vnto me, I craue pardon where it is to be aſked, and commit my ſelfe to thy friendlie interpretation to be made of my ſimple trauell and dutifull meaning herein.

Upon the three and twentith daie of June laſt, aſſembled in the court of Starchamber, ſir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, William lord Burleigh lord treaſurer of England, George earle of Shrewſburie lord marſhall of England, Henrie earle of Derbie, Robert earle of Leiceſter, Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord chamberlaine, Henrie lord Hunſdon lord gouernor of Berwike, ſir Francis Knollis knight treaſurer, ſir James Croſt knight comptroller of his maieſties houſhold, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine to the queenes maieſtie, the lord chiefe iuſtice of his maieſties bench, the maiſter of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the ercheker, and others. The audience verie great of knights, eſquiers, and men of other qualitie, the lord chancellor began briefelie and ſummarilie to declare, that whereas Henrie late earle of Northumberland, for diuerſe notable treaſons and practiſes by him taken in hand, to the danger not onelie of his maieſties roiall perſon, but to the perill of the whole realme, had bene long deteined in priſon, and looking into the guilt of his owne conſcience, and perceiuing by ſuch meanes of intelligence, as he by corrupting of his keepers and other like deuiſes had obteined, that his treaſons were by ſundrie examinations and confeſſions diſcouered, grew thereby into ſuch a deſperat eſtate, as that thereupon he had moſt wickedlie deſtroied & murthered himſelfe. Which being made knowen to the lords of his maieſties priuie councell, order was thereupon taken, and direction giuen to the lord chiefe iuſtice of England, the maiſter of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the ercheker, to examine the maner and circumſtances of his death, which they with all good indeuor and diligence had accordinglie performed. And leaſt through the ſiniſter meanes of ſuch perſons as be euill affected to the preſent eſtate of his maieſties gouernement, ſome bad and vntrue conceipts might be had as well of the cauſe of the earles deteinement, as of the maner of his death: it was therefore thought neceſſarie to haue the truth thereof made knowen in that preſence: and then he required his maieſties learned councell there preſent to deliuer at large the particularities both of the treaſons, and in what ſort the earle had murthered himſelfe. Then began John Popham eſquier, his maieſties attourneie generall, as followeth.

The earle of Northumberland about the time of the laſt rebellion in the north, in the eleuenth yeare of his maieſties reigne (then called by the title of Henrie Perſie knight) had vndertaken the conueieng awaie of the Scotiſh queene: for the which (as appeareth by a record of the fourteenth yeare of his maieſties reigne) in the court of his maieſties bench he was indicted, he confeſſed the offenſe, and put himſelfe to his maieſties mercies. At which time, vpon his ſaid confeſſion, ſubmiſſion, and faithfull promiſe of his dutie and allegiance to his highneſſe from thenceforth, the queenes maieſtie of hir mercifull nature was pleaſed, not to looke into his offenſe with the extremitie of hir lawes; but dealt therein as by waie of contempt onelie, as may appeare by the record: the effect whereof was then ſhewed in the court, vnder the hand of one of the clerkes of his maieſties ſaid bench, *In hæc verba.*

An extract of the ſaid record conteining *the ſaid earles indictment.*

MEmorandum, that Henrie Perſie late of Tinmouth in the countie of Northumberland knight, was indicted in the terme of Eaſter, in the fourteenth yeare of his maieſties reigne, for that hee with diuers others did conſpire for the deliuering of the queene of Scots out of the cuſtodie of the erle of Shrewſburie. Upon which indictment the ſame Henrie Perſie did confeſſe the offenſe, and did put himſelfe to the queenes mercie: and thereupon iudgement was after giuen by the court, that the ſaid Henrie ſhould paie to the queene for a fine for his ſaid offenſe, fiue thouſand marks, as appeareth by the record thereof in court.

Per Micha. 14. & 15. Eliſabethæ reginæ, rotulo quinto inter placita reginæ. Concordat cum recordo.

Per Io. Iue.

By this record it maie appeare that the earle had his hand in that rebellion. But for a further proofe thereof, it is moſt manifeſtlie diſcouered in a certeine tract written by the biſhop of Roſſe (wherein he ſheweth how faithfullie he behaued himſelfe in the managing of thoſe treaſons, at and about the time of that rebellion) that the ſaid earle was in effect as farre plunged into the ſame, as the late earle his brother, howſoeuer he wound himſelfe out of the danger thereof at that time. Notwithſtanding theſe traitorous practiſes, the queenes maieſtie was contented to remit all within a ſhort time, and then accepted

Dom. 1585.

The breadth and depth of his wound.

Examinants appointed for and about the manner of Northumberlands ſelfe murther.

The manner of the earles making awaie of himſelfe not generallie knowen.

Maiſter attornie, named by Iohn Popham diſcouereth the earles treaſonable practiſes.

Henrie earle of Northumberland buried in the Tower.

The cauſe mouing the collection of Northumberlands treaſons and ſelf-murther was publiſhed.

Incredulitie an eſſentiall propertie of malice.

Perſons of honour and worſhip aſſembled in the Starchamber, in whoſe audience Northumberlands cauſe was cancelled.

Truth and falſhood commonlie concurre are oppoſite.

An ingreadience into the hiſtorie of Northumberland.

The erle confeſſeth his offenſe, and is put to 5000 marks fine.

The earle is dealer in rebellion as his brother (therefore executed) was.

cepted moſt gratiouſlie of him both in honor and fa-
uor, though vnworthilie beſtowed vpon him, for that
he vtterlie forgetting thoſe graces and fauors recei-
ued at hir maieſties mercifull hands, with a grace-
leſſe reſolution was contented to enter into a new
plot now latelie contriued, not onelie for the deli-
uering of the Scotiſh queene, but for the inuading
of the whole realme, the ouerthrow of the gouern-
ment, aſwell concerning the ſtate of religion, as o-
therwiſe, the danger of hir maieſties ſacred per-
ſon, and aduancing of the ſaid Scotiſh queene to the
regall crowne and ſcepter of this realme, whereun-
to hir maieſtie is lineallie and lawfullie borne and
deſcended, and wherein God of his mercie contí-
nue hir long in happie ſtate of gouernement, to the
increaſe of hir owne glorie, and the comfort of hir
louing and obedient ſubiects.

A ſumme of the traitorous purpoſes whereunto the earle was entered with a graceleſſe reſolution.

Then did maiſter Atturneie enter into the parti-
cularities of the treaſons, leauing manie parts
thereof vntouched, becauſe the caſe ſtood ſo as it was
not then conuenient to reueale them (as he ſaid) in
reſpect that they touched ſome other perſons vndealt
withall at that time, ſhewing that Throckemortons
treaſons were not old, but freſh in euerie mans me-
morie, and how far forth they reached vnto the earle,
he declared. And for that the treaſons of Throcke-
morton tended eſpeciallie to the inuading of the
realme with forren forces, the purpoſe of that in-
uaſion long before intended, is proued by ſundrie
examinations and confeſſions taken here within
the realme, aſwell of hir maieſties owne ſubiects as
others, by letters intercepted, written from and to
the conſpirators abroad and at home, and by other
good aduertiſements and intelligences had from
forren parts diſcouering the ſame. He declared that
in a letter written from doctor Sanders to doctor
Allen out of Spaine, in the yeare 1577, it is ſet
downe among other things, that the ſtate of Chri-
ſtendome ſtood vpon the ſtout aſſailing of England.

The treaſons of Throckmorton communicable with the earle.

That in a letter ſent to the ſaid Allen from Rome,
touching audience giuen by the pope to the ambaſ-
ſadors of certeine forren princes, betweene the pope
& whom a league was agreed on againſt the queenes
maieſtie, there were incloſed certeine articles con-
teining in effect, that the realme ſhould be inuaded
with twentie thouſand men at the charge of the ſaid
pope and princes, that hir maieſtie ſhould be depo-
ſed, and ſome Engliſh catholike elected king. That
it was confeſſed that the comming ouer of ſo ma-
nie prieſts into the realme, was to win great num-
bers to the catholike partie, to ioine (if opportunitie
ſerued) either with forren inuaſion, or with tumult
at home. That at Narbonne in Prouince, there
was met an Engliſhman, being the head preacher
there, who gaue intelligence to one of hir maieſties
ſubiects, that the realme ſhould ſhortlie be inuaded
by a forren king, and the popiſh religion reſtored:
and ſaid further, that prieſts came into England and
diſperſed themſelues in countries, to make their
partie ſtrong. A meſſage was ſent in Nouember
1581, to doctor Allen from a ſubiect of this realme,
by a ſeminarie prieſt then returning beyond the
ſeas: that whereas he had receiued word from Al-
len at Alhallontide before, that men and all things
were in a readineſſe, if the place of landing might
be knowne: that Allen ſhould forthwith ſend word
whether things were in ſuch readineſſe or not: and if
they were, he would then ſend him ſuch perfect in-
ſtructions as he could. One Paine executed for
treaſon, confeſſed that this realme could not conti-
nue in the ſtate wherein it was, for that the pope
had a ſpeciall care thereof, and would in ſhort time
either by forren princes, or by ſome other meanes
worke a change of things here.

An inuaſion of this land by twentie thouſand men concluded vpon.

Paine with all of his accurſſed ſtampe ſhall (I hope in God) be found falſe prophets.

From hence, maiſter Atturneie fell into the
treaſons confeſſed by Francis Throckemorton,
ſhewing that the ſtate of this realme had beene of-
ten preſented to the conſideration of a forren prince,
who after long hearkening to the motion, had reſol-
ued to yeeld what furtherance he might, and to giue
all aids neceſſarie for the reforming of religion, ſo
they might be backed by ſuch as were well affected
within this countrie. That the duke of Guiſe had
ſolicited for two yeares together the pope and other
princes, to ſupplie him with forces: but being croſ-
ſed by the death of a great perſonage, it was now
growne to this paſſe, if there could be a partie found
in England to ioine in that action, and conuenient
places and meanes for landing, and other things
neceſſarie, there ſhould be a ſupplie for Guiſe of for-
ren ſtrength. Francis Throckemorton was recom-
mended from beyond the ſea to Don Barnardino
de Mendoza, ambaſſador reſident for the Spaniſh
king here in England, who acquainted Throcke-
morton what plot was laid for the enterprize of the
duke of Guiſe, and that he was willed to conferre
with Throckemorton in the matter, who thereupon
acquainted the ſaid ambaſſador with the plot of the
hauens, and with the noble men and gentlemen
that he had ſet downe as fit to be dealt withall in
that cauſe. Throckemorton ſaid, that the bottome
of this enterprize (which was not to be knowne to
manie) was, that if a toleration of religion might
not be obteined without alteration of the gouerne-
ment, that then the gouernment ſhould be altered,
the queene remoued. That the Scotiſh queene was
made acquainted from the duke of Guiſe with the
intention to relieue hir by theſe forces.

Francis Throckemorton recommended to Don Barnardino de Mendoza & made acquainted with that which coſt him his life.

In the Month parts ſhould be purpoſed inuaſion of this land haue been made.

It was in debate betweene Throckemorton and
the Spaniſh ambaſſador, how the Scotiſh queene
might be deliuered, as by an enterprize to be made
with a certeine number of horſſes: and it was told
Francis Throckemorton by his brother Thomas
Throckemorton, that it was a principall matter in
debate beyond the ſeas, how ſhe might be deliuered
with ſafetie: the lacke of reſolution wherin, was the
principall ſtaie of the execution of the attempt of
inuaſion. Mendoza told Francis Throckemorton
about Bartholomewtide 1583, that one Pope
was come into England to ſound the earle of Nor-
thumberland, and other principall men in Suſſex:
and about the end of September following, the
ſame Mendoza told him, that Pope was Charles
Paget, and that he came not onelie to ſound the
men, but to view the places, the hauens, the prouiſi-
ons and meanes, and neereneſſe and commoditie of
mens abidings that ſhould ioine with the forren
forces. It was deuiſed, that ſuch noble men and o-
thers, as would be contented to aſſiſt the forren for-
ces (being iuſtices of peace & of credit in their coun-
tries) might by colour of their authoritie leuie men
as for hir maieſties defenſe, and yet emploie them
to aſſiſt the forren forces. The lord Paget was
made acquainted with this deuiſe, and anſwered,
that it was a good courſe, and that he had thought
vpon it before. Mendoza told Throckemorton, that
Charles Paget had beene in Suſſex, and had ſpoken
with thoſe that were there, and that he came to
moue the earle of Northumberland and others. The
night before Throckemorton was apprehended, he
came to the lord Paget, and deſired him that he
would not acquaint the earle of Northumberland
and certeine others (whome he named) with ſuch
matters as had paſſed betweene them two, touching
the practiſe of this inuaſion: and the lord Paget wil-
led him to deale as wiſelie for his part as he would
doo for himſelfe, and all ſhould be well: but (quoth
the lord Paget) the earle of Northumberland
knoweth

Francis Throckmorton ſtandeth in ſundrie examinations and confeſſions to confirme the report of this practiſe, ſo pa. 1374, 1375.

Charles Paget comming ouer about the proſecution & practiſe of the ſaid enterprize proued.

The earle examined and found therein a faiſer and double.

Francis Throckmorton deſireth the lord Paget not to make the earle priuie to the conſultation of them two.

knoweth you well enough. It was once agreed among the confederats, that the duke of Guise should land in Sussex, being ouer against Dieppe and Normandie: which after was misliked, because those parts laie too neere his maiesties greatest force and store, and that the people thereabout for the most part were protestants.

Maister attourneie shewed further, that in summer last, there was taken vpon the seas, sailing towards Scotland, a Scotish Jesuit, about whome there was found a discourse written in Italian of a like enterprise to be attempted against England, which should haue beene executed in September or October then last past: wherein assurance is made that the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Dacres that is dead, whom they termed lord Dacres, and of all the catholike lords and gentlemen in the north parts (where the invasion should haue beene attempted) setting it downe, that it is not said by coniecture that these men are assured, but that it is certeinlie knowne that they will ioine with the forren forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed that the priests dispersed in the realme, can dispose of the other catholikes of the realme, as they shall be ordered: and that the popes excommunication should be renewed and pronounced against his maiestie, and all those that shall take his part: and that all such should be holden traitors that did not ioine with that armie by a daie.

In the North parts should the purposed invasion of this land haue beene made.

When maister attourneie had thus proued the purpose of invasion, he proceeded to the proofe of Charles Pagets comming ouer about the practise and prosecution of that enterprise. And first, that Paget came to Petworth in September 1583, was secretlie receiued, and brought in the night late to the earle of Northumberland into his gallerie at Petworth, by one of the earles seruants: where the earle and he had secret conference together by the space of a large houre: from thense Paget was likewise conueied backe into the towne by the same seruant, and there lodged all that night, and the nert night following was conueied secretlie to a lodge in the earles parke at Petworth, called Conigar lodge, where he was kept with like secrecie by the space of eight daies or thereabouts: and the seruant by whome Paget was thus conueied, was by the said earle inioined and commanded in no wise to discouer Pagets being there. The earle of Northumberland, vpon the arriuall of Charles Paget, sent for the lord Paget with the priuitie of this seruant, who was made beleeue that Charles came ouer to set things in order, and to passe certeine deeds and conueiances betweene the lord Paget and him. The lord Paget came to Petworth, staied there two nights, lodged in the earles house, conferred with Charles Paget, and with the earle togither sundrie times.

Charles Pagets comming ouer about the prosecution & practise of the said enterprise proued.

The earle examined and what therein he knew and confessed.

The earle afterwards examined what causes or affaires had passed betweene the lord Paget and Charles his brother, when they were togither at Petworth, answered one while, that they passed certeine deeds and conueiances; and another while, that there was onelie a will or testament signed and sealed betweene them: he confessed that he set his hand vnto the will, but knew not what the same conteined. All which appeared to be false, for that it hath fallen out by occasion of seizure of the lands and goods of the lord Paget (after his departure out of the realme) that he had disposed of his lands and goods by an other course of assurance executed at London: and therefore their pretense of the passing of deeds & will at Petworth, was but a deuise, to shadow their traitorous conspiracies.

Francis Throckmorton recommended to Don Bernardino de Mendoza & made acquainted with that which cost him his life.

Francis Throckmortons confessions do confirme the report of their practises, fo. pa. 1374, 1375.

Francis Throckmorton dissuadeth the lord Paget not to make the earle priuie to the consultations of them two.

And for better proofe thereof, it was alleaged by maister attourneie, that Charles Paget returning from Petworth to the house of one William Dauies, neere to the place where Paget had landed in Sussex, and toke shipping againe at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Shelleie esquire, residing then at his house at Michelgroue, distant about a mile from the house of William Dauies, to come vnto him (who within few daies before had beene at the lodge at Petworth with the said Paget) and now at their meeting in a coppice neere to Dauies house, Paget entred into speech and discourse with him of diuers matters, and at the last among other things, he began to be inquisitiue of the strength and fortification of Portesmouth, and what forces and strength his maiestie had in the other parts westward.

William Shelleie an actor in this purposed tragedie, & what consultations passed betweene him and Charles Paget.

Paget brake out and declared vnto him that forraine princes would seeke reuenge against his maiestie of the wrongs by him done vnto them, & would take such time and opportunitie as might best serue them for that purpose, and said that those princes disdeined to see the Scotish queene so kept & vsed here as she was, and would vse all their forces for hir deliuerie: that the duke of Guise would be a dealer therin, and that the earle of Northumberland would be an assistant vnto them, willing Shelleie what soeuer should happen, to follow the earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conduct and gouernment like to the said earle; saieng further, that the earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scotish queene, & would do what he could for hir aduancement: that the duke of Guise had forces in a readinesse to be employed for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the forenamed Scotish queene at libertie.

God preuented this plot by the fatall end of the earle as he will in time disappoint all the complices.

Shelleie gathered by these and other speeches which passed betweene him & Paget, that Paget had dealt with the earle as a chiefe partie, and a man forward in these actions: and Paget confessed that he came ouer to breake and deale in these matters. Paget deliuered further, that the catholikes would all ioine for so good a purpose, for that it would be a meanes to reforme religion. He said, the stir should be in the North parts, because Sussex was not conuenient, as well for that there were no safe landing places, as for that it was so neere London, where the queenes maiestie would be readie to resist them, and that whensoeuer anie stir should be, the earle of Northumberland would not staie in Sussex, but would into the North parts.

The north parts appointed to be the receptacle of all the intended broile.

When maister attourneie generall had in this sort laid downe the particularities of the treasons and traitorous practises of the confederates for this purposed invasion; then Thomas Edgerton esquire, hir maiesties sollicitor, to proue the earle guiltie of these treasons by the circumstances of his own proceedings, shewed that the erle knowing how far him selfe was touched with the said treasons, & in what degree of danger he stood if they should haue bin reueled, found his onelie hope of safetie to consist in the cunning concealing of them, & therfore he indeuored to couer them by all the possible meanes he could deuise. And first by conueieng awaie of the lord Paget, a man not onelie priuie to the practises and treasons handled by Francis Throckmorton, but also to the treasons of his brother Charles, wherein the earle and the lord Paget were doubtlesse both confederats with Charles, made acquainted by him with the causes of his comming ouer, as principall men with whome he dealt in those matters at Petworth.

Maister solicitor, namelie Thomas Edgerton, proueth the earle guiltie, &c.

The lord Paget conueied ouer sea by the earles meanes & vpon what occasion.

The occasion that prouoked the earle to conueie

awaie the lord Paget, grew vpon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be delt withall by waie of extremitie to be made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him; in reuealing whereof, Charles Pagets comming to Petworth, and the cause of his repaire thither could not be conceled. No man at this time within the realme could accuse the earle of these confederacies, but the lord Paget onlie, who stood in danger to be discouered by Francis Throckmorton: the safetie therefore of the earle rested altogither vpon the lord Pagets departing out of the realme. Which was procured by the earle with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being cõmitted to the Tower about the seuenth daie of Nouember 1583, the earle made meanes the twelfe daie to haue the lord Paget prouided of shipping in all hast by William Shelleie, wherin the earle vsed such importunat intreatie, & sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was prouided, and the lord Paget imbarked by the 14. of the same moneth following, or thereabout.

This was a shift but yet successelesse, as appeareth by the sequele.

The departure of the lord Paget some after discouered, and how, and by whom he was conueied awaie: hir maiestie vpon good cause taking offense thereat, the earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discouer the treasons) came presentlie down to Petworth, sent immediatlie for William Shelleie, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, met the earle in a dining parlour readie to go to his dinner. The earle tooke Shelleie aside into a chamber, and as a man greatlie distracted and troubled in mind, entred into these speeches: Alas I am a man cast awaie! And Shelleie demanding what he ment by those speeches, the earle answered: The actions I haue entred into, I feare will be my vtter vndoing, and therupon desired Shelleie to keepe his counsell, and to discouer no more of him than he must needs. The earle moreouer at this meeting intreated William Shelleie to conueie away all such as he knew to haue beene employed and were priuie of the lord Pagets going awaie, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordinglie performed by Shelleie: and the earle for his part conueied awaie a principall man of his own, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had beene of trust appointed by the earle, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his staie at Connigar lodge.

The earle and Shelleie conferre, and as men dismaied for the discouerie of their dealings are extreame pensife.

Maister solicitor pursuing the matters that made the earles practises and deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further: that after the earle and Shelleie had obteined some libertie in the Tower after their first restreint: the earle found meanes to haue intelligence with Shelleie, & was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restreined: since which time, the earle by corrupting of his keeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisements as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad: in so much as by his said keeper he had sent and conueied twelue seuerall letters out of the Tower within the space of nine or ten weekes, and one of those on sundaie the twentith daie of June in the morning, when he murthered himselfe the night following.

What deserued the keeper that would be corrupted by an offendor so malicious?

By the same corruption of his keepers he sent also a message to William Shelleie by a maidseruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keepe himselfe out of danger. Whereunto Shelleie returned answer by the same messenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earle to consider that there was a great difference betweene the earles estate and his: for that the earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be dealt withall in such sort as he the said Shelleie was like to be, being but a priuat gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with all extremitie to be made confesse the truth: wherefore he aduised the earle to deale plainlie, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

The earle and Shelleie communicat their minds by message.

James Price a messenger to and fro betweene the earle & Shelleie.

James Price by the same corruption of the earls keeper came to William Shelleie on the fridaie or saturdaie before Trinitie sundaie last, and told him that the erle was verie desirous to vnderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at Prices instance, Shelleie did set downe in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earle: who vpon the sight therof, perceiuing the treasons reuealed and discouered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offenses were, fearing the iustice and seueritie of the lawes, and so the ruine and ouerthrow of his house, fell into desperation, & so to the destruction of himselfe. For confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Jaques Pantins, a grome of the earles chamber, who had attended on the earle in the Tower by the space of ten weeks before his death, that he had heard the earle often saie, that maister Shelleie was no faithfull frend vnto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to ouerthrow them both: that he was vndone by Shelleies accusations, affirming that the earle began to despaire of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the earle said to proceed onlie of the remembrance of his wife and children, saieng further, that such matters were laid vnto his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his triall, and then he was but a lost man: repeating often that Shelleie had vndone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

The earle bewaileth his desperat and forcethe him to destroie himselfe.

Herewith maister solicitor concluded, and then sir Roger Manwood knight, lord chiefe baron of hir maiesties exchekar, entered into the description of the earles death, and in what sort he had murthered himselfe: shewing first how the same had beene found by a verie substantiall iurie chosen among the best commoners of the citie, impanelled by the coroner vpon the view of the bodie, and diligent inquirie by all due meanes had according to the law, and declared, that vpon the discouerie of the intelligence conueied betweene the earle and Shelleie, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of hir maiesties seruice, by such of hir highnesse most honourable priuie councell, as were appointed commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that Jaques Pantins attending vpon the earls, and the earles corrupt keepers should be remoued.

Sir Roger Manwood describeth the maner how the earle murthered himselfe.

Whereupon Thomas Bailiffe gentleman, sent to attend on the earle of Northumberland, vpon the remouing of Palmer and Jaques Pantins from about the said earle (who from the beginning of his last restreint attended on him) for the reasons last lie before mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower on the sunday about two of the clocke in the after none (being the twentith of June) shut vp with the earle, as appointed to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, vntill Palmer, Pantins, and * Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined, how the earle came by such intelligences as were discouered to haue passed betweene the earle and Shelleie, and betweene the earle and others. Bailiffe serued the earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruices done by the earles commandement,

Thomas Bailiffe the one & twentith of June 1585, deposed.

Palmer, Pantins and Price committed close prisoners.

* This Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Price.

mandement, departed from the earle to an vtter chamber, where he laie part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber doore, and bolted the same vnto him in the inner side, saieng to Bailiffe, he could not sleepe vnlesse his doore were fast.

O deepe at midnight!

About twelue of the clocke at midnight, Bailiffe being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming vnto him to be the falling of some doore, or rather a peece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crieng vnto the earle with a lowd voice, said: My lord, know you what this is? The earle not answering, Bailiffe cried and knocked still at the earles doore, saieng, My lord, how do you? But finding that the earle made no answer, continued his crieng and calling, vntill an old man that laie without, spake vnto him, saieng, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake? Yea (quoth Bailiffe) for Gods sake. Then did the old man rise, & called one of the watch, whome Bailiffe intreated with all possible speed to call maister lieutenant vnto him. In the meane time Bailiffe heard the earle giue a long and most greeuous grone, and after that, gaue a second grone: and then the lieutenant (being come) called vnto the earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried vnto the lieutenant to breake open the earles chamber doore bolted vnto him in the inner side, which was done, and then they found the earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a dag, wherewith he had killed himselfe.

James Price a messenger to and fro betweene the earle & Shelley.

He could not answer hauing discharged the dag vnto his bodie.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, lieutenant of the Tower, 1585.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, examined vpon his oth, affirmed that on sundaie last at night, lesse than a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called vp by the watch to come to the earle of Northumberland, who had beene called vnto by maister Bailiffe his keeper, and would not speake as the watch told him. Whereupon the said sir Owen went presentlie to the earles lodging, opened the vtter doores, till he came vnto the chamber where maister Bailiffe laie, which was next to the earles bedchamber. Bailiffe said to this examinat as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a doore or some great thing falling, & that he had called on the earle, and could haue no answer. And this examinat going to the earls chamber doore, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not go into the earle, this examinat called on the earle, telling him the lieutenant was there, and praied his lordship to open the doore.

The earle bewraieth desperat and forceth not to destroie himselfe.

The warders with their halberds wrest and wring at the earles chamber doore.

But this examinat hauing no answer made vnto him, and finding the doore fast bolted in the inner side of the earles chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiffe laie, without breaking vp the chamber doore, caused the warders which were with this examinat, to thrust in their halberds, and to wrest the doore thereby, as much as they could, and withall to run at the doore with their feet, & with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordinglie. And when this examinat came into the chamber, in turning vp the sheets, he perceiued them to be bloudied: and then searching further, found the wound, which was verie neere the pap, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had beene done with a knife.

Sir Roger Wanwood describeth the maner how the earle murthered himselfe.

Thomas Bailiffe the one & twentith of June 1585 deposed.

The place of the bodie where the earle had murthered himselfe.

Palmer, Panting and Price committed close prisoners.

This Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Price.

The dag found in the sheets, and

This examinat went thereupon presentlie to write to the court, and tooke the warders into the vtter chamber, & left them there vntill he returned, bolting the doore of the earles bedchamber on the outside. And as soone as this examinat returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found the dag in the floore, about three foot from the bed, neere vnto a table that had a greene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dag: and after, turning downe the bedcloths, found the box in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the couerlet; and saith, that the chamber where the earle laie, hath no other doore but that one doore which was broken open as aforesaid, saue one doore that went into a priuie, which hath no maner of passage out of it: and that the earles lodging chamber, and the entering to the priuie, are both walled round about with a stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no doore or passage out of or from the said earles bedchamber or priuie, but that onelie doore which was broken open by the appointment of this examinat. The warders that were with this examinat at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking vp of the earles chamber doore, and the doing of the other things aforesaid, were Michaell Sibleie, Anthonie Danies, William Riland, and John Potter, and one John Pinner this examinats seruant was there also.

the box and pellets in the bed.

This is a manifest proofe and full of sufficient credit, that none could come at him to do him violence.

Deponents viua voce, confirming the lieutenants deposition vpon his examination.

For the proofe and confirmation of the seuerall parts and points of this deposition, Sibleie, Danies, Riland, Potter and Pinner were deposed, and they *viua voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the comming of the lieutenant vnto the earles chamber, the breaking vp of the doore being bolted with a strong bolt on the inner side, the finding of the earle dead vpon his bed, the dag lieng on the ground, the powder and pellets in a box on the bed vnder the couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances therevnto apperteining. They affirmed also, that there was but one doore in the earles chamber, sauing the doore of the priuie, which togither with the chamber was stronglie walled about with stone and bricke: and further (as I remember) the lord chiefe baron confirmed the same, hauing viewed the chamber himselfe where the earle lodged, and was found dead.

Of whom the dag was bought.

Iaques Pantins in his examination of the one and twentith of June confesseth, that James Price deliuered the dag to the earle his maister in this examinats presence: whereupon he presentlie suspected that the earle meant mischiefe to himselfe, and therefore did his indeuour to persuade the earle to send awaie the dag, and told the earle that he knew not how the diuell might tempt his lordship, & that the diuell was great; but could by no meanes preuaile with the earle in that behalfe: and saith moreouer, that the earle required him to hide the dag, and he thereupon hanged the same on a naile within the chimneie in the earles bedchamber, where the earle thinking the same not to be sufficientlie safe in that place, it was by the earles appointment taken from thense, and put into a slit in the side of a mattresse that laie vnder the earles bed, neere to the beds head, and that the same sundaie morning that the earle murthered himselfe at night, he saw the dag lieng vnder the earles beds head. The dag was bought not manie daies before of one Adrian Pulan a dagmaker, dwelling in east Smithfield, as by the said Pulan was testified *viua voce* vpon his oth, in the open court, at the time of the publike declaration made of these matters in the Starchamber.

All these particularities considered, with the depositions and proofs of the witnesse concerning the earles death; first, how he came by the dag; secondlie, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret maner; thirdlie, the earles bolting of his chamber doore in the inside; fourthlie, the blow of the dag; fiftlie, the breaking vp of the earles chamber doore by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastlie, the finding of the earle dead as aforesaid; what is he so

simple that will thinke or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will auouch and report, that the earle of Northumberland should haue béene murthered of purpose, by practise or deuise of anie person, affecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commoditie to the quéenes maiestie, lost by the preuention of his triall, who can in reason coniecture the earle to haue béene murthered of policie or set purpose, as the euill affected séeme to conceiue?

If the earle had liued to haue receiued the censure of the law for his offenses, all lewd and friuolous obiections had then béene answered, and all his goods, cattels and lands by his atteindor had come vnto hir maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie vtterlie ouerthrowne: the consideration and feare whereof appeareth without all doubt to haue béene the principall and onelie cause that made him late violent hands vpon himselfe. If obiections be made, that to murther him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enimies, who could be pacified by no meanes but with his blood: that séemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonlie discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to séeke the death of our enimie, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the earle of Northumberland had anie such enimie that knew the danger wherein he stood, and that his triall and conuiction by law would draw vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honor, and the vtter subuersion of his house, would be so kindharted vnto him, as to helpe to take awaie his life onelie, & saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beléeue it.

The principall cause that made the earle late hands vpon himselfe.

But to returne to the maner of the earles death. It was declared by the lord Hunsdon, and the lord chiefe baron, that the dag wherewith the earle murthered himselfe, was charged with three bullets, and so of necessitie with more than an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to worke their effect. The earle lieng vpon his backe on the left side of his bed, tooke the dag charged in his left hand (by all likelihood) laid the mouth of the dag vpon his left pap (hauing first put aside his wastecote) and his shirt being onelie betwéene the dag and his bodie (which was burnt awaie the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pearsed and torne in diuerse lobes or péeces, three of his ribs broken, the chinebone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the point of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skin, the three bullets were found by the lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgion in his presence to cut out, lieng all three close togither within the breadth and compasse of an inch or thereabout: the bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court at the Starchamber.

The lord of Hunsdon declareth how the dag was more than ordinarlie charged: and how the earle dispatched him selfe.

Three bullets found vnder the point of the earls shoulder blade.

And whereas it hath béene slanderouslie giuen out to the aduantage of the earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned & kept in so streict, narrow and close rowme, with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sickelie and wearie of his life, and that to haue béene the cause chiefelie why he murthered himselfe; if it were so that he died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardlie beléeue. To answer that peeuish and senselesse slander, there was much spoken by the lord chiefe baron, who had viewed and caused verie exactlie to be measured the chambers and rowmes within the prison where the earle late, being part of his maiesties owne lodging in the Tower. The particular length and breadth of the said chambers & rooms, and the qualitie of the lights and windows, expressed by the said lord chiefe baron, I can not repeat: but well I do remember it was declared, that all the date time, the earle had the libertie of fiue large chambers, and two long entries within the vter dore of his prison: three of which chambers, and one of the entries late vpon two faire gardens within the Tower wall, and vpon the Tower wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, and to the countrie, more than fiue miles beyond. The windowes were of a verie large proportion, yéelding so much aire and light, as more cannot be desired in anie house. Note therefore how maliciouslie those that fauour traitors and treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slanderous speéches, to the dishonor of hir maiestie, noting hir councellors and ministers with inhumanitie and vncharitable seueritie, contrarie to all truth and honestie.

A slanderous report of the quéenes enimies and the earles fauourers answered.

The earle wanted no prospect or pleasure nor walks of conuenient libertie.

The earle standeth vpon termes of his innocencie, all the world séeing cause to the contrarie.

When the lord chiefe baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earles death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and auditorie concerning the qualitie of the prison where the earle had remained, sir Christopher Hatton knight hir maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as it séemed) had béene specially imploied by hir maiestie among others of hir priuie councell in the loking into and examining of the treasons aforesaid, aswell in the person of the earle as of others, and at the time of the earles commitment from his house in S. Martins to the Tower of London, sent vnto him from hir maiestie to put the earle in mind of hir maiesties manifold graces and fauors in former times conferred vpon him, proceeding from the spring of hir maiesties princelie and bountifull nature, and not of his deseruings, and to aduise him to deliuer the truth of the matters so clearelie appearing against him, either by his letters priuatlie to hir maiestie, or by speech to maister vicechamberlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not onlie not be committed to the Tower, but should find grace & fauor at hir maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might late vpon him.

Sir Christopher Hatton reuealeth to the court and auditorie the gratious dealing of hir maiestie with the said earle, no such fauour deserning.

*To this petition let all true harted Englishmen late, Amen.

And here M. vicechamberlaine repeated at length the effect of hir maiesties message at that time sent to the earle, begining first with the remembrance of his practise vndertaken for the conueieng awaie of the Scotish quéene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath béene declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he confessing the offense being capitall, hir maiestie neuertheless was pleased to alter the course of his triall by the iustice of hir lawes, and suffered the same to receiue a slight and easie punishment by waie of mulct or fine of fiue thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is credible reported) there was not one penie paid, or his land touched with anie extent for the paiment thereof, which offense was by hir maiestie not onelie most gratiouslie forgiuen, but also most christianlie forgotten, receiuing him not long after to the place of honor that his ancestours had inioied for manie yeares before him, and gaue him such entrance into hir princelie fauour and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie receiued greater countenance and comfort at hir maiesties hands than he; insomuch that in all exercises of recreation, vsed by hir maiestie, the earle was alwaies called to be one: and whensoeuer hir maiestie shewed hir selfe abroad in publike, she gaue to him the honor of the best and highest seruices about hir person, more often than to all the noble men of the court.

The arrinall and intertainment of the deputies for the estates of the low countries.

The names of the said deputies for the estates.

The quéenes maiestie mitigateth the punishment which the law should haue awarded against the earle.

The quéenes maiesties nature is to saue hir enimies, O that they could change their nature, and loue hir highnesse again!

But the remembrance of these most gratious and more

more than extraordinarie fauours and benefits receiued, nor the hope giuen vnto him by maister vicechamberlaine of hir maiesties disposition of mercie towards him, nor the consideration of the depth and weight of his treasons against hir maiestie, hir estate, hir crowne and dignitie, with the danger thereby like to fall vpon him by the course of hir highnes lawes, to the vtter ruine and subuersion of him and his house (standing now at hir maiesties mercie) could once moue his heart to that naturall and dutifull care of hir maiesties safetie that he ought to haue borne towards hir, and the most worthilie had merited at his hands, or anie remorse or compassion of himselfe and his posteritie: but resting vpon termes of his innocencie, hauing (as you maie perceiue) conueied awaie all those that he thought could or would anie waie accuse him, he made choise rather to go to the Tower, abide the hazard of hir maiesties high indignation, and the extremitie of the law for his offenses.

The earle standeth vpon termes of his innocencie, all the world seeing cause to the contrarie.

All which was a notable augur of his fall, and that God by his iust iudgement had for his sinnes and ingratitude taken from him his spirit of grace, and deliuered him ouer to the enimie of his soule, who brought him to that most dreadfull & horrible end, whereunto he is come: * from the which, God of his mercie defend all christian people, and preserue the quenes maiestie from the treasons of hir subiects, that she maie liue in all happinesse, to see the ruine of hir enimies abroad and at home, and that she, and we hir true and louing subiects, maie be alwaies thankfull to God for all his blessings bestowed vpon vs by hir, the onlie mainteiner of his holie gospell among vs.

*To this petition let all true harted Englishmen saie, Amen.

The arriuall and intertainment of the deputies for the estates of the low countries.

On the six & twentith of June arriued at London deputies for the estates of the netherlands, or low countries, who were lodged about the Tower street, & had their diet for the time of their abode here, verie worshipfullie appointed (all at the charges of hir maiestie) in the Clothworkers hall in Pinchenlane, nere to the said Tower street. These on the nine & twentith of June, being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule repaired to the court, then at Greenewich, where by vertue of their commissions from the vnited countries, they presented to hir maiestie the souereingtie of those countries, to wit of Brabant, but the commission (for the siege) of Antuerpe not full authorised, of Guelder, of Flanders, of Holland, of Zeland, of Vtrecht, and of Friseland. For Brabant, Jaques de Grise great bailie of Bruges councellour of the Franks. For Guelder, Rutger of Barsold, gentleman. For Flanders, Noell de Garsie lord of Schonewalle. For Holland, John Wanderdoest, lord of Mortwicke, Iosse de Menin pensionarie of Dordreght, John of old Barneuelt pensionarie of Rotradame, and D. Francis Paolso. For Zeland, Jacob Dales councellor and pensionarie of Tergoest. For Vtrecht, Paulus Buis doctor of the lawes. For Friseland, I. Fritzma, gentleman: H. Ansona president of Friseland: and Lads Jangema, gentleman. All these falling on their knees to fore hir maiestie, and so remaining for a long space, one of them, to wit, Iosse de Menin councellor and pensionarie of Dordreght, one of the commissioners for Holland, made to hir maiestie this oration in French as followeth.

The names of the said deputies for the states.

The said deputies oration in French to *hir maiestie at Greenwich.*

MAdame, les estats des prouinces vnies des pais bas, remercient treshumblement vostre maiesté de la bonné affection & faueur, quel à pleu de monstrer audits pais en leur necessites, & confermer per tant de tesmoignaiges euidens; & encores dernierement, quand apres l'execrable assasmat comme en la personne de feu monsir le prince d'Orenges, il à pleu a vostre maiesté faire entendre audits estats per son ambassadeur le sire Dauison, le soing qu'icelle auoit a nostre defense & obseruation, & aussy par le sire de Grise, le grand desplaisir que vostre maiesté auoit conceu, de voir l'esdits estats frustres de l'esperance quelle auoient fondeé sur le traicte de France. Mais que le soin que vostre maiesté a tousiours en de nostre bien & conseruation n'estoit pour cela en rien diminué, aine quel s'augmentoit, plustost a mesure quel la necessité de nos affaires le requiert, dont ledits pais en general, & chacun d'eulx en particulier demeurerent perpetuellement tresobliges a vostre maiesté, pour le recognoistre auec tout fidelité & obeisance.

Et comme ledits estats considerent Madame, que depues le deces endit sire prince d'Orenges, ils ont faict perte de plusieurs de leurs places & bonne villes; & que pour la conseruation desdits pais il leur est besoing d'vng prince & sire souuerain, qui les puisse garentir & defendre contre la tyranné & inique oppression des Espaignols & leurs adherés, qui s'efforcent de plus en plus par leurs sinistres armes & tous aultres moyens, de destruire & ruiner lesdits pais, de fonds en comble & reduire ce pouure peuple en vne seruitude perpetuelié, pire que des Indies souls l'insupportable ioug de la detestable inquisition d'Espaigne. Considerans aussy que les corps des villes & communaultes desdits pais ont vne fermé afience, que vostre maiesté ne les vouldra veoir perir au gre de leurs ennemys, qui leur font ceste lõgue & cruelle guerre, a toute oultrance laquelle les estats desdits pais bas (ensuiuant leur deuoir & obligation quels ont a leurs bourgois & ycitogens) ont estes constraincts de soustenir, repoulser, & destourner, pour la tyranné & seruitude manifest qu'on taschat d'introduire & imposer au pouure peuple, & pour conseruer leur liberté, droits, priuileges, & franchises, auec l'exercise de la vray religion chrestienné, dont vostre maiesté porte a bon droit le tiltre de protectrice & defenderesse, contre laquelle lesdits ennemys & leurs associes, ont & faict tant de ligues, dresse tant de cauteleuzes, embushes, & trahisons, & ne cessent encore tout les iours de praticquer & machiner contre la personne de vostre maiesté, & au preiudice du reque & transquillite de ses royaulmes & estats, laquelle le bon Dieu a preserue iusques á present, pour le bien de la chrestienté, & sustentation de ses eglises.

Sy est ce Madame, que pour ces causes, & raisons, & aultres bonnes considerations, lesdits estats ont prins par ensemble vne bonné & fermé resolution, de prendre leurs recours a vostre maiesté, veu que cest vne chose ordinaire a tous peuples & nations oppressées, de recourir en leurs calamites & oppressions, pour support & faueur contre leurs ennemys, aulx roys & princes voisme, & singulierement a ceulx qui sont douez a magnanimité, pieté, iustice, & aultres vertus royalles, & a cest effect nous ont lesdits estats depute vers vostre maiesté, pour presenter a icelle la principaulté, souuerainté, & iuste dominatiõ desdits prouinces, soubs certaines bonnes & equitables condicions, concernantes principallement la conseruation de l'exercise de la religion reformée, & de leurs ancienne priuileges, libertes, franchises & vsances, & l'administration du faict de la guerre, police, & iustice esdits pais.

Et combien que lesdits pais ayent beaucoup souffert par ces longues & continuelles guerres, & que l'ennemy se soit empare de plusieurs villes & places fortes esdits pais, toutes fois, oultre ce qu'es

pais de Brabant, Gueldre, Flandre, Malins, & Oueriſſel, ſe mainteinent encores maintes bonnes villes & places contre l'effort de l'ennemy, ſy eſt ce que les pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Friſe ſont encores, graces a Dieu, en leur entier, ou il y a beaucoup de grandes & fortes villes, & places belles, riuieres, profondes, ports & haures de mer, deſquelles voſtre maieſté & ſes ſucceſſeurs pourront tirer pluſieurs bons ſeruices, fruicts, & commodites dont il n'eſt de faire yci plus long recit. Seulement que ceſte cy entre aultres merite bien vne conſideration ſpeciale que la coniunction deſdits pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Friſe, & des villes de l'Eſcluze, & Oſteynd en Flādres auec les royaulmes de voſtre maieſté, emporte quant & ſoy l'empire abſolut de la grand mer occeane, & par conſequence vne aſſeurance & felicité perpetuelle pour les ſubiects de voſtre ſereniſſime maieſté. La quelle nous ſupplions treſhūblemēt que ſon bon plaiſir ſoit de nous accorder leſdits points ou conditions, & ce en ſuiuant, vouloir accepter pour ſoy & ſes ſucceſſeurs legittimes en la couronne d'Angleterre protecteurs de la religion reformée, la iuſtice principaute & ſeigneurie ſouueraine deſdits pais & conſequemment du recepuoir les peuples deſdits pais, comme vous treſhumbles & treſobeiſſants ſubiects ſoubs la protection & ſauuegarde perpetuelle de voſtre maieſté, peuples certeinement autant fidelles, aymant leurs princes & ſeigneurs (a parler & ſans iactance) que nul aultre de la chreſtienté.

Ce faiſant Madame, vous conſerueres tant de belles egliſes, qu'il a pleu a Dieu en ce dernier temps aſſembler eſdits pais a preſent en beaucoup de lieux fort affliges, & eſbranles & deliureres leſdits pais & peuples (nagueres auant l'inique maiſon des Eſpaignols) tant riches & floriſſans, pour la grande commodité de la mer, ports, haures, riuieres, traffiqs, & manifactures dont ils ſont doues de nature. Vous les deliureres (dis ie Madame) de ruine & perpetuelle ſeruitude de corps & ame, qui ſera vng œuure vrayement roial & treſexcellent, agreable a Dieu, profitable a toute chreſtienté, digne de louange immortelle, coreſpondant a la magnanimité & vertus heroicques de voſtre maieſté, & conioinct auec l'aſſeurance & proſperites des royalmes & ſubiects d'icelle. Et ſurce preſentons a voſtre maieſté leſdits articles ou conditions, en reuerence, prians le grand Roy des roys de preſeruer voſtre maieſté de ſes ennemys, l'accroiſtre en gloire & felicité, & l'auoir en ſa ſeinte garde à perpetuité.

Faict par Ioſſe de Menin, concelier & penſionaire de Derdreght. An. 1585. 29 de Iune, A Greenwich.

The foreſaid oration in Engliſh.

MAdam, the ſtates of the vnited prouinces of the low countries moſt humblie thanke your maieſtie for the good affection & fauor, which it pleaſed you to ſhew to the ſaid countries in their neceſſitie, & to confirme the ſame with ſo manie euident teſtimonies; & that laſtlie, after the execrable aſſault committed vpon the perſon of the late prince of Orange, at what time it pleaſed your maieſtie to let the ſaid ſtates vnderſtand by your ambaſſador maiſter Dauiſon, what care you had of our defenſe and preſeruation, and alſo by ſegneur de Criſt, the great diſpleaſure which your maieſtie conceiued, to ſée the ſtates fruſtrated of the hope which they had founded vpon the treatie of France. But ſince the care which your maieſtie hath alwaies had ouer our good and conſeruation is not thereby anie whit diminiſhed, but hath more plentifullie increaſed, according as the neceſſitie of our affaires required; for which the ſaid countrie in generall, and euerie of vs in particular remaine perpetuallie bound to your maieſtie, and acknowledge the ſame with all fidelitie and obeiſance.

The queenes maieſties moſt gratious fauor acknowledged.

And as the ſaid ſtates (Madam) do conſider that ſince the deceaſe of the prince of Orange they haue ſuſteined the loſſe of diuerſe of their holds and good townes; and that for the preſeruation of the ſaid countrie it is needfull for them to haue a prince and ſouereigne ruler, which may warrant and defend them againſt the tyrannie and vniuſt oppreſſion of the Spaniards and their adherents, which daillie more and more inforce themſelues by their ſiniſter power and all other meanes to deſtroie and ouerthrow the ſaid countries, and reduce this poore people in perpetuall ſeruitude, worſe than that of the Indians vnder the importable yoke of the deteſtable inquiſition of Spaine. Conſidering alſo that the bodie of the townes and communalties of the aforeſaid countries haue a firme hope, that your maieſtie will not ſée them periſh according to the deſire of their enimies, which make this long and cruell warre, all which outrages the ſtates of the ſaid low countries (following the diligence and band which they owe to their burgeſſes and citizens) are to ſuſteine, repell, and to turne from them, by reaſon of the manifeſt tyrannie & ſeruitude which the Spaniards attempt to bring in & to laie vpon the poore people) thereby to preſerue their liberties, rights, priuileges, and franchiſes, with the exerciſe of the true chriſtian religion, whereof your maieſtie by good right carrieth the title of protectrice and defendreſſe, againſt which the ſaid enimies and their aſſociats alreadie haue and ſtill do make manie leagues, deuiſe manie ſubtilties, treaſons, and ambuſhes, not ceaſing daillie to practiſe and imagine them againſt the perſon of your maieſtie, and to the preiudice of the reſt of your realme and ſtates, whome the good God hath preſerued vntill this preſent, for the wealth of the chriſtians, and ſuſtentation of their churches.

The diſtreſſed ſtate of the low countries after the death of the prince of Orange.

The hope that the low countrie people haue in hir highnes helpe.

Spaniſh diſloiall mynde vnpayable.

Wherefore (Madam) it is ſo, that for theſe cauſes, reaſons, & other conſiderations, the ſaid ſtates haue aſſembled and concluded vpon a good and firme reſolution to haue recourſe vnto your maieſtie, ſith it is an ordinarie matter amongſt all people and oppreſſed nations, in their calamities and oppreſſions to craue ſupport and fauour againſt their enimies, of kings and princes neere vnto them, but eſpeciallie of thoſe who be indued with magnanimitie, pietie, iuſtice, and other princelie vertues, to which effect the ſtates haue appointed vs to come vnto your maieſtie to preſent vnto the ſame the principalitie, ſouereignitie, and iuſt gouernment of the ſaid prouinces vnder certeine good and equall conditions, chieflie concerning the preſeruation of the exerciſe of the reformed religion, and of the ancient priuileges, liberties, franchiſes, and cuſtoms, and part of the adminiſtration of the affaires, policie, and iuſtice of the warres in the ſaid countrie.

The cauſe whie the deputies for the ſtates came into England, and their ſute vnto hir highneſſe expreſſed.

The gouernment & principalitie of the low countries preſented to the queenes maieſtie.

And although that theſe countries haue ſuſteined much hurt by theſe long and continuall warres, and that the enimie hath taken diuers ſtrong places and forts in the ſame countries: yet there is beſides the ſame in the countries of Brabant, Gelderland, Flanders, Malmes, & Dueriet, manie good townes and places, which defend themſelues againſt the force of the enimie, and the countries of Holland, Zeland, Vtricht, and Friſe be yet (thanks be to God) entire and whole: in which there be manie great and ſtrong townes and places, faire riuers, and déepe ports and hauens of the ſea, out of which your maieſtie and your ſucceſſors may receiue diuers good ſeruices, fruits, and commodities, whereof it is néedleſſe here to make anie long recitall. Dwelle this

Manie good townes and places yet remaining in the low countries defenſible againſt the enimie.

The writing of the low countries to the realmes of England, &c: how beneficiall.

Protection of the reformed religion a part of their ſute.

The loialtie and faithfulneſſe of the low countrie people commended.

Benefits like to inſue vpon the ſaid protection vndertaken of hir highneſſe.

The ſaid deputies doo preſent certeine articles and conditions to hir maieſtie concerning their ſute.

Tukeld and weblie hanged for publiſhing of ſeditious bookes.

Five or rather ſix people ſlain by the fall of a wall in London neere vnto Downegate.

this amongst other matters deserueth good and especiall consideration, that the vniting of those countries of Holland, Zeland, Frise, and the townes of Sluze and Ostend in Flanders, vnto the realmes of your maiestie importeth so much as the absolute gouernement of the great ocean sea, and by consequence, an assurance and perpetuall felicitie for the subiects of your worthie maiestie. Which we most humblie beseech, that it will please the same to condescend vnto vs in the said points and conditions, and in that which followeth, which is, that you will for you and your lawfull successors in the crowne of England be protectors of the reformed religion, as the principall iusticer and soueregne gouernor of the said countries: and consequentlie to receiue the people of the same, as your most humble and most obedient subiects vnder the protection and continuall safegard of your maiestie; they being a people assuredlie so faithfull and louing to their princes and lords (be it spoken without vaunting) as anie other nation is throughout christendome.

In doing whereof (Madam) you shall preserue manie goodlie churches, which it hath pleased God to assemble in these latter times in the same countries, at this present in manie places grieuouslie afflicted, and you shall deliuer the same countrie and people (of late before the vniust deeds of the house of Spaine) verie rich and flourishing, through the great commoditie of the sea, ports, hauens, riuers, trafike, and merchandize, whereof they be naturallie indued. You shall I saie (Madam) deliuer them from ruine and perpetuall bondage of bodie and soule, being a worke right roiall and most magnificent, acceptable to God, profitable to all christiantie, worthie immortall commendation, answerable to the magnanimitie, and heroicall vertues of your maiestie, and ioined with the assurance and prosperitie of your dominions and subiects. Wherevpon we present vnto your maiestie the said articles and conditions, reuerentlie praieng the King of kings to preserue your maiestie from your enimies, to increase your glorie and felicitie, and for euer to keepe you in his holie protection.

¶ This oration ended and the summe thereof considered, it pleased the quéenes maiestie, by direction of hir wise and politike councell, to incline hir hart (alwaies pitifull and replenished with commiseration) to the ease and releefe of the said oppressed people. And bicause hir owne subiects should not be vtterlie vnacquainted with hir highnesse doings in that case, there was published by authoritie a booke thereof as in due place hereafter followeth.

On sundaie the fourth of Julie, Charles lord Howard, late lord chamberleine was made lord admerall, and Henrie lord Hunsdon was made lord chamberleine of houshold. On the fift date of Julie Thomas Awfeld a seminarie priest, and Thomas Weblie diar, were arreigned at the sessions hall in the Old bailie, found guiltie, condemned, and had iudgement as fellons to be hanged: for publishing of bookes conteining false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of our soueregne ladie the quéene, and to the excitation of insurrection and rebellion, as more at large appeareth in their indictments. These were on the next morrow, to wit, the first of Julie, executed at Tiborne accordinglie. On thursdaie the sixteenth of Julie, by the sudden fall of a bricke wall in Thames street of London, neere vnto Downegate, fiue persons were ouerwhelmed and slaine, to wit, a man & his wife (the wife being great with child) and two children, the one their own, the other a nurse child, and a poore man that liued by charitie, hauing no knowne dwelling place. On the same sixteenth of Julie was sir Francis Russell knight, lord Russell, third sonne to Francis Russell earle of Bedford, slaine with a dag in the borders of Scotland beside Berwike, by a Scot borne in those parts, as they met vpon a true daie, as more at large appeareth in the historie of Scotland. On the next morrow, to wit, the seuentéenth of Julie, Francis Russell earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, father to the late named sir Francis, lord Russell slaine on the borders of Scotland, deceassed, and was honorablie buried at Cheinies in Bedfordshire on the eight of September next following.

On the three and twentith of Julie certeine souldiers were pressed in the seuerall wards of the citie of London, which souldiers being furnished for the warres, and clothed in red cotes, all at the charges of the companies and citizens, set forth toward the seas on the thirteenth of August, and were transported ouer into Holland, Zeland, &c: as other the like souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had béene, to serue for the defense of the low countries vnder generall Norris, and other approued captens. On the fourth daie of August, betwixt the hours of foure and fiue of the clocke in the morning, at the end of the towne called Notingham in Kent, eight miles from London, in a lane not farre from the houses, the ground began to sinke, three great elmes being swallowed vp, the tops falling downward into a hole with the rootes vpward, turning round in the falling, and driuen into the earth past mans sight, to the wonderfull amazement of manie honest men of the same towne, being beholders of this strange sight: and before ten of the clocke that present day, the ground & trees were sonke so low, that neither the one or other might be discerned, the hole or vaut being sometimes filled with water, and otherwhiles neither bottome, trées, or water maie be perceiued: the compasse of this hole is about foure score yards, and being sounded with a lead and line of fiftie fadams, cannot therewith find or féele anie bottome. Ten yards distant from this place, there is another péece of ground sonke in like maner, which parcell of ground falleth still into the high waie to the great feare of that whole towne, but especiallie to the inhabitants of a house not far distant from the aforesaid places.

On the fiftéenth daie of September, to the number of two & thirtie seminaries, massing priests and others, late prisoners in the tower of London, Marshalsée, Kings bench, and other places, were imbarked in the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the southside of the Thames right ouer against S. Katharines, to be transported ouer into the coasts of Normandie, to be banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, before specified in pag. 1379.

A copie of the certificat written and *directed into England by the said banished men.*

Whereas vpon your honors commission directed vnto Anthonie Hall, and Thomas Stockar, for the transporting of vs whose names are vnder written, into the coasts of Normandie, who accordinglie tooke vs into a barke called the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the south side of the Thames, right ouer that part of saint Katharines next to London bridge, the fiftéenth day of September 1585, according to the computation of England: our will is to testifie vnto your good honors, that they the said Anthonie Hall & Thomas Stockar haue generallie so well vsed vs in all respects,

The vniting of the low countries to the realmes of England, &c: how beneficiall.

Protection of the reformed religion a part of their suite.

The loialtie and faithfulnesse of the low countrie people commended.

Benefits like to insue vpon the said protection vndertaken of hir highnesse.

The said deputies doo present certeine articles and conditions to hir maiestie concerning their suite.

Tukeld and Weblie hanged for publishing of seditious bookes.

Fiue or rather six people slain by the fall of a wall in London neere vnto Downegate.

Earle of Bedford and the lord Russell his sonne deceased.

Souldiers sent to aid the low countries of Holland, Zeland, &c.

Ground and trées sonke and swallowed vp in Kent eight miles from London.

Seminaries and massing priests banished.

Note in this certificat an acknowledgment of verie great English courtesie to the seminaries in their transportation.

The distressed state of the low countries after the death of the prince of Orange.

The hope that the low countrie people had in hir highnesse helpe.

Spanishlewnitude insupportable.

The cause why the deputies for the states came into England, and their suite vnto hir highnesse expressed.

The gouernment & principalitie of the low countries presented to the quéenes maiestie.

Manie good townes and places yet remaining in the low countries defensible against the enimie.

respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding (as much as in them laie) to so courteous & louing officers. Neuertheleſſe comming along the sea, and meeting with hir maiesties admerall in the downes, who promising that we should not be disturbed in our course into the prouince of Normandie, according to your honors said commission, we had not from him departed two leagues, when as a Flushinger with his people suddenlie entred vpon vs, being peaceablie stowed vnder the hatches, and in our quiet rest, with their swords drawne, their calleiuers and their matches fired in their hands, to our great terror & discomfort, the most of vs being verie sore sea sicke, expecting at that instant nothing but either the rigorous dint of sword, or bullet of calleiuer. Howbeit parlee being had by our said commissioners with them, they departed, after which time we considering the generall danger on the seas, besought with one consent your honors commissioners to set vs on land at Calice: but they in no wise yelding thereunto, at last by reason of our importunitie in such danger & weakenesse, yelded to set vs on shore at Bullogne, partlie by reason of the feare we were then put in, & partlie for that we feared afterward more vnreasonable measure; but specialtie the greatest number of vs so sore sicke, that verie tedious vnto vs it seemed to beare so long and dangerous a passage. In witnes whereof to this our certificat we haue all subscribed our names the nineteenth of September 1585. W. Gimlets, R. Fen: Io. Nele: Christopher Small, &c.

The seminaries suddenlie assaulted and in danger of death by a Flushinger as they were passing ouer sea.

The seminaries are set on shore at Bullogne through their owne importunitie.

¶ We haue heard before that certeine souldiers out of diuers parts of this realme were transported ouer the seas into Holland and Zeland, &c: with such conuenient and seruiceable furniture, as might be presupposed necessarie for defense: whom we will leaue vpon their gard, and more clearelie to set forth the reasons of their transportation, we do mesne heere, as we promised before page 1413, when we came to due place, to deliuer a booke published by authoritie concerning that argument, the title and substance whereof in all points agreeable with the printed copie first extant, doth orderlie follow.

A declaration of the causes mooving *the queene of England to giue aid to the defense of* the people afflicted and oppressed in *the low countries.*

Kings and princes soueregnes, are to yeeld account of their actions onelie to almightie God, the king of kings.

ALthough kings and princes soueregnes, owing their homage and seruice onelie vnto the almightie God the king of all kings, are in that respect not bound to yeeld account or render the reasons of their actions to anie others but to God their onelie soueregne Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and christian monarchs the same Lord God hauing committed to vs the soueregntie of this realme of England and other our dominions, which we hold immediatlie of the same almightie Lord, and so thereby accountable onelie to his diuine Maiestie) we are notwithstanding this our prerogatiue at this time specialtie moued, for diuerse reasons hereafter briefle remembred, to publish not onelie vnto our owne naturall louing subiects, but also to all others our neighbors, specialtie to such princes & states as are our confederats, or haue for their subiects cause of commerce with our countries and people, what our intention is at this time, and vpon what iust and reasonable grounds we are moued to giue aid vnto our nert neighbours the naturall people of the low countries, being by long warres and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall seruitude.

Naturall causes of the ancient continuall traffike betwixt the people of England & them of the low countries.

First, it is to be vnderstood (which percase is not perfectlie knowne to a great number of persons) that there hath beene, time out of mind, euen by the naturall situation of those low countries and our realme of England, one directlie opposit to the other, and by reason of the readie crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious hauens respectiuelie on both sides, a continuall traffike and commerce betwixt the people of England, and the naturall people of those low countries, and so continued in all ancient times, when the seuerall prouinces thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adioining, were ruled and possessed by seuerall lords, and not vnited togither, as of late yeares they haue beene by intermarriages, and at length by concurrences of manie and sundrie titles haue also beene reduced to be vnder the gouernement of their lords that succeeded to the dukedome of Burgundie: whereby there hath beene in former ages manie special aliances and confederations, not onelie betwixt the kings of England our progenitors and the lords of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents: but also betwixt the verie naturall subiects of both countries, as the prelats, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other communalties of the great cities and port townes of either countrie reciprocallie, by speciall obligations and stipulations vnder their seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and intercourse of merchants, & also of speciall mutuall amitie to be obserued betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties as well ecclesiasticall as secular: and verie expresse prouision in such treaties conteined for mutuall fauours, affections, and all other friendlie offices to be vsed and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutuall bonds, there hath continued perpetuall vnions of the peoples hearts togither, and so by waie of continuall interconrses, from age to age the same mutuall loue hath beene inuiolablie kept and exercised, as it had beene by the worke of nature, and neuer vtterlie dissolued, nor yet for anie long time discontinued, howsoeuer the kings, and the lords of the countries sometimes (though verie rarelie) haue beene at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, enuieng the felicitie of these two countries.

Confederations both betwixt the kings of England and lords of the low countries, and also the subiects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by speciall obligations interchangeablie, for mutuall fauours, and friendlie offices.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these naturall vnions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sundrie authentike treaties and transactions for mutuall commerce, intercourse and streict amitie of ancient times: as for example, some verie solemnelie accorded in the times of king Henrie the first our progenitor, and Philip the second duke of Burgundie, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was aboue one hundred & fortie yeares past, & the same also renewed by the noble duke Charles his son, father to the king of Spaines grandmother, and husband to the ladie Margaret sister to our great grandfather king Edward the fourth: and after that, of new ofttimes renewed by our most noble & sage grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, and the archduke Philip grandfather to the king of Spaine now being: and in latter times, often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and Charles the fift emperor of Almaine, father also to the present king of Spaine.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

Conuentions for the subiects of either side, to shew mutuall fauours one to the other.

In all which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was also at all times specialtie and principallie conteined in

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spanish gouernement.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

The riches townes and strengths with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniards.

in expresse words, by conuentions, concords, and conclusions, that the naturall people, and subiects of either side, should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other, and should safelie, freelie and securelie commerce togither in euerie their countries; and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce beene without interruption continued in manie ages, farre aboue the like example of anie other countries in christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and inriching of their people: vntill of late yeares that the king of Spaine departing out of his low countries into Spaine, hath beene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his councellors of Spaine, to appoint Spaniards, forrenners and strangers of strange bloud, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable gouernement, and some of them notablie delighted in bloud, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest gouernours of all his said low countries, contrarie to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturallie borne, and such as the emperour Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours vsed in their seruice, able to haue beene imploied in the rule of those countries.

But these Spaniards, being meere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall maner of peaceable liuing, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles; yea and as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilest he remained in those countries, and vsed the counsels of the states and naturall of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrariwise, these Spaniards being exalted to absolute gouernement, by ambition, and for priuat lucre haue violentlie broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroied without order of law, within the space of few moneths, manie of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthie of gouernement. And howsoeuer in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretense therof was for maintenance of the Romish religion: yet they spared not to depriue verie manie catholikes and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priuileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the verie glorie of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie vsed for his destruction, to be but for euer lamented in the harts of the naturall people of that countrie.

And further more, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to Spaine, these forren gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation answered the emperour Charles equallie to his Indies) in a maner desolat, and haue also lamentablie destroied by sword, famine, and other cruell maners of death, a great part of the naturall people, & now the rich townes and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chiefflie with force by the Spaniards. All which pitifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this daie, euen of such as in ancient time haue beene at frequent discord with them through naturall compassion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared especiallie this present yeare, when the French king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countrie & their deputies were answered) that certeine vntimelie and vnlooked for complots of the house of Guise, stirred and maintened by monie out of Spaine, disturbed the good and generall peace of France, and thereby urged the king to forbeare from the resolution he had made, not onlie to aid the oppressed people of the low countries against the Spaniards, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subiects. But in verie truth, howsoeuer they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted & kept in hope in France by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestlie solicited vs as queene of England, both by message and writting to be carefull of their defense: yet in respect that they were otherwise more streictlie knit in ancient friendship to this realme than to anie other countrie, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more cause and griefe generallie, than of our subiects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient alies and familiar neighbours: and that in such manner, as this our realme of England and those countries haue beene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife.

And for these vrgent causes and manie others, we haue by manie freendlie messages and ambassadors, by manie letters and writings to the said king of Spaine our brother and alie, declared our compassion of this so cruell and cruell vsage of his naturall and loiall people by sundrie his martiall gouernors and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good louing sister to him, and a naturall good neighbour to his lowe countries and people, we haue often, and often againe most friendlie warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisedome and princelie clemencie restreine the tyrannie of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their natiue countrie in the former state of their liberties, to seeke the protection of some other forreine lord, or rather to yeeld themselues wholie to the souereignetie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretend and affirme, that in such cases of generall iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of anie other prince to be their prince and head.

The proofe whereof by examples past is to be seene & read in the ancient histories of diuerse alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them vnited by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundie came to his title, from which the king of Spaines interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now, for the purposes to staie them from yeelding themselues in anie like sort to the souereignetie of anie other strange prince, certeine yeeres past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subiects to the king, such as were the duke of Arcot, and the marquesse of Hauerie yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperour Charles, we yeelded at their importunat requests, to grant them

Naturall causes of the ancient continuall traffike betwixt the people of England & them of the low countries.

Confederations both betwixt the kings of England and lords of the low countries, and also the subiects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by speciall obligations interchangeablie, for mutuall fauours and friendlie offices.

Treaties expressed of ancient time, betwixt the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

Conuentions for the subiects of either side, to shew mutuall fauors one to the other.

Spaniards and strangers latelie appointed gouernors in the low countries, to the violation of the liberties of the countrie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spanish gouernement.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

The rich townes and strengths with the wealth therein possessed by the Spaniards.

The French kings offers to haue aided and receiued to his subiection the oppressed people of the low countries.

The queene of Englands continuall freendlie aduises to the king of Spaine for restreining of the tyrannie of his gouernors.

The queene of Englands means vsed to staie the states of the lowe countries frō yeelding their subiection to anie other forreine prince.

them pres of monie, onelie to continue them as his subiects, and to maintcine themselues in their iust defense against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressours, thereby staieng them from yelding their subiection to anie other prince from the said king of Spaine: and during the time of that our aid giuen to them, and their staie in their obedience to the king of Spaine, we did frelie acquaint the same king with our actions, and did still continue our frendlie aduises to him, to moue him to command his gouernours and men of warre, not to vse such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despaire of his fauours, and seke some other lord.

And in these kind of persuasions and actions we continued manie yeres, not onelie for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to haue the ancient conditions of streict amitie and commerce for our kingdoms and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendents, and namelie with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For we did manifestlie se, if the nation of Spaine should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantlie intended, and plant themselues there as they haue done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spaniards, being sent within these few yeares by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestlie confessed by the capteins, that those numbers were sent aforehand to seize vpon some strength there, to the intent with other great forces to pursue a conquest thereof: we did (we saie againe) manifestlie se in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might shortlie be, if in conuenient time we did not spedilie otherwise regard to preuent or staie the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, manifestlie for his owne weale and honor, we found him by his councell of Spaine so vnwilling in anie sort to incline to our frendlie counsell, that his gouernours and chefeteins in his low countries increased their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spaine offered dailie greater iniuries to ours, resorting thither for traffike: yea, they of his councell in Spaine would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence: a matter verie strange, and against the law of nations.

The enterprise of the Spaniards in Ireland sent by the king of Spaine and the pope.

The refusall of the quenes messenger, and hir letters to the king of Spaine.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was worthie to be knowne to the king, and not vnmet now also to be declared to the world, to shew both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our greefes, and to let it appeare how euill we haue bene vsed by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although we could not haue these manie yeares past anie of our seruants, whom we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother (as was meet) suffered to continue there without manie iniuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuerse times to their owne persons by the greatest of his councellours, so as they were constreined to leaue their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the countrie, without cause giuen by them, or notified to vs: yet we, minding to continue verie good frendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time and manie yeares giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to vs, sauing onelie vpon manifest dangerous practises attempted by

The iust causes of dismissing of Barnardin Mendoza out of England.

two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was *Girald Desses*, a verie turbulent spirited person, and altogither vnskilfull and vnapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie, as at his returne into Spaine he was so there also reputed: the other and last was *Barnardin de Mendoza*, one whome we did accept and vse with great fauour a long time, as was manifestlie sene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe: but yet of late yeares (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great fauourer to sundrie our euill disposed and seditious subiects, not onelie to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notorioustie condemned as open rebels & traitours, with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels he did in the end deuise how with a power of men, partlie to come out of Spaine, partlie out of the low countries, whereof he gaue them great comfort in the kings name, an inuasion might be made into our realme, setting downe in writing the manner how the same should be done, with what numbers of men and ships, and vpon what coasts, ports, and places of our realme by speciall name, and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should fauour this inuasion, and take part with the inuadours, with manie other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble vs and our realme verie dangerouslie, as hath bene most clerelie proued and confessed by such as were in that confederacie with him, whereof some are fled and now do frequent his companie in France, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course here in held by the said ambassadour, as was manifestlie of late time published to the world vpon Francis Throgmortons principall traitours examination.

Two turbulent spirited persons (Spaniards) doing what they could to set all English in a tumult.

See the voluntarie confession of F. Throgmorton in pages 1370, 1373.

And when we found manifestlie this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and inuasion; and that for a yeare or more together he neuer brought to vs anie letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him that he would by some letter from the king to vs, let it appeare that it was the kings will that he should deale with vs in his masters name in sundrie things that he propounded to vs as his ambassadour, which we did iudge to be contrarie to the king his masters will: we did finallie cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whome, with manie other circumstances we knew it, and therefore caused him in verie gentle sort to be content within some reasonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his owne safetie, as one in verie ded mortallie hated of our people: for the which we granted him fauourable conduct, both to the sea and ouer the sea: and therevpon we did spedilie send a seruant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, onelie to certifie him of this accident, and to make the whole matter aparant vnto him: and this was the messenger afore mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliuer our message or our letters to the king.

The contrarious dealing of hir maiestie with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also haue both heretofore manie times, and now latelie practised here in England by meanes of certeine rebels, to haue procured sundrie inuasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the low countries: verie hard recompenses (we may saie) for so manie our good offices. Herevpon we hope no reasonable person can blame vs, if we haue disposed our selues to change this our former course, and more carefullie to loke to the safetie of our selfe and our people: and finding our owne dangers in ded verie great and imminent, we haue

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bæne the more vrgentlie prouoked to attempt and accelerat some good remedie, for that besides manie other aduises giuen vs both at home & from abrode, in due time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the generall disposition of all our owne faithfull people verie readie in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in parlements and otherwise, their seruices with their bodies and bloud, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and preuent this present common danger to our realme and themselues, euidentlie seene and feared by the subuerting and roting vp of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of war, enimies to our countries, there so neere vnto vs.

The queene of Englads procuring for the recouerie of Scotland from the seruitude wherein the house of Guise meant to haue brought it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunat proceeding by Gods speciall fauor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedieng of a like mischefe that was intended against vs in Scotland by certeine Frenchmen, who then were directed onelie by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their neece the queene of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like maner as the offrings of the said house haue euen now latelie sought to atteine to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider; although we hope the king our good brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnesse of his bloud be ouerruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king & his bloud) be by the said house of Guise & their faction disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaid. When the French had in like maner (as the Spaniards haue now of long time attempted in the low countries) sought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the crowne of France, and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to haue proceeded to a warre by waie of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their neece the queene of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world) it pleased almightie God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our honor and comfort, to further our intention and honorable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland being sore oppressed with the French, and vniuersallie requiring our aid, we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there euer since manie yeres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of certeine of the noble men, as hath bæne vsuall in that countrie, in the minoritie of the yong king, there haue risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauor of the king and his gouernors vsed meanes to pacifie: so as at this daie such is the quietnesse in Scotland, as the king our deare brother & cousine, by name James the first, a prince of great hope for manie good princelie respects, reigneth there in honor and loue of his people, and in verie good and perfect amitie with vs and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so good successe by the goodnesse of God, as both our owne realme, and that of Scotland, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace than can be remembred these manie hundred yeares before; and yet nothing hereby done by vs, nor anie cause iustlie giuen: but that also the French kings that haue since succeeded, which haue bæne three in number, and all brethren, haue made and concluded diuerse treaties for good peace with vs, which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions attempted, for removing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the onelie direction of the house of Guise.

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient freedome, and so possessed by the present king by the meanes onelie of the queene of England.

See the testimonie confession of F. Throgmorton in pages 1370, 1373.

The courteous dealing of hir maiestie with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by parcialitie, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelders, and other prouinces with them vnited (being desperat of the king of Spaines fauours) for our succours to be yeelded to them, onelie for their defense against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunat requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, no hope of relefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof by dailie conquests of their townes and slaughter of their people (though in verie truth we cannot impute the increase of anie late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall gouernor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclinable to mercie and clemencie, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniards vnder him, that haue bæne so long trained in shedding of bloud vnder the former Spanish gouernors) and ioining thereunto our owne danger at hand, by the ouerthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accesse and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so neere to our countries, with precedent arguments of manie troublesome attempts against our realme: we did therefore by good aduise and after long deliberation determine, to send certeine companies of souldiors to aid the naturall people of those countries, onelie to defend them and their townes from sacking and desolation, & thereby to procure them safetie, to the honor of God, whome they desire to serue sincerelie as christian people according to his holie word, and to inioie their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequentlie to preserue and continue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certeine companies of English souldiors to the defense of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be by Gods fauour both honorablie interpreted of all persons (sauing of the oppressors themselues, and their partizans) in that we meane not hereby, either for ambition or malice (the two roots of all iniustice) to make anie particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people; onelie desiring at this time to obteine by Gods fauour for the countries, a deliuerance of them from warre by the Spaniards and forraines: a restitution of their ancient liberties and gouernement by some christian peace, and thereby a suertie for our selues and our realme to be free from inuading neighbors; and our people to inioie in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercourse of friendship & merchandize, according to the ancient vsage and treaties of intercourse, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and earles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

Three speciall things reasonablie desired by the queene of England.
1. The end of warres with restitution of the low countries to their ancient liberties.
2. Suertie fro invasion of hir owne realme.
3. And renewing of the mutuall traffike betweene the countries.

And though our further intention also is, or maie be, to take into our gard some few townes vpon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enimies of the countrie: yet therein considering we haue no meaning at this time to take and reteine the same to our owne proper vse: we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with good reason and princelie policie, that we should haue the gard

The causes of taking some townes into hir maiesties custodie.

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and vse of some such places for sure accesse and recesse of our people and souldiors in safetie, and for furniture of them with vittels and other things requisit and necessarie, whilest it shall be needfull for them to continue in those countries for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent danger, and vntill the countries may be deliuered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recouer their ancient lawfull liberties and maner of gouernement, to liue in peace as they haue heretofore done, and do now most earnestlie in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the verie onelie true ends of all our actions now intended: howsoeuer malicious tongs maie vtter their cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the diuell hath more abounded with notable spirits replenished with all wickednesse to vtter his rage against professors of christian religion. But thereof we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts, hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart, will grant good successe to our intentions, whereby a christian peace may insue to his diuine honor, and comfort to all them that loue peace trulie, and will seeke it sincerelie.

An addition to the declaration, *touching the slanders published of* hir maiestie.

The summe of a slanderous pamphlet published in the Italian tong against the queenes maiestie.

After we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, intituled *Nuouo auuiso*, directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteining a report of the expugnation of Antwerp by the prince of Parma: by the which we found our selfe most maliciouslie charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hatefull to the world, than most repugnant and contrarie to our owne naturall inclination. The one with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saued our life being iustlie by sentence adiudged to death in our sisters time: the other, that there were some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (as it was said) that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken awaie. And for the better prouing and countenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discouer this, and bring two of the wicked persons to iustice. Now, knowing how men are maliciouslie bent in this declining age of the world, both to iudge, speake, and write maliciouslie, falslie, and vnreuerentlie of princes: and holding nothing so deere vnto vs, as the conseruation of our reputation and honor to be blameless: we found it verie expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputations to passe vnder silence; lest for lacke of answer, it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did therefore thinke, that what might be alledged by vs for our iustification in that behalfe, might most aptlie be ioined vnto this former declaration now to be published, to laie open before the world, the maner and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the low countries.

The quenes maiestie is gelous ouer the conseruation of hir reputation.

An answer to the first point of the said pamphlet, clearing hir highnes of ingratitude.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine; as we do most willinglie acknowledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge verie thankefullie, and haue sought manie waies since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions maie appeare: so do we vtterlie denie as a most manifest vntruth, that euer he was the cause of the saning of our life as a person by course of iustice sentenced vnto death, who euer carried our selfe towards our said sister in dutifull sort, as our loialtie was neuer called in question, much lesse anie sentence of death pronounced against vs: a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in law, by place of triall, by the iudge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessarie circumstances in like cases vsu all, especiallie against one of our qualitie, as it could not but haue beene publikelie knowne, if anie such thing had beene put in execution. This then being true, we leaue to the world to iudge how maliciouslie and iniuriouslie the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable an vntruth, with a vice that of all other we do most hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vntruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion maie easilie discerne what vntruth is conteined in the second, by the which we are charged to haue beene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if anie such thing should haue beene by vs intended, must haue proceeded either of a misliking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the low countries was so committed vnto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

The second point of the pamphlet answered to the first sanctification of anie thing is reasonable.

The earle of Leicesters passing ouer into the low countries.

And first for his person, we could neuer learne that he hath at anie time, by act or speach, done anie thing that might iustlie breed a mislike in vs towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either priuie or assenting to the taking awaie of his life. Besides, he is one of whom we haue euer had an honorable conceit, in respect of those singular rare parts we alwaies haue noted in him, which hath wone vnto him as great reputation, as anie man this daie liuing carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwaies deliuered out by speach vnto the world, when anie occasion hath beene offered to make mention of him.

The collection of the earles of Leicester by Fr. Thin 1585.

Now touching the prosecution committed vnto him of the warres in the low countries, as all men of iudgement know, that the taking awaie of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke anie end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestlie knowne, that no man hath dealt more honorablie than the said prince, either in dulie obseruing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie, where merit and desert hath craued the same: and therefore no greater impietie by anie could be wrought, nor nothing more preiudiciall to our selfe (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be an instrument to take him awaie from thense by such violent meanes, that hath dealt in a more honorable and gratious sort in the charge committed vnto him, than anie other that hath euer gone before him, or is likelie to succeed after him.

The prosecution of the warres in the low countries is not like to cease, though the prince of Parma were dead.

Now therefore how vnlikelie it is, that we hauing neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres should cease by losse of him, should be either author, or anie waie assenting to so horrible a fact, we referre to the iudgement of such as looke into causes, not with the eies of their affection; but do measure and weigh things according to honor and reason. Besides, it is likelie if it had beene true that we had bin anie waie chargeable (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter as by him is alledged) would haue beene both produced and published: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that

This being dulie pondered, all the world maie iudge how vnlikelie hir highnesse is slandered.

The nature of malice compla-

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maie nourish the venem of that humor.

In a sentence or few words.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can hold in this unfortunat age that ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of almightie God, to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather shew their wils through malice, than with iust cause bydesert, to saie ill, or deface princes either by speach or writing: assuring our selues, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellors shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for deprauing of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are God ministers; they both are and alwaies shall be thought by all good men, unworthie to liue vpon the face of the earth.

The reward that wicked and infamous libellors shall reape at the hands of God and men.

Giuen at Richmount the first of October, 1585. and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie the queene, to be published.

In the moneths of Nouember and December, manie horsses and men were shipped at the Tower wharfe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the first of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of hir maiestie & the court) with his traine entred the towne of Colchester in Esser, where the maior & his brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of people met him, and so with great solemnitie entred the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the next morrow set forward to Harwich, into the which towne he was accordinglie received and interteined.

The earle of Leicesters passing ouer into the low countries.

The second point of the pamphlet answered to the full satisfaction of anie that is reasonable.

A discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession.

The collection of the earles of Leicester by Fr. Thin 1585.

THis going of Robert Sutton of Dudleie the sonne of John Dudleie duke of Northumberland into the low countries, hath occasioned my pen to treat somewhat of the earles of Leicester. Wherefore sith there hath beene (some hundred yeares past) some noble persons indued with that honorable title of the erldome of Leicester before & since the conquest; therefore determining to make some mention of them, being a thing not common, and so much the more worthie of continuance to posteritie: I saie, that if any shall thinke this discourse ouer briefe, and slender mention of such honorable persons, of their worthie exploits, of their antiquitie, of their descents and succession; let him for the present satisfie himselfe with this whatsoeuer it now be, vntill it shall please God to giue better abilitie & more time, to deliuer to the world the whole discourse of their liues, which I haue alreadie roughlie hewen out of the rocke in a booke purposelie intreating thereof in English, as I haue done of the other earles of this realme.

The proseeution of the warres in the low countries is not like to cease, though the prince of Parma were dead.

But here before I come to deliuer the names of these earles, it shall not be amisse to note the opinion of the best antiquaries of our age, and of such other persons, as for their rare knowledge and singular care in deliuering a truth to the world of matters belonging to antiquitie, deseruing singular commendation and aduancement. These antiquaries (I saie) of our time are led by some authoritie, (but by more reason) to suppose, that before Edward the Confessors time, there were not anie earles in England of such state and maiestie by creation of a lineall descent, as they now and manie yeares since be, and haue beene; but that they were onelie lords of those places, whereof they were intituled, as members vnder him that was principall king of that prouince, and onelie called *Comites* (as in those daies there were *Duces* and *Comites*, not of anie title of honor of place, but by vertue of their office) by reason that they were Companions appointed to associat the duke, capteine or leader of the men at arms. To which opinion I do most willingly for this time consent, as well for that it standeth with reason; as for that in all charters before the conquest, such as were witnesses to anie such deed, did onlie subscribe their name of duke and earle, without anie name of place, or title of honor, by reason of that place. As for example appeareth in a charter dated the fourtéenth yeare of king Edgar, and in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred three score and nine, in which amongst other things he gaue Howell to Westminster church: whereunto were witnesses besides the clergie, Alfer dux, Marcher dux, Oslac dux, Birnoth dux, Ofred dux, Fordwine dux, &c. And if it be obiected, that vpon the diuision of the land into prouinces or shires by Alured, that then there were creations of seuerall noblemen of such seuerall places; I will not much contend therein: but yet I saie that then they were not such as had permanent succession of those titles of honour to their heires, but were remoueable at the princes pleasure, as it is at this daie in the shiriffe of euerie shire, being the deputie of euerie such earle as his name doth well prooue, being *Vicecomes*. Yet since the time of Edward the Confessor (and as I suppose) somewhat aboue that, in the time of Canutus there were earles and lords of special places and titles of honour: but I as yet not hauing anie certeintie to set downe therein, will onelie deliuer that which I haue seene in an ancient pedegree written about the conquest time touching the earles of Leicester; not deciding what kind of earles they were either inheritable of that honor, or remoueable at the princes pleasure; but leauing the same to others, who either will or can better that which I haue done: wherefore thus I begin with those earles of Leicester.

Leofricus, the first of that name, was honored with the title of the earledome of Leicester in the daies of Ethelbald king of Mercia, which Ethelbald was slaine about the yeare of our redemption seauen hundred fortie and nine. Leofrike 1. Anonymus. M.S.

Algarus, the first of that name, sonne of the said Leofrike was earle of Leicester, and liued in the time of Offa the great, Kenulphus, Kenelmus, Ceolwlfus, Bernulfus, Ludicanus, and Witlafius kings of Mercia, which last king began his reigne ouer that prouince, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred twentie and six; during whose reigne this Algarus died, and was buried at Crowland. Algarus 1.

Algarus, the second of that name, by some called Alfricus the second, sonne of Algarus the first, liued vnder the gouernement of Burred king of Mercia, which Burred was expelled by the Danes, in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord eight hundred seauentie and two; which Algarus was killed by the Danes, Hengwar and Hubba, in the yeare that the sonne of God was borne of the virgin eight hundred seuentie and three, at Strelingham or Skrekingham in Kesticuen, and buried at Crowland. Algarus 2.

Leofrike, the second of that name, the sonne of Algarus the second, liued in the time of Alured or Alfred, and of Edward the elder kings of the West saxons, which Edward began his reigne about the yeare that the word became flesh nine hundred. Leofrike 2.

Leofwine the sonne of Leofrike the second, was earle of Leicester, and liued vnder the reigne of Athelstane, Edmund, Eldred, Edwine, and Edgar, Leofwine.

This being duelie pondered, all the world maie see how vniustlie hir highnesse is slandered.

The nature of malice compri-

kings of England, of which kings the said Edgar began his reigne, in the yere that the sonne of God tooke on him the forme of man nine hundred fiftie and nine, vnder whose reigne this Leofwine departed this life, leauing behind him three sonnes, Leofrike, Edwine, and Norman, whereof Edwine was slaine by the Welchmen, and Norman was killed (with Edricus de Streonia) by Canutus the Dane king of England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norweie.

Leofrike 3. Leofrike, the third of that name, the sonne of Leofwine, was the most famous man of his time, as well for gouernement, as for building of monasteries; he was earle of Chester, Leicester, and Couentrie, or rather (to speake better) earle of Mercia, which conteined those three prouinces, and manie more; he liued in the daies of Edward the second, Ethelred, Edmund, Canutus, Harold Harefoot, Hardeknute, and Edward the third, commonlie called Edward the Confessor, being all kings before the conquest. This man was of great yeares, and died at his manor of Bromleie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and six, being ten yeares before the conquest, and was buried in Couentrie, in the abbeie which he founded; he maried Godiua, by whome he had Algarus.

Algarus 3. Algarus the third of that name sonne of Leofrike, succeeding his fathers inheritance, had by Edward the Confessor further added vnto it the earldome of Orford, for which becomming verie proud, he often aduanced himselfe against the prince, by occasion whereof he was manie times banished, but restored againe to the earledome of Leicester by Edward the Confessor: he liued in the time of Edward the Confessor, and of Harold the sonne of Godwine, earle of Kent, and constable of Douer castle. He is appointed by manie authors to haue manie children, as Edwine earle of Mercia: Morkarus earle of Northumberland: Siwardus, or rather Siwardus, earle of Southampton at the time of the conquest: Algitha the wife of Harold the sonne of Godwine, as saith Henrie Knighton, lib. 1. cap. 2. and Lucia first maried to Iuon Taillbois, by whom she had no issue: after maried to Roger the sonne of Girald Romare, by whom she had issue William Romare heire to his father, and earle of Lincoln. And thirdlie she was married to Ranulph the second of that name earle of Chester, by whom she had issue Ranulph the third of that name, earle of Chester.

Morkar. Morkar was earle of Leicester and Lincolne at the time of the conquest, as appeareth by a booke carried about in the hands of all men, composed of all the nobilitie since the conquest: which booke within some lines after, doth also name one Simon Siluester to be earle of Leicester at the time of the conquest, by which of necessitie there must be two earles of Leicester at the time of the conquest, or else there appeareth a great contradiction in that booke; so that which waie so euer it be taken, the booke is imperfect, for it is impossible to haue two earles of one seignioric at one time, which was at the time of the conquest to be liuing, as that booke maketh them both. To which two if you please we will with like error, and with as much authoritie adde the third person, which is earle Edwine, whome some also will needs haue to be earle of Leicester, and that with some shew of reason, for that he was earle of Mercia, which conteined Leicestershire, Lincolneshire, and manie other shires of England. But of all these three to make choise of him which was the truest, I must imbrace Simon Siluester, who I suppose came to that title after the death of Algarus, by the gift of Edward the Confessor. And that there was one Simon earle of Leicester in the Conquerors time, it is so manifest as it needeth no proofe. For the charter of Robert Mellent the first created earle of Leicester, after the time of the conqueror, in the reigne of Henrie the first, reciting one Simon to be earle of Leicester, and predecessour to the said Robert Beaumont or Mellent, doth sufficientlie auouch the same: which Simon was earle of Leicester all the time of the Conqueror and William Rufus, as the said booke of the nobilitie saieth. Now this Simon being before the conquest intituled to that honor, the one of the nobilitie amongst others which called in William Conqueror, and tooke his part against Harold (for the duke of Normandie had not beene of power to subdue England but that he was mostlie aided by the nobilitie of this Ile, and partlie by the Flemings and other nations) was after permitted by the Conqueror and by his sonne William Rufus quietlie to enjoy all such lands and honors as he possessed at anie time before the inuasion of the Normane bastard, vntill the death of the said Simon, which happened about one hundred and ten, or neere there vnto. After the death of which Simon the earledome of Leicester was bestowed vpon Robert Mellent, as hereafter followeth.

Robert Beaumont or Mellent. Robert Beaumont or Mellent, so called because he was earle of Mellent in Normandie; in the right of his mother Adelina sister and heire to Hugh earle of Mellent, was sonne to Roger of Beaumont lord of Ponte Odonar in Normandie, to the which Robert Henrie the first gaue the earldome of Leicester, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred & three, as appeareth by his charter of the foundation of the abbeie of Leicester, of whom thus writeth Knighton: *Iste* (meaning Robert earle of Mellent) *venit in Angliam cum Williamo Conquestore, cui datus est comitatus Leicestriæ.* This Robert built the church of saint Maries in the castle of Leicester, which was destroied in the time of the former war, wherin he placed secular canons, and gaue vnto them lands, rents, and possessions. In which charter and gift of those lands, he maketh mention of Henrie earle of Warwike his brother, and of Margaret wife of the said Henrie. He died in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and eightéene, being about the eightéenth of Henrie the first; he married Isabell the daughter of Hugh the great earle of Vermondois, by whom he had issue Gualeran earle of Mellent, and Robert le Bosue earle of Leicester, which Isabell the wife of this Robert the first earle of Leicester, was sister to Ralfe Perona earle of Vermondois, of whom writeth Robertus Montensis these words: *Porro Robertus consul de Mellent sapientissimus in rebus secularibus vsque in Ierusalem dzgentium, & regis Henrici familiaris consiliarius luce, mundana caruit: cui successerunt filij sui Gualeranus in Normania factus comes Mellent, & Robertus in Anglia factus comes Leicestriæ.* Beside which it appeareth that Robert earle of Mellent had a daughter married to Hugh Montfort, for thus writeth the same Robert Montensis: *Eodum anno* (which was the yeare of Christ, one thousand one hundred twentie and three, and the three and twentith of king Henrie the first) *Hugo de Monteforti perfecerat quoddam castellum validissimum in eodem loco, quod cum rex interrogaret, noluit dare monitu vxoris suæ sororis Gualerani comitis Mellis, qui iam discordia propalata a rege decessit: quod castrum rex obsidione cœpit.* And in the yeare following, the said Gualerane, Hugh Montfort, and Hugh Fitzgeruase were taken by William Tankeruille the kings chamberleine, the seuenth kalends of Aprill, touching which Gualerane earle of Mellent this also writeth the same Montensis, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred three score and six: *Gualeranus comes Mellenti factus monachus*

prædi-

pratelli obijt, & succesſit ei filius eius Robertus, natus ex ſorore Ebroicenſis, duxit autem idem Robertus filiam Reynaldi comitis Cornubie.

Robert de Bolſue.

Robert de Bolſue, or rather Boſue, ſo ſurnamed becauſe of his crookebacke, was earle of Leiceſter after the death of his Father, he built the monaſterie of Luffeld in Northamptonſhire, within the foreſt of Wichwood, otherwiſe called Whithelwood, as appeareth by this charter.

The charter of Robert earle of Leiceſter, *about the building of the monaſterie of Luffeld.*

Robertus comes Legeceſtrie, Radulpho pincerna & omnibus baronibus ſuis ſalutem. Sciatis me dediſſe ſeruo meo Malgerio monacho in eleemoſynã parcam landam, quæ eſt inter Lunbreodam & Cepeleiam, ad manſiones & oratorium ibidem faciendum, & de alia terra de Cernelia tantum ad ædificandum, quantum ego conuenienter conſiderabo per conſilium amicorum meorum. Et hoc feci pro anima regis Anglorum Willielmi, & Matildæ reginæ, & Rogeri de Bellomonte & Adelinæ vxoris ſuæ; & pro anima patris mei Roberti & fratris mei Gualerani. Teſtibus Willielmo de Diua, Galfrido de Turuill, &c. Et hoc feci per conſilium & laudẽ comitis de Guarenna & Nigelli de Albineto, & Gualerani fratris mei comitis de Mellent.

Robert Beaumont or Mellent.

This monaſterie was of the order of Benedictines vnder the gouernment of a prior, whereof one John was appointed by king Henrie, as maie appeare by this writ. *Henricus, &c. Vicecomitibus, &c. Præcipio quòd manuteneatis Iohannem priorem meum de Luffeld, quem ibi priorem feci & inſtitui, &c. Teſte Iohanne decano de Sarum apud Vdeſtoc.* By which appereth, that though the foundation were ſometime of the earles of Leiceſter, that yet the preſentation was at that time in the king: which earle about the ſecond of K. Stephan, hired the erle Theobald to take his part. For thus writeth Robertus Montenſis; *Comes Theobaldus nepos Henrici* (which was king Henrie the firſt) *conductus à Roberto comite Leiceſtriæ obſedit pontem ſancti Petri & cœpit eum ſuper Rogerum de Toneio.* After which this Robert de Bolſue, by the conſent of Alexander biſhop of Lincolne, did in the yeare of our redemption, one thouſand one hundred fortie and three, being the eight yeare of the reigne of king Stephan, build the monaſterie called *Sancta Maria de pratis*, in the honor of the aſſumption of the virgine Marie, and of the lands, poſſeſſions, rents and churches of the ſaid ſecular chanons in the caſtle of Leiceſter. With manie other lands of his owne gift, he did richlie endow that church, which he remoued out of the caſtle, & placed in the medowes without the caſtle wals, changing them into regular chanons. In which monaſterie by the conſent of his wife, he toke on him the habit of religious, and at his firſt entrance into that houſe gaue to the monks the manor of Stratton, in which religious monaſterie he continued by the ſpace of fiftéene yeares, where he ended his life in the yeare of Chriſt (as ſaith Henrie Knighton) one thouſand one hundred three ſcore and ſeuen, being the thirteenth of Henrie the ſecond: but (as others ſaie) in the yeare one thouſand one hundred three ſcore and nine, being the fiftéenth of the ſame king, and was buried on the right ſide of the quére of the ſame church. Beſides which this Robert founded the abbeie of Gerondine which he replenished with monkes: and at the requeſt of his wife, and with hir helpe, he erected the monaſterie of Eaton furniſhed with nuns. He married Amicia the daughter of Raſe Montfort, by whom he had iſſue Robert de Blanchmaines, beſides which ſonne (as it ſeemeth by Robert Montenſ.) he had a daughter maried to Raſe Toneio. For thus writeth that author in the eight yeare of Henrie the ſecond; *Radulphus de Toneo moritur, relicto paruulo filio ex filia Roberti comitis Leiceſtriæ.* This Amicia, wife to this earle Robert, did by the conſent of hir huſband become a nun in the foreſaid monaſterie of Eaton. Moreouer this earle was right heire to the honor of Britoll in Normandie, as appeareth by the ſame Montenſis, who in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the firſt, as farre as my memorie ſerueth (as I am now driuen to truſt therevnto) writeth in this ſort: *Mortuo Willielmo de Paceo abſq; liberis, redditum eſt caſtrũ Pacei Roberto filio Roberti comitis Leiceſtriæ, quia pertinebat ad honorem Britollij, vnde ipſe erat legitimus hæres ex parte matris ſuæ.*

Robert Blanchmains.

Robert oue le Blanchmains, or Robert with the white and faire hand, ſucceeding his father, was the third earle of Leiceſter of that line and name after the conqueſt, he founded the hoſpitall of Brackeleie, and indowed the ſame with poſſeſſions, where the hart of the ſaid Robert de Mellent did in the time of Richard the ſecond (in whoſe reigne Henrie Knighton that affirmeth this did liue) remaine ſound and whole, preſerued in a veſſell of lead with ſalt. This man going to Jeruſalem died in his returne homeward at Durace in Græce, where he was buried in the yere of our redemption one thouſand one hundred foure ſcore and ten, being about the ſecond yeare of king Richard the firſt. For the hautineſſe of this Robert kicking againſt king Henrie the ſecond, the walles of the citie of Leiceſter were raſed to the ground: ſith the ſaid Robert leauing the father, and taking part with king Henrie the ſonne, was in armes againſt the king: touching which thus writeth Geruaſius Dorobern. in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand one hundred three ſcore and fourtéene. *Circa feſtũ ſanctæ Lucie miſſus eſt in Angliam iunior Robertus comes Leiceſtriæ, & cum eo nonnulla Flandrenſium milia, & a comite Hugone ſunt recepti. Capto autẽ de facile caſtello de Haganeth in Leiceſtriam tẽderẽt in territorio ſancti Edmundi menſe Octobri, occurrerunt eis milites regni Reginaldũ Cornubiæ comitẽ, & comitẽ de Arundel ſequentes, à quibus perterritus cum Flãdrenſib. ſuis, comes Rodbertus fugã iniit, ſed captus eſt ipſe & vxor ſua, & Fãldrenſium tria milia vel amplius trucidati perierunt.* Thus much this author liuing in that time, wherevnto Robertus Montenſis addeth, that he with his wife was committed to priſon. Moreouer, this Robert earle of Leiceſter animated the monks of Canturburie to ſtand ſtiffe to the mainteinance of their priuilege againſt Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie, and ſaid vnto them (when they came from the preſence of Richard the firſt, greatlie offended with them for their contumacie) By the faith I owe to God I giue you this counſell, laie all your care vpon the Lord, and he will nouriſh you, and all things are to be loſt and ſpent for God and the libertie of the church. This earle married Petronella or Parnel the daughter of Hugh Grantmill; with whom he receiued the honor of Hinkleie, together with the ſtewardſhip of England, by the gift of the ſaid Hugh, which woman did build the bodie of the great church of Leiceſter, & is buried in the quére of the ſaid church before the high altar. This woman wreathed a cord of the haire of hir head, which ſhe tied to an other longer rope, which did draw vp and let downe a lampe tied to the cord made of hir haire, which was extant and kept in the daies of king Richard the ſecond (as ſaith the ſaid author) for a monument and remembrance of hir. He had iſſue Robert Fitzpernell, William the leprous which built the hoſpitall of ſaint Leonards in Leiceſter, Robert biſhop of S. Andrews in Scotland: Amicia married to Simon Montfort, and Margaret married to Saier de Quincio earle of Wincheſter.

Robert Fitzpernell.

Robert Fitzpernell, so surnamed after his mother, was the fourth & last earle of Leicester of that line & name. He went into the holie land with king Richard the first, where after that he had ouerthrowne, and (as saith Henrie of Leicester) valiantlie slaine the Souldan at the tilt, he returned home into England, where he died issuelesse, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred and foure, and was buried in the abbeie of Leicester: after whose death the whole inheritance (because his brother William was a leper and his brother Robert a bishop, and both dieng without issue) was diuided betweene his two sisters Amicia and Margaret, the eldest being married to Simon Montfort, and the second to Saier de Quincie, as is before touched.

Simon Montfort.

Simon de Montfort, who came into England in the twelfe yeare of king John, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and ten, was in the right of his wife earle of Leicester: for hauing the moitie of the countie of Leicester, and of the honor of Hinkeleie, he was made earle of Leicester, and by right of inheritance to him and to his heires, the high steward of England. And Saier de Quincie with the other moitie of the countie of Leicester, was created earle of Winchester. After which the said Simon for disobedience towards the king, was disherited, and banished the realme with his children; and the earldome of Leicester, with the honor of Hinkeleie, was giuen to Rafe or Randulph earle of Chester. This Simon had issue, Almaricus, and Simon. Amicia (by Tilius called Arnæ) wife to this banished Simon, was after hir husbands death (as saith the same Tilius) maried to the lord of Barres, by whome she had issue William de Barres. He died suddenlie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetéene.

Randulph Bohune.

Randulph Bohune, *aliàs* Blondeuille the first earle of Chester, after the conquest, was earle of Leicester, who inioied the same by all probabilitie during his life: though some seeme not to consent thereunto, for that they find him not so called by anie other historiographer, who onelie terme him earle of Chester, Lincolne, and Huntington: he died without issue in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, being the seuentéenth yeare of king Henrie the third.

Simon de Montfort.

Simon de Montfort second sonne to the foresaid Simon banished into France, found meanes to purchase all the right that his brother Almaricus being the elder, had to the earldome of Leicester: who being in right, and so intituled, earle of Leicester, but neuer in possession thereof, procured the king to grant the same to his brother Simon. In witnesse whereof, the said Almaricus writeth to Henrie the third on this sort.

The letter of Almaricus to king Henrie the third, requesting to inuest Simon his brother in the earldome of Leicester.

EXcellentissimo domino suo Henrico, Dei gratia illustri Anglorum regi, Almaricus comes Montisfortis & Leicestriæ, salutem, &c. Vestræ regiæ maiestati multotiens supplicaui, &c: vt mihi terram meam & ius meum in Anglia, quod bonæ memoriæ pater meus de vestro tenuit, & tenebat, dum decessit, pacificè ac quietè mihi vestro militi reddatis. Quod quia dominatio vestra non placuit huc vsque facere, adhuc vestræ M. supplico humilitate qua possum, quatenus hac vice mihi vobis seruire parato, reddere dignemini terram. Et si hoc vobis non placuerit, ego ad pedes vestræ dominationis transmitto Simonem fratrem meum, qui de domino rege Franciæ nihil tenet, cui si eam reddiderit s, me pro bene pagato tenerem. Datum Parisijs mense Februario.

Upon which letters, as after shall appeare, king Henrie gaue the earldome of Leicester to the said Simon, second brother of the said Almaricus, to whome by right of inheritance the same did belong by the law of England. But here before I talke anie further of this man, I thinke it not amisse, to note what other authors haue set downe touching the pedegrée of this Simon. Wherein Nicholas Gill the Frenchman, and Tilius, with Polydor the Italian haue erred, as I prooue by our histories, and especiallie by Henrie Knighton that liued some hundred yeares before anie of them all thée, and so best able to know a truth; both in respect that he liued nérer to the age of this Simon, and for that the monks of his house wrote the storie of those persons which were patrons of that monasterie, whereof he was a member. For all religious persons did, with great care, kéepe in memorie by record the succession of their patrons: for which cause I doo most willinglie follow Knighton, and leaue all the other; not forbearing yet to set downe what the Frenchmen write.

Nicholas Gill nameth this Simon to be the son of Almaricus, thus speaking in his annals of France, vnder the title of Lewis the ninth, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: fol. 110 En celle annee messire Simon de Montfort, qui fitz estoit de Amaulry conte de Montfort, qui estoit mort a Rome au retourne de oulter mere, per la crainte de la royne de saint Louys, qui lauoit prins en hayne senfuit en Angliterre deuers le roy Henrye, & le recent honorablement, & luy dona sa soir in mariage. Thus he maketh this Simon the son of Almaricus. Then commeth Tilius to amend vp the matter, and he maketh this Simon the sonne of an other Simon; the sonne of that Simon that maried Amicia the heire of Robert Fitzpernell, in whose right he was earle of Leicester, and so maketh thrée Simons in descent earles of Leicester. Which possiblie cannot be in my iudgement. For it is not possible betweene the death of that Simon and of this Simon, to haue one other Simon meane betweene them: for there could not be anie time therefore, from the death of that Simon first earle of Leicester, sith the first Simon came not manie yeares into England before that this last Simon was made earle of Leicester, about the seuentéenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth; by mine account. But this matter shall be more plentifullie examined by me hereafter, in the liues of the earles of Leicester more largelie written, sith my meaning is onelie now by the waie, to giue a note of the contrarieties of histories of the English to the French, and of the French among themselues: and so to the matter.

This Simon, after the death of his father, and agreement with his elder brother, came into England (as some saie) if that booke be trulie copied which is caried about of the nobilitie created since the conquest, in the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie & eight: shortlie after which, he maried Elenor the sister of Henrie the third, and daughter to king John. Then the booke going further saith, that in the fourtéenth yeare of Henrie the third, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, he was made earle of Leicester and high steward of England. But trulie, sauing correction, I cannot see how that can be so. For first I cannot agrée with Nicholas Gill, who saith that he came into England in

in the yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: nor with the said booke of noble men which saith, that it was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and eight, nor that he maried the kings sister in the yeare one thousand two hundred twentie and nine. For as Nicholas Triuet and most authors in written hand consent, William Marshall the yonger (which had before maried the said Elenor; for being his widow, the was maried to Simon Montfort) died in the yeare 1231, so that before this time, Simon Montfort could not marie this Elenor, and hir mariage to Marshall was in the yeare 1234, as saith the anonymall author that wrote the historie of England in English rime, setting downe the same mariage in this sort:

The yoonger William Marshall
That earle marshall was,
Wedded this kings sister,
As God gaue the case:
As in the yeare of grace twelue hundred
And twentie foure thereto:
Sith sir Simon de Montfort,
Espoused hir also.

Next after this, he could not in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the third be made earle of Leicester: for Randulph de Bohune earle of Chester was then liuing. And therefore I gather out of an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Euesham, that this Simon, hauing maried Elenor the kings sister, about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight, as hath Matthew Paris, being the twentith yeare of Henrie the third, after the death of earle Marshall, was also after the death of Randulph Bohune (which died in the said yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie & two, being the seuenteenth yeare of king Henrie the third) and somewhat before this mariage created earle of Leicester, about the one and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and seuen: so that there is seuen yeares full ods betweene this account, and the booke of the nobilitie. But perhaps some will saie, to be thus curious is but to contend for moneshine in the water; for what auaileth such exact calculations of time, so that they agree in substance of matter? Wherefore of this enough at this time, if truth maie not be suffered, which for the most part purchaseth hatred: and so againe to that which must follow of this Simon Montfort. Touching the marieng of this Simon, thus writeth Ioannes Londonienſis, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: *Eodem anno ex Ailionoram filiam ſuam comitiſſam de Penbroke nuptui dedit Simon de Monteforti, propter quod omnes comites & barones plurimùm indignabantur: vnde totum regnum fuit commotum. Eodem anno Simon de Monteforti iuit Romam, impetrare vt matrimonium confirmaretur inter ipſum & ſororem regis H. quod ſine læſione conſcienciæ contraxerat, votum cum fecerat ſolenne coram Eadmundo archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi de continentia ſeruanda.* Besides which aduancement by this mariage of the kings sister, this Simon Montfort was also by the said Henrie the third made high Steward of England and earle of Leicester, whereby he recouered his mothers inheritance in England, all which the king fullie granted vnto him, except the patronage of the abbeie of Leicester and the priorie of Kenelworth. This Simon being called the yonger, or Simon the second (who should not haue beene so named if there had beene three Simons in descent earles of Leicester) maried (as before is touched) Elenor the sister of Henrie the third, which had vowed chastitie, or (as the order then was) had taken vpon hir the mantle and the ring by the hands of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie. Afterwards in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fortie and eight, as hath the same Iohn of London, he was sent into Gascoine with a great armie against Gastine the sonne of the countesse of Biard, being then a capitall enimie vnto the king of England. And shortlie following in the yeare of Christ 1252, being greeuouslie accused for his misgouernement of that countrie, he was for his tyrannie remoued from the same. Whereupon some few yeares after, this Simon being so (as before is said) by the king thus aduanced, did like an vnthankful Frenchman moue warre and rebellion against the same Henrie the third, which was called The barons war, whereof there is liberall discourse in all our chronicles, set downe in the reigne of the same king. During which warres at the battell of Euesham, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred sixtie and fiue, being the nine & fortith yeare of the long reigne of this king Henrie the third, this Simon was iustlie slaine for his wicked insurrection, in taking vpon him to correct and rule the king and kingdome. He had issue Henrie his eldest sonne, slaine with his father at the foresaid battell of Euesham; Guido Montfort, who forsaking England and going into France, was stipendarie to the French king; Simon de Montfort who fled likewise into France, and renounced all his title to the earledome of Leicester, being content with a yearelie stipend; Henrie Montfort who being treasuror of Yorke, did after the death of his father (accompanieng his brethren) depart out of England into France, and continued a student at Paris: which foure brethren had one sister named Elenor (after hir mother) maried to Lewline prince of Wales, in the time of Edward the first as our chronicles dow speake. But Tilius the Frenchman, purposelie writing the pedegrees of the Montforts, saith that she was first maried to Peter de Courtneie lord of Colwche, and after to Henrie lord of Sallie, speaking nothing at all of the prince of Wales. After the death of this Simon de Montfort slaine at Euesham, king Henrie the third gaue the earledome of Leicester, with the honour of Hinkeleie, and the stewardship of England to Edmund his sonne, falselie surnamed Crokebacke, as most authors do agree.

Edmund Plantagenet, second son to Henrie the third, was made earle of Leicester by the gift of his father, with the castell of Kenelworth, in the fiftith yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and six, hauing also besides the same earledome of Leicester the earledome of Lancaster: which Edmund, Triuet further calleth the earle of Holderneſſe. He about the three and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie & nine, on the eight daie of Aprill, married Auelina the daughter of the earle of Albemerle, who was heire to hir fathers & mothers inheritance, in whose right the said Edmund should haue had the earledome of Deuonshire, and the ile of Wight: but the preuenting the death of hir husband, and dieng in his life time, had neuer possession of those places. After the death of which Auelina, this Edmund maried Blanch queene of Nauarra, and widow to Henrie king of that prouince, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Thomas earle of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and John. This Edmund founded the nunrie of the minories without Aldgate of London, in the one and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, in which yeare the said Edmund and his wife were banished out of the French kings dominions. He

Edmund Plantagenet.

died at Baion in Gascoine, & was buried at Westminster, on the north side of the high altar (whose toome is yet extant) in the fiue & twentith of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred ninetie seauen with this epitaph:

Icy gist Emond fitz le roy Henrie le tierce
d' Angleter, a qui aime Deieux fait mercye.

Thomas Plantagenet. Thomas Plantagenet, earle of Lancaster, Leicester, Derbie, Lincolne and Sarum, the greatest earle of England, as well for birth as dignitie, rebelling against Edward the second, was beheaded in the foureteenth of the said king Edward the second, being about the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and one, at Pomfret, and was there buried by the religious men in his owne church toward the south, neere to the high altar. He maried Alice the daughter and heire of Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne and Sarisburie, lord of Pomfret and of Halton, but had no issue by hir.

Henrie Plantagenet commonlie called Henrie of Monmouth. Henrie Plantagenet, lord of Monmouth, brother to Thomas last before slaine, in the foureteenth of Edward the second, was after the death of his brother receiued into title and honour of the earldome of Leicester, he maried Mawd the daughter & heire of sir Patrike Chaworth knight, by whome he had issue Henrie, after made duke of Lancaster, surnamed Torticoll. He died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and fiue, and was buried in the monasterie of the chanons at Leicester.

Henrie Plantagenet. Henrie Plantagenet, surnamed Torticoll or Crokeneke, sonne to Henrie of Monmouth, sonne to Edmund commonlie (as before) but falselie surnamed Crokebacke, was earle of Derbie, Leicester, and duke of Lancaster. He died the fiue & thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and one, at London, and was buried at Leicester in the collegiat church which he had builded, with a deane, twelue chanons, prebendaries, manie vicars and other ministers accordinglie answerable to the offices of that house. This man was glorious in fortune, and in his youth full of honour, in matter of chiualrie a valiant souldior and a wise councellor, a liberall prince, and a courteous supporter of iustice. He married Isabell the daughter of Henrie lord Beaumont, and had issue two daughters, Mawd married to William duke of Bauaria, earle of Henalt, Zeland and Holland, who after became mad, and Blanch maried to John of Gaunt.

John of Gaunt. John of Gaunt, fourth sonne to Edward the third, was by his wife Blanch, earle of Leicester, as heire to hir father, so that he was in his owne right, and in the right of his wife, duke of Acquitaine and Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Derbie, Sarisburie, and Lincolne, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England pag. 1230, and of the protectors of England set downe before in the time of Edward the first pag. 1069.

Henrie Bolingbroke. Henrie Bolingbroke, sonne of John of Gaunt, by his first wife Blanch, was duke of Lancaster & Hereford, earle of Derbie, Leicester & Lincolne, being after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth. From whose atteining to the crowne, vntill this Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leicester (by whome I haue béene occasioned to make this discourse of these earles of Leicester in this place) I do not remember of anie that hath béene indued with that title of honor to himselfe or to his heires.

Robert Sutton *alias* Dudleie created earle of Leicester, &c: see pag. 1207. Robert Sutton *alias* Dudleie, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, baron of Denbigh, was created earle of Leicester in the first yeare of queene Elisabeth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure, whose manner of creation I will omit, because it is alreadie set downe in the said yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in generall, and touching Robert Sutton in especiall, whose honourable interteinment in the lowe countries (whereinto he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue) deseruing not to be forgotten, doth follow in this sort.

John Stow. Robert earle of Leicester transported ouer sea to Flushing. On the eight daie of December, the said earle accompanied with the earle of Esser, the lord North, the lord Awdeleie, sir William Russell, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Arthur Basset, sir Walter Waller, sir Garuise Clifton, and other knights, capteins and souldiours, with his traine, to the number of fiftie sailes of ships & hoies, set forward towards Flushing, with sound of trumpets and drums, shouts, and prairs of the people, to happie and fortunate successe. On the tenth daie he arriued at Flushing, where with his whole traine (garded in his owne person by fiftie archers with bowes and arrowes, fiftie halberds, and fiftie gunners) he was with the interteinment of souldiours, and shot of the towne, and his noble companie before him, interteined by sir Philip Sidneie, gouernour vnder hir maiestie of the same towne, by Graue Morris second sonne to the deceased prince of Orange, by hir maiesties ambassador ligier there, and by the states of the towne passing honourablie interteined with ringing of bels, and making of bonfiers after their maner, which is to fix great pitcht barrels on the tops of high poles, and then to fire them. He was there feasted and lodged in the ambassadors house, where, according to his accustomed disposition, he demeaned himselfe so humblie (as he likewise did in all places where he came) that he purchased to himselfe no lesse loue & good liking than among the English:

The earles arriuall at Flushing and his interteinment.

Quippe loco positus sublimi, pectore miti,
Mansueto ac humili cunctis fit amabilis ille.

He taketh towards Middleborough. On the next daie after a sermon had in the publike church, and dinner ended, he tooke shipping and sailed toward Middleborough. Halfe waie betwixt Middleborough & Flushing standeth the strong skonce of Ramekens, garnished with Englishmen, at the which he with some of his especiall traine landed and viewed the same, who returning againe to their ships, were presented on the top of the wals, in the front of the sea with fiftie pikemen verie brauelie furnished, hauing their English ancient displaied with triumph of shot, sound of trumpets & drums, neere two houres togither. In the which honorable triumphs, the whole fleet hauing good wind and faire wether, sailed along to Midleborough, where on the shore side at the landing place were, vnder nine ancients displaied with great store of shot, the best states of the countrie attending my lords landing.

The skonce at Ramekens garnished with English.

His interteinment at Middleborough.

Ouer the gates by the port was painted the red crosse of England, hir maiesties armes, and the states, through which gates the earle and his traine entering, he was thus from his landing to his lodging garded through a lane of musket shot with the ancients borne before him, with trumpets & drums verie roiallie, almost a quarter of a mile. In the middle of the market place was the English ancient aduanced, and deliuered vnto him, with the which and the rest borne before him he came to his lodging, where at the intreatie of the states, he staid more than two houres at the gate, to see the soldiors marching and their strengths; after which, because it was neere vnto night, he entered, and made his dinner and supper all one. Three of those nine ancients were new. In the first were hir maiesties and the emperors armes quartered. In the second the earle

Three ancients excellentlie emblazoned.

earle of Leicesters and the Prince of Oranges armes togither. In the third were the seuen prouinces yelded vnto hir maiestie, all verie excellentlie emblasoned.

In a large table hanged ouer the gate of the English house in Middleborough, were emblasoned the armes of hir maiestie alone aboue the rest, next vnder that the lord lieutenant his armes on the one side at large; hard by the which was set out the armes of the states and their houses: all which artificiallie by a chaine were linked togither, & fastened to the English armes, vnder which was written at the foot of this frame, *Quos Deus coniunxit, homo non separet.* Thus with great ioie and continuall triumph was he interteined on their Christmas eues eue, after the Romish computation, which they in Zeland and Holland obserue in that order.

On Christmas eue, the states of the towne in the states house, which standeth in the middest of the towne or market place, feasted him sumptuouslie. In the first course of which feast thorough out the table was nothing but boiled meats, most excellent and deintie. In the second course was all roast meats that could be thought, pigs serued in on their fat, and wild fowle part in the fethers. In the third course was all kind of baked meats, as fowles in pies with their heads and tailes vnpluckt, all beset with pendants of hir maiesties, the lord lieutenants, the countries, and diuerse English mens armes on the same. The fourth and last course was a rare banket of incredible workmanship, as a castell of christall, founded vpon a rocke of pearle, about the which flowed siluer streames, in which laie fowles, fishes, and beasts of all kinds, some hurt, some slaine, and some gasping for breath; on the top of the which was a faire virgin ladie leaning, and giuing hir hands ouer the castell to succour them, verie wonderfullie wrought. There was wine in abundance, musike of all sorts, varietie of all things, and wonderfull welcomes. This feast began at eleuen of the clocke before noone, and continued till fiue in the afternoone.

The next daie being their Christmas daie, the earle to requite the states cost, inuited them all, whome he feasted verie roiallie after the English fashion. On saint Stephans daie he feasted the widow princesse of Orange, with hir second sonne countie Horris, and their traines, so sumptuouslie as beseemed his and their honors. Here dispatching his weightie affaires he continued seauen daies, after which he determined to saile towards Dort, which by iudgement of the countrie is not past ten houres sailing at the most. On the seuentæenth of December (after the account of England) with faire wind and weather, the whole fleet of Dutch hoies hoised vp saile toward Dort; but on the sudden, being onward on their iournie, the aire was so ouercast with mists, that they knew not how to saile for succour, neither backewards nor forwards. The reason was this. The riuer they had to saile thorough, was none other but an ouerflowne countrie, full of old foundations of houses, churches, and castels, so that the cleerest aire did no more than safegard the hoies from danger.

On the twentith daie my lord with some other landed at Williamstat, or Ragonhill, where he dined, and after dinner went abrode againe. On the one and twentith of December, diuerse ships of men of warre, and others, with the states of Dort in them met our fleet on the water, where betwirt their ships & ours was at the meeting of the earle great triumphs with shot, in which came manie small scouts of succour, to hasten the traines to shore, where in good time they entered Dort, verie roiallie and triumphantlie. On the port, to gard his person was set his owne gard of archers, shot, and halberds: and ouer the gate of enterance was hir maiesties, the earles, and the states armes emblasoned. When he was landed, and conducted by the states, he passed from the port thorough a lane of musket shot, all Dutch, braue and well appointed, with eight ancients displaied before him; in the middest whereof was the English ancient aduanced, whense with eight hundred shot he was brought to his lodging. After whose enterance they and the great shot continued triumphing an houre and more. Here he continued a daie and two nights, with singular interteinement, and reioising of the people. Ouer the court gate were on the wall at the entering written certeine Latine verses, signifieng the state of the low countries, to this effect in English:

The widow countrie wailing in hir losse,
Subiect to soldiors, and a strangers crosse,
By weeping hir misfortune, sits here alone,
To thinke of hir pleasures past and gone,
But after France and Spaine haue doone their woorst,
Hir helpelesse yoong ones, are by England nurst:
Blest be that virgine queene, that sent this good,
And blest be he that comes to saue our blood,
Whome to our soules a buckler we maie call,
And to our countrie, we crie welcome all.

On the three and twentith of December, the earle tooke scouts to passe to Rotherodame, by a pleasant riuer of fresh water, verie narow, where the botes or scouts are some by men, some by horses dragged along the riuer, verie pleasant, speedie, and easie. But yet in this passage the night being cleere, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that it put the small vessels in verie great danger; but after one houre the weather wared calme, and the night cleere, onelie a Dutch capteine and three or foure of his men were drowned. Toward night he drew neere to the towne of Rotherodame, where on the water he was met with three barges of pleasure, in euerie of which was twelue sailers, the first all in blew vierkens and venecians with red caps, and whole cypres white satyre like. In the second, twelue all in buffe. In the third twelue all in shag thrummed like verie braue, with their oares red and white: in these boats were great store of fire works, & rockets, to cast into the citie: and at the sterne of euerie one were cressets which towards night were lighted, and on the water made an excellent shew.

Thus with trumpets sounding all the waie, was he brought to Rotherodame by water to his lodging in the midle of the towne. On the other side of them, on the banks stood ranks of soldiors, all with musket shot, betwirt euerie foure of them was placed a torch, or cressets burning: and thus triumphantlie he entered his lodging, where the states accompanied him to supper that night. Here the inhabitants were ioifull of the Englishmens comming, praising God therefore, and making much of the traine, insomuch that euerie man dined in his hostes house of free cost. The townesmen had made verie memorable in the middle of the market place the whole proportion of Erasmus in a pulpit, as though he were preaching, holding a booke of the paraphrasis on the gospels in his hand, vnder whome was written Erasmus Rotherodame.

On the three and twentith of December, the earle made hast towards Delph, being from thense accompanied with the states, his barges of pleasure, and whatsoeuer was thought honorable. They came late to Delph, somewhat darke, but lighted by cressets along the narrow riuer, on the which manie rockets and fire works were vsed. On the landing port stood great store of musket shot (with manie new ancients) like a lane, for him to passe thorough

He entreth into Dort, how magnifically he was receiued, and what time he abode there.

Verses written ouer the court gate.

A Dutch capteine with three or foure of his men drowned in a fresh riuer.

The lord lieutenant commeth to Rotherodame by water, and the maner of his triumphant enterance therinto.

Diet of free cost.

A counterfeit of Erasmus.

The maner of the lord lieutenants entring into Delph.

rough as is commonlie vsed in the countrie, all which brought him to his lodging, which was the house where the prince of Orange was slaine. Ouer the gate of which house were certeine Latine verses written, conteining a gratulation & welcomming of the earle thither, testified with a consent of all degrees and professions: the same verses being thus:

He lodgeth in the house where the prince of Orange was slaine.

Salue perpetuùm comes illustrissime salue,
O bene quàm diuûm nomine gratus ades!
Te nihil est gratum magis, optatúmque tuendæ
Auspicium fidei, quàm patriæque venis!
Hinc tibi gratantur læti (sacer ordo) senatus,
Et memor officij cætera turba sui,
Spe meliore animi recreantur, gaudia toto
Pectore concipiunt pressa dolore diu,
Irrita quæ superi nolunt fore cassáque facta,
At magis inque dies accumulata volunt,
Reginam incolumem téque illustrissime seruent,
Sospite qua tecum patric sospes erit.
Dedecus infandum, probra turpia multa sequuntur,
Est mala cui nequam mens animúsque malus.

The lord lieutenant feasteth and is feasted.

On the fiue and twentith daie the earle was feasted of the states verie roiallie, and on the next morrow the earle feasted them, amongst whome was (besides the states and countie Morris) the princesse of Des, with a companie of honorable ladies and gentlewomen: at the table was Dutch musike of all kinds, orations in Dutch and Latine, with infinite welcoms. And it is to be noted, that the further the earle went vp into Holland, the brauer the countrie was, and the better his lordship was beloued, as appeared by his more excellent intertein-

The countrie of Holland commended.

The lord lieutenant remoueth to Donhage, and his entrance therinto.

ment. Here he staied the fiue and twentith and six and twentith daies, and then on the seuen and twentith he remoued to Donhage, where he determined to keepe his standing court. In the euening the earle by cressetlight, torches, & deuises of fire worke verie strange, entred into the towne of Donhage with a verie princelie traine of our Englishmen, with an hundred and fiftie of his gard, besides all or most of the states of Rotherodam & Delph, with those of Donhage that met him on the water with musket shot verie manie, and great triumphing. At the entrance of my lord by water on the riuer met him certeine fishermen, which represented Peter, James, and John at their herbour: by them Christ walking on the water, who commanded them to cast out their nets the second time (according to that of saint Matthew) they drew in abundance, wherewith they made shew of presentment to the erle, for the which with thanks he passed by. Further on the riuer sat the representation of Mars and Bellona, who vttered speeches vnto him as he passed, at that present.

The first shew at Donhage of fishermen.

The second shew of poeticall gods.

At his landing met him a troope of horsemen, furnished and trapped antikelie in colours, before whome hauing fetcht manie courses, because the street waxed narrow, they rode awaie. At the entrance of the faireſt street, being also somewhat narrow, there was on ech side of the same gallozie, raised a mans height, ech against other, all hong with blacke baies, on both which gallozies on ech side stood fifténe virgins all clad in white, with branches of palme or bor weathed about war candles light in their hands, euerie of which did reuerence vnto the earle; these stood a speares length distant ech from other. Betwixt euerie one hong a looking glasse, and betwixt euerie glasse vpon a pretie antike pearch stood a war candle burning, and at ech end of the gallozie stood a champion and a blacke More, the one supporting the armes of England, and the other the armes of Holland. This shew was verie proper, but these had no speeches. All the waie as the earle passed through, were artificiallie made gates raised of

The third shew of horsses antikelie trapt and furnished.

The fourth shew of virgins in white araie.

ragged staues, and vpon euerie snag stood a small war candle burning, by which hong the armes of diuerse craftsmen of the towne. The street all the waie was hong with broad clothes, vpon the which were placed store of red roses on sheetes of paper painted. At the next turning he was interteined with this shew. Ouer a gate vpon a verie high scaffold was a conceiued battell fought betweene the English soldiors and the Spaniards, the English men still prevailing, vnder the which was written thus much in effect: furthermore, these lines in the Latine tong, alluding to England, anciently called Britaine, were written in open sight as followeth:

The first shew of ragged staues with other deuises.

The first shew of conceiued battell betweene the English and the Spanish.

Such be our fortune, as this dooth foreshoo,
To vs freedome, to England fame also.

Maris terrarúmque sidus, BRITANIA.
Aequa Romanorum olim imperio,
Luxit salus, affulsit Constantinus,
Qui adsertor libertatis, instaurator
Christianæ pietatis:
Da & nobis fidam vicinámque dextram.
Faxit Deus optimus maximus,
Vt reginæ auspicijs, Dudlæi ductibus,
Militis tui viribus,
Iugo seruitutis excusso, belli nimbis discussis,
Ex infœlicissimis fœlicissimi Belgæ simus,
Sacro tecum arctóque vinclo iuncti!

Passing still forward, was a loftie scaffold verie faire builded, with hir maiesties armes at large placed, on the top stood seauen virgins, representing the seuen prouinces, euerie virgin holding a speare, and the armes at large emblasoned, which prouince she did signifie; in the middest of whom stood Minerua armed, incompassed about the bodie with the armes of England, vpon whome all the rest seemed to relie, as most euidentlie appeared by their verse:

The fourth shew of seuen virgins representing the seuen prouinces.

Adsis ô nostrúmque leues regina laborem.

All which were represented vnto hir maiestie by Necessitie an old champion. The next was on the like scaffold, seuen persons presented the seauen liberall sciences in their kinds, yéelded to the earle by desert: out of euerie window hong lanthorns and candles, and euerie street was furnished with cressets, torches, and links light: one deuise that hong in the middest of the street conteined eight and thirtie lanthorns, and seuerall lights comelie burning: a verie pretie sight. Besides this, against my lords gate, a barbar had on a wall placed three score or more basons of bright copper, & in the middest of euerie one a war candle burning was placed, in the middest of all was painted a rose and crowne: this made a faire shew, and was a pretie deuise. Under the red rose was written these verses following:

The right shew of seuen persons representing the seuen liberall sciences.

Floreat hæc semper rosa, cuius odore reuixit
Belgia languescens, regina dite potita.

Ouer the entrance of the court gate, was placed aloft vpon a scaffold, as if it had béene in a cloud or skie, Arthur of Britaine, whome they compared to the earle; within were hoboies, cornets, and diuers kinds of musike. And thus they brought him to his lodging triumphantlie, and after he was entred in a great hall of that house, they discharged such volées of shot as was wonderfull to heare. In the night they vsed fireworks of rockets, squibs, wheeles, and balles of fire, with a dragon that continued casting out of fire an houre, wonderfull artificiallie made.

The next daie, on the riuer adioining to my lords lodging, they deuised a running as it were at the tilt in botes, which was thus. From ech end of the riuer came a bote running with six oars, in the sterne of which on the top stood a man armed in a red wastcote, with a staffe in his rest, hauing a

but end of corke; now eche meeting other with their staues, both fell into the water, where spare botes were readie to succour them, for awaie went their horsses. This sport with freth men they continued till the earle was wearie of it, in pitieng the poore case of the men.

On the third daie of Januarie the earle with three hundred horsses in their furniture, verie brauely with his retinue entred Leidon, where by the waie he was met by the best of the towne, first by twelue burgomaisters, clad in long blacke gownes, and on their shoulders was the townes name, written in verie large letters of siluer: next them followed other twelue of the cheefest burgesses, and then manie on horsse backe, all in blacke veluet. At his entrance into the towne, all ouer his head, and downe to the ground on eche side, was hanged with saie of diuerse colours to his lodging, which was a great waie; himselfe with a canopie carried ouer his head was brought to his seat, against the which was a stage, on the which stood two men like poets, who presented these seuerall shewes that follow. It is to be noted, that eight yeares before this, they were besieged, and therefore now presented their extremities, which at that time they were driuen into. They brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie brauelie apparelled, & the represented the towne, hir they assalted by Spaniards, with false fiers of great & small shot a long time in order of battell, and then retiring continued their siege; here they laie so long that vittels waxed scarse, and then they presented after the poets of what this shew had passed. Famine attired accordinglie then breathed into the woman; after which they presented men rending dogges and cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, and souldiors robbing women of their children.

Sickneese now possesseth hir and pestilence, and this they presented in abrupt burials of townesmen on heapes; and lastlie with a braue buriall of a captaine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead matches, howling trumpets, wrapt up ancients, trailed pikes, drawne peeces; and after he was put into the ground, and bid farewell with a volee of great and small shot. The Spaniards pitieng hir, writ and sent letters by diuerse messengers, all which she read and refused, without returne of answer: now hope possesseth hir, and therefore they toke another waie. Now she commanded a light to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signifie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph, how they hoped for succor; who againe, by deuise of a doue sent them promise of aid, by which doue they promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew ended.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome the towne relied, and she learned: Gods prouidence in the dead of the night ouerthrew a peece of the wall and bawmure of six and twentie poles. Which the enimie hearing; and fearing the prince and his power to be entred for their aid, they fled, whome when the towne had in pursute, they put all they ouertoke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and so with the woman, as it were now at libertie that presented the towne, they marched awaie merilie with great triumph. At the last they brought in a woman verie braue, armed as the other was, hir they besieged with a Spaniard, intised with a Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian twise, the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping off hastilie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatning marched awaie. The earle led hir to his lodging, wherein to be entred with shot. On the scaffold were written these verses, in effect as followeth in English:

We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,
We are as they in Babilon, by the water clere
Bicause we wold not worship idols, but Gods word,
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeare,
But our deliuerance is now verie neare,
For God hath looked vpon our miserableneese,
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,
Which praised be God as it dooth beseeme,
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,
And humbled the hart of such a noble queene,
As hath sent vs a gouernor now in this space,
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,
Thus praised may he be world without end,
Which sendeth such a prince aboue all that liueth,
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueth.

These verses seeme to be made by no metrician: perhaps they were deuised by some of Leidon.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the doore of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis Roberti Dudlæi, regiæ maiestati apud Anglos à consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgiæ, &c: ad Holandos consolatio.

Inter Iberiadum furias & tigridis iras,
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri,
Nos licèt innumeris hostilia bella periclis
Assiduè infestent, mille necésque trahant,
Nostra tamen Domini rebus fiducia si sit
In Domino, miseris expediet facilè.
Nicanor Lestrij generis viribus malè nostras
Ceruices pulsat, barbara verba vomens:
Viribus at Leicestranis iugulabitur ille,
En Machabæus adest, qui Nicanora premat,
Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra leuat.
En generose comes, Dauidis pia facta sequutus,
Iusticiæ exerce iura seuera tuæ:
Et tibi sit præsens magnum qui temperat orbem,
Vt pede victrici colla teras Goliæ.

Verses written vpon the doore of the lord lieutenants lodging

On the daie after his comming to the towne, he was banketted, at which banket were orations and deuises manie. On the fift of Januarie hee came backe from Leidon vnto Donhage. The tenth he mustred part of his horssemen, to the number of fiue hundred or more, and then pointed them into seuerall garisons, and to seuerall gouernors, the earle of Essex was that daie made generall of the horsses. The eleuenth daie hee came from Donhage to Leidon. The twelfe daie a generall fast was proclamed through Holland, Gelderland, and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale. The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with preaching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither he or anie of his eating anie thing. The nineteenth of Januarie he came from Leidon to Donhage, where in his time of abode, he rode to a little fisher towne two miles from the Hage, named Skeueling, which towne doth bound on the maine seas. In this towne he was presented with these verses:

Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,
So hath now this English Thetis, who all praise de-
Sent vs this Achilles to our Assistence, (serued
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

The lord lieutenant returneth backe from Leidon to Donhage.

A generall fast proclamed and deuoutlie obserued.

The lord lieutenant rideth to Skeueling, and is presented with a few English verses.

These words were written in the great hall at Donhage, conteining terms of honor & welwishing: Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. ¶ Inclyto principi Roberto Dudlæo comiti Leicestriæ, inter magnates maximè pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permissu a regina misso, præfecto ac gubernatori Belgarum, prosperum hunc optatúmque aduentum toto lætitiæ sinu gratulamur, ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salutem optamus, fœderati ordinis Belgij, addicti celsitudini eius. ¶ Deus cæpit, Deus dirigat.

Titles of honor ascribed to the lord lieutenant, with a reioising at his comming.

The foure and twentith of Januarie, the prince of Portugall came to Donhage. The fiue and twentith

The estates swoorne to the quæne of England.

The earle of Leicester installed at Donhage, with the maner and order thereof.

tith my lord was installed and swoorne, and likewise all the states swoorne to the quæne. The maner of the installing was thus. At Donhage is a maruellous faire hall, at the vpper end whereof are fiue or six large steppes ascending, which do reach to a faire chamber, at the vpper end whereof on high was placed a cloth of estate, in the midst of which were the armes of England, and against them my lord was seated, on ech side of him two steps descending sat twelue of the principall states, and below them sat the residue, to the number of twentie right before my lord, but foure or fiue steps descending. On the right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Portugall, next him the lord Norleie, next master Norris gouernor of Munster, next sir William Russell, & sir Robert Germin, with diuers men of great account. On the left hand of my lord did stand the Graue Norris, next the earle of Essex, sir William Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas Parrat, with diuers other of great account. Thus being placed, a Dutch man made a large oration in Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand, with thanks to the quænes maiestie and the lord lieutenant.

Persons of honor and worship.

The couenants betwæn the quænes maiestie and the estates, read in Latine and deliuered to and fro.

Then was read in Latine the couenants betwæne the states, the quæne and my lord: this done the couenants were deliuered to my lord, which he deliuered to the states, and the states deliuered an other to him: then was my lord demanded to vow the same by oth, who holding his hand to heauen did swear to the couenants. The like did the states, holding vp their hands, vow to performe. Then againe were the states swoorne to the quæne and my lord hir lieutenant in those affaires. This done my lord gaue to them seuerall thanks, and they seuerallie did giue to him the like, which being done, my lord passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all sounding before him. This daie my lord feasted all the states most sumptuouslie, so that they had their fill both in their bellies and heads. This daie after dinner the souldiers of the towne, which were three ancients, came into the court furnished, and did there shew themselues with drum and fiffe, at night were aboue an hundred fiers burnt about my lords house.

The souldiers of the towne shew themselues in martiall maner.

On the foure and twentith of Januarie, the countie Norris came to my lord lieutenant, and was receiued in good sort. The same eight and twentith and last of Januarie companies mustered by Thomas Digs, muster-master generall in Guelder, Friseland and Holland, were as followeth. Master Norris colonell gentleman, two hundred foure score and ten: coronell Morgan, two hundred foure score and ten: capteine Wotton, one hundred thirtie and six: capteine Powle, one hundred and seuentæne: capteine Baskerfield, foure score: capteine Yorke, foure score and six: capteine Hunings, one hundred and eleuen: capteine Udall, three score and seuentæne: capteine Powell, foure score and fouretæne: capteine Hart, three score and eight: capteine Price, one hundred twentie and three: capteine Wilson, one hundred fourtie and fiue: capteine Blunt, one hundred twentie and seuen: capteine Burros, one hundred and ten: capteine Yarston, one hundred twentie and foure: captaine Shaw, foure score and foure: capteine Enge, three score and nine: capteine sir Walter Waller, one hundred thirtie and seuen. The second of Februarie capteine Willoughbie died at Hage, and was there honorablie buried. On the third of Februarie all the yeomen of the gard toke their oth, whom remitting to the conscience of their charge, we purpose now to touch the peremptorie authoritie committed to the said lord lieutenant, by common consent of the states; and so by degrees to descend to other occurrents concerning these netherlands.

Captaines with their companies that mustered.

The death of capteine Willoughbie.

A placard conteining the authoritie giuen by the states of the low countries, vnto the mightie prince, Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, &c: for the gouernment of the said low countries: translated out of Dutch into English, as followeth.

THe generall states of the vnited prouinces of the low countries, to all those which shall see or heare these present writings, health and dilection. Euen as it hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to send ouer into these countries the high and mightie prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, and one of the priuie councell, knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie to admit and institute his excellencie as chæfe head aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foote, which hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter into these countries; & to the end to assist vs with counsell, aid & aduise, according to his great experience, policie and wisedome in the direction of publike affaires of the land, as well touching the feates of warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that which most tendeth to the profit of the foresaid land, to bring backe and reduce the same into such good order and rule as it hath bene in times past, to the end that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the force and tyrannie of our enimies, and to frustrate all his practises: but also besides this to honor and inrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authoritie, might and commandement, aboue all hir maiesties admerals and viceadmerals, and ships of war, to command them all, & to emploie them to the seruice of these countries, and in such order as his excellencie shall find nædfull for the same countrie; and that his excellencie following hir maiesties commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the good will and affection which he beareth to these affairs, and to the preseruation of the same, and also of the true christian religion, and hath imploied himselfe so willinglie in the foresaid matters, that his excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and abandoned his natiue countrie and goods, and transported himselfe hitherward amongst vs: so that hir maiestie and his excellencie could neuer haue done or shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

Note what a title and stile of excellencie the estates giue to the earle their gouernor, and the honorable service to him appointed.

An acknowledgement and performace of duetie and allegiance inioined to all persons of the low countries (vnder paine of punishment) to the lord lieutenant.

All pretense of ignorance cut off, least the course of obedience might be hindered.

The good will and affection of the lord lieutenant to performe the premisses signified and by good protestified.

Therefore are we resolued, with good and ripe deliberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that we haue desired, accepted, and authorised the foresaid mightie & honorable prince, lord Robert earle of Leicester, &c: to be our gouernor and generall capteine ouer all the vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie giuen vnto him, the highest and supreame commandement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute and administrat the same to the resistance of the enimie, euen as his excellencie shall thinke most commodious to the preseruation of those countries: and so further, to doo all such things as apperteine to the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore, we commit the administration and vse of policie & iustice ouer the foresaid vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same into his hands, to execute and administrat the same with such power and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the other gouernors of these low countries before him; and especiallie, as haue bene exercised, and lawfullie administred in the time of Charles the fift; reserued

Councellors for matters of state elected by the lord lieutenant.

The states agnise the peremptorie authoritie put into the lord lieutenants hands in respect of his gouernment.

Like authoritie giuen to the lord lieutenant, as other gouernors his predecessors haue had in the low countries.

serued onelie the lawes and priuileges of the foresaid countries: also with especiall power to collect profits and receiue, and administrat all the contributions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be deliuered hereafter into his excellencies hands: and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missiues written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath deliuered solemne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preseruation of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the priuileges and rights of these lands and prouinces, members, and cities of the same.

We therefore ordeine and command all gouernors of prouinces and cities, all admerals and vicenors of prouinces and cities, all admerals and vicenors of prouinces and cities, all admerals and vicen

the had brought vnder, and vnder this was written these verses in legible Latine letters or characters:

Iustitia infestos frænat pietate tyrannos,
Sic tuus aduentus cuncta Roberte mala.

A crowne, the frame whereof was adorned with roses.

Passing further into a faire market place, there was a piller of great height, on the top whereof was a crowne, and about the foote of the crowne roses set, and these eight verses were written about the piller:

Elisabeth regina auanis quæ regibus orta est,
Hunc dedit atroci qui nos tueatur ab hoste,
Ergo ducem iuuenis meritò venerare Jenéxque,
Munere quando Dei Geticum nympha ista fugabit.
Pyramidum Pharia silent miracula gentes,
Quámq; vetus molem duxit ad astra Rhodos,
Iam tibi dux vilem pro tempore ponimus, at hâc
Aurea si possem concclibrandus'eris.

The beare & ragged staffe, with certeine verses concerning peace.

Ouer the entrance of the palace or lodging for the earle, there was set a beare with a ragged staffe, and these verses written vnder concerning the peace:

Venisti ô auibus tandem fœlicibus heros,
Regia quem nobis munere nympha dedit:
Virgo Calidonias ad sidera nota per oras,
Vltima spes fessis præsidiúmque viris:
Reddere te sine quis patriæ Saturnia regna
Posset, & armisoni pellere tela dei?
Vera etenim de te si dux oracula fantur,
Hæc Dudlæe teget nos sine Marte rosa:
Pacificè rege, regnis lætantibus, heros,
Pacifico quis non principe lætus erit?

A shew made by the souldiours according to military skill.

In all the streetes of this towne, where through the earle passed, were planted souldiours in most braue furniture, and he being placed in a window right against the market place, the same souldiours there ranged themselues first in a ring, then marching into a square; and after passing in verie good forme, the night for the most part being spent with fire workes and shewes most braue. In one of the shewes a picture of a woman signifieng enuie, was burnt. On the fourth of March, the L. lieutenant saw the earle of Essex cornell, and sir William Russell cornell, musker and traine by Harlem to the number of two hundred horse. And on the second daie after, he was feasted and banketed. The tenth of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, and by the waie was met with diuerse men of warre well shipped, which brought him by a long riuer that went into the towne, ouer the which riuer were three strong bridges placed full of armed souldiours, & on the first bridge was planted ten or twelue peeces of ordinance, which all after his honor was passed shot off, the souldiors on euerie bridge discharging by volees in most braue maner.

The L. lieutenants going to Amsterdam, with the maner of his receiuing.

Being past the bridge, he was met with two great pageants or shewes, in this manner. Two boats were made in monstrous greatnesse; on the one the shape or likenesse of a horsse swimming, on the other the likenesse of a fish, on each of them a man riding, signifieng the god Neptune: both these, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, did accompanie him to his landing, which was at the market place, where were planted great numbers of armed men with shot. Right before him where he landed was a faire scaffold, whereon were placed armed men fighting, the one companie ouercomming and the other flieng. Ouer them, on the same scaffold kneeled an old man, holding vp his hands towards heauen, and on each side of him, one other supporting or staieng vp his hands. Which signified that Iosua and the Israelits preuailed, and ouerthrew the Philistines, so long as Moses did praie for them with his hands erected towards heauen; but when his hands were downe, the children of Israell had the worst: and so now through the praier of good men, God had at length sent them succour and releese.

Two pageants & what they represented.

The state of the people represented in a shew of comparison.

Vnder this were written these coupled verses:

Ad Dominum qui confugiunt cum fœdere pansis
Innocuis palmis, manet hos victoria læta.

Spanish tyrannie ouercome, with poesies signifieng.

Passing further, there was an other scaffold, whereon was placed one seeming to be in great distresse, a tyrant being readie to kill him; but by the aid of Elisabeth queene of England, he was shelded, defended and deliuered, and the enimie repelled & driuen awaie; aboue the which were these verses:

Eia age magne, veni ô Anglorum ductor, & altos
Ingredere & celebres cape quos spodemus honores.

On the one side was written this that followeth:

Iustitia & æquitas maximè
Reddunt diuturnum imperium.

On the other side was written this that followeth:

Fides sacra beatissimum humani
generis bonum est.

Ouer all was written this that followeth:

Maximè vbi ancipiti filo pia causa tremiscit,
Ex insperato sæpè redemptor adest.

The queenes aid to the low countries represented.

Passing further, on an other scaffold was placed the likenesse of a queene most sumptuouslie apparelled, and on both sides of hir was hanged all sorts of armour and munition for the wars, and ouer hir head these verses concerning aid & succour were written:

Vt sacra Iosiæ dextra olim restituisti,
Sic ope reginæ Belgas Deus optime serua.

In the afternoone of that daie, all the souldiours of the towne with fiue ancients mustered before his lodging most brauelie, and all the night following was passed in fire works, & bonfiers, with other triumphes. The thirteenth of March he was sumptuouslie banketed by the burgesses of the towne. This towne of Amsterdam is a towne greatlie frequented with merchants of all sorts and countries, which causeth the same to haue such store of shipping as is wonderfull: for they lie as groues before the towne. In this towne haue bene manie Anabaptists, which within this twentie yeares did great mischeefe, not onelie with their lewd seats, but also by their wicked acts: as first by burning their houses, then running naked about the towne, after by rising in armes against the other inhabitants: but they were ouercome, taken, condemned & hanged. This towne is of a wonderfull strength, the wall whereof is so passing faire, that it is great pleasure to behold it, and to walke on it. Without the wall is a ditch of great breadth. This last yeare, to wit, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue, the burgesses augmented the towne, in making a mud wall ten or twelue score yards round about the citie, with such a ditch, bulworke, &c: as is not to be wished to haue a towne better fortified, lacking nothing that may set it out for strength: the countrie round about this towne being of such kind of moisture, that it is past reason to haue a place to batter it, or to plant anie ordinance against it. There is a great arme of the sea two miles ouer, on the one side of the towne the wals be strong, the ditches great, the victels innumerable, plentie of people, ordinance sufficient, water good store, and all other things that might make the towne strong. ¶ Heere leauing the lord lieutenant for a while, we will giue a little leape to actions of manhood against the enimie, and then returne to the matter whense we haue made digression. Wherfore touching the valor of captein Skinke, a man of singular seruice, this report doth flie of him, agreeing with a note sent to the lord lieutenant, then residing at Amsterdam.

1586

Amsterdam a towne of great concourse and commerce.

Anabaptists a sect heretical and pernicious.

Amsterdam a towne not impugnable.

A note from one of Skinkes men to his maister at Deuentr.

The said cornell went of late with his horsse-men to Nuce, and thense toke both footmen and horsse-men to the enterprise by him intended against the towne of Warle, which they toke by sallie, in the morning

A note concerning the magnanimitie and valor of captein (otherwise called cornell) Skinke.

The Spaniards make against cornell Skinke in three parts.

In what places the Spaniards lie deuided.

The lord lieutenants comming to Vtricht and his receiuing there.

A gold ring presented to the lord lieutenant.

morning earlie, meaning to haue taken the castle, but failed. The duke of Bauiers men with those of the countrie, gathred togither to the number of three thousand, but colonell Skinke salied forth & charging them, ouerthrew their force, slaieng about one thousand. Within three daies after they assembled againe to the number of six thousand bours well armed with ensignes displaied, and with them eight hundred of the said dukes soldiers, and two hundred horsses of the knights and gentlemen of that countrie, with intent to rescue the castell. Skinke salied againe forth of the towne with two hundred and fiftie horsse, leauing the rest therein, bicause of the citizens and those in the castell, and if he had not made this salie he had beene in danger to haue beene taken or slaine, but he issued and ouerthrew the said forces, and slue about three thousand, amongst the which were thirtie of the chiefest gentlemen of the countrie, and he with his men went backe to the towne, himselfe was shot in this conflict, and lost diuerse of his best men. The castell and countrie was in maner neere ouercome, had not the Spanish forces hastned that waies, vpon the comming of which, Skinke was forced to giue place being void of hope to be relieued, and in his retract spoiled and burnt the countrie.

The Spaniards make a conflict colonell Skinke in three parts.

The Spaniards made to him in three parts, the one passing ouer by the Keisers weart with eight companies of horsse, and fortie ensignes of footmen, towards Ketwich, Dortmont and Onnar. The second led countie Charles of Mansfeld, consisting of six companies of horssemen, & fiftéene companies of footmen, which came from Graue toward the Rhene at the becke to passe ouer, and so to hinder our comming forth of the towne. The third was led by Uerding out of Friseland with six companies of horssemen, and pessants of that countrie about Reckling-honson, and to the third of those were againe gathered the third time the gentlemen and pessants of that countrie: & ioined to the duke of Bauiers men by Arnberch. If the said aids had not come, the cantred had beene subdued, so by Gods prouidence, he and his people are returned, not without some small losse, to Uendelo againe. The first part being the Spaniards lie yet in the land of Marke and Westualia, Uerding lieth still in the stitch of Mounster about the towne of Haltern on the riuer Lipo. Countie Charles Mansfield abideth in the land of Cleue about Santenburch & Seulberke. The speech was they meant to beliege Nuce, but Skinke feareth more Bericke, he hath procured those within Nuce one moneths paie in monie and cloth, and they were well prouided of powder and munition, so as there is least feare of that place, in it are one thousand good footmen and two hundred horsse.

In what places the Spaniards lie diuided.

Thus much touching colonell Skinke, and his enimies, whom I will leaue to their successes allotted by the Lord of hosts, and come backe againe to the lord lieutenant, who on the one and twentith of March came from Amsterdam to a castle called Mullen, foure miles from Norden, and there did dine, and from thense he came to Norden to supper and to bed. On the two and twentith of March he came from Norden to Utricht, where as his receiuing was nothing inferior to most of the rest before written. Three or foure thousand souldiors on foot, marching a mile out of the towne met him, and then marched before him to the towne; at the entrance whereof, the burgesses of the towne met him, one of them making vnto him a long oration in their language. Comming into the towne, the ordinance was discharged, and at the entrance of the market place, there was a woman placed on a high scaffold, which held in hir hand a gold ring, offering it vnto him, with certeine posies therein written. Passing further, there was placed on a scaffold seuen yong men, holding in their hands seuen cotes or armes of the seuen vnited prouinces, and vnder them were written verses of conuenient deuises. Passing further, there was placed on a scaffold, sitting in a chaire, a woman representing the quéenes maiestie of England, before was the picture or likenesse of a yellow lion, hauing a fore foot, who looking on hir séemed to complaine, & she caused hir handmaiden to dresse the lions foot, and vnder hir were written verses agréable to the spectacle. From thense he passed to his lodging, and all the night following (as also manie other nights) was spent in fier works, bonfiers and shewes of maruellous ioie.

Diuers shews and representations to the purpose.

Out of Utricht and other places thereabout, there met the earle foure miles from Utricht on a plaine, or heath, twelue hundred horse, most part of which were Englishmen, so well mounted as might be, at which time they trained themselues in good order before him in maner of skirmish, and so brought him to Utricht. On the six and twentith of March the earle of Esser went to Leger with his horsemen, where he began a new worke. The eight and twentith of March the earle was feasted by Graue Norris, on the which daie in the morning there was charge giuen to all the English souldiors in the towne, that they should march from thense to Liege, which for that they wanted their paie they refused and raised a mutinie, for the which one of capteine Polles men was taken and put in ward; whereupon the rest of his followers seeing this, came to the gaole, burst the locks of the doores, and tooke out the prisoner, for the which there were fiue apprehended, and three of them were hanged on the nine and twentith of March, the more to terrifie the rest. On the eight & twentith of March was also hanged the secretarie to the countie Hollocke, which secretarie was a counsellor principall to the betraieng of the towne of Graue. The thirtith of March the earle feasted the nobilitie and burgesses of Utricht, where there wanted nothing that might fill their bellies or heads.

Twelue hundred horse met the lord lieutenant vpon a heath.

The earle of Esser goeth to Leger.

A mutinie among the souldiors with other outragious disorder procuring execution by death.

Countie Hollocks secretarie hanged.

The people of this towne haue shewed themselues greatlie to fauor our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger 300 or 400 souldiors so sicke and poore, that it was wonder to see their miserie, and the townesmen not onelie receiued them, but also relieued them with meat, drinke, and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessarie apparell, loking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished. In this towne was builded by the duke of Alua one castle inuincible, which by the Spaniards was long kept, till at length, either werie of their abode, or desiring souereigntie, they set their forces against the towne, and the towne also bent against them; so that after much hurt was done to the towne by beating downe of their houses & churches, and killing the townesmen, the castle vpon composition was yeelded to the towne, the Spaniards issuing out of it: which being done the townesmen did beat downe the castle to the ground, reseruing the wall of the towne on which part the castle had beene planted: in which place where this castle stood is now a horse faier or market kept, and execution is there done.

Utricht people commended for their great kindnes shewed to the Englishmen.

A castle of defense builded by the duke of Alua ruinated and beaten downe.

On the first or second of Aprill, generall Norris tooke the sconse called Lite. On the fourth of Aprill was a sore conflict betweene the malecontents and the English, the enimies being foure thousand, were vanquished by generall Norris with one thousand men, whereof he lost a great number, and slue twelue hundred Spaniards. This gentleman no lesse fortu-

The sconse of Lite taken by generall Norris.

nat than victorious, deſerueth a far better remembrance, than my barren wit can frame: and requiſit it were that he ſhould be mentioned in ſtorie, conſidering that he hath obiected himſelfe againſt manie deadlie dangers, which it hath pleaſed God, by directing his policie, to driue to proſperous euents: as appeareth by a letter ſent to the lord lieutenant, the tenor whereof inſueth.

A copie of a letter ſent by generall *Norris from his road by Rawſton, neere* Graue, on the ſixt of Aprill.

Exploits of colonell Norris reported out of a letter directed to the L. lieutenant.

¶ May it pleſe your excellencie to be aduertiſed, that finding the wind to be contrarie, we being to intrench our ſelues this laſt night within one houres march to Graue, the which the enimie finding, came with a reſolute mind before we had ended our worke, and put vs from the place, where we had not aboue three hundred Engliſhmen, and hauing ſent for the reſt being eight hundred or thereabout, to come with all ſpéd to vs: but in the meane time the enimie did ſo ouercharge vs, and with freſh men hauing then in place aboue three thouſand that were faſtened on vs, after that we had bidden and driuen a braue charge, to leaue the place, and meeting with the reſt of our Engliſhmen, in one halfe mile retract we turned and forced them to quite the place, and had the killing of them aboue one Engliſh mile; and then by meanes of a ſudden raine that fell, and the wearineſſe of our ſouldiors, we made a retract, in the which I dare aſſure your excellencie we loſt not aboue ten men: but the ſouldiors vpon the retract threw awaie much of their armor. In this companie, there is my ſelfe hurt, capteine Burrowes, and capteine Price, and diuerſe other gentlemen that did ſerue moſt trulie. I dare aſſure your lordſhip that there was not ſéene a better daies ſeruice in this countrie than this, and your honor ſhall doo well to ſignifie by your honors letters partlie to all the townes of Holland, that the enimie hath loſt a great companie of braue men, and moſt of their leaders, that which your excellencie ſhall find moſt true. I find, that your excellencie is not to make account of anie other nation than your owne: for after the firſt retract, there would verie few Dutchmen turne backe with vs: but your excellencie ſhould doo well to take no knowledge of it. And if the raw ſouldiors would haue béene commanded, we might haue kept the place that we came to intrench our ſelues in, but for want thereof, we did retract to Marbnanble. Aſſure your honor that I will to the vttermoſt of my power doo your honor what I maie, to the hazzarding of my life to doo your excellencie honor and ſeruice, as knoweth the almightie, to whoſe tuition I commit your excellencie. From the rode in my bed, before Rawſton, the firſt of Aprill.

This ſeemed to be a poſtſcript.

¶ I muſt ſignifie to your honor that countie Hollocke, countie Philip, my brother Henrie, & diuers other gentlemen did ſerue this daie moſt brauelie. Hauing taken counſell, we fullie mind to retire to Maſcumble, where if it pleaſe your excellencie to ſend vs three hundred horſes, and putting the reſt of the horſes in gariſons in the townes thereabout, and ſend vs the reſt of the footmen, we ſhall haue a daie with them againe, within theſe ten daies, doubt not.

Your excellencies moſt humble to command, *Generall Norris.*

Thus you ſée a great diſcomfiture giuen to the enimie, and the ſame with little loſſe on the Engliſh partie: wherby we are to gather, conſidering the inequalitie of the number, as appeareth by the clauſe of the ſaid letter, that the ouerthrow giuen to the enimie did ſpeciallie proceed from God, who as he is called the Lord of hoſts, ſo is it his good pleaſure to proſper the attempts of thoſe that fight in his feare, and put not their truſt in an arme of fleſh, neither in bands of footmen, nor troops of horſemen. And now ſéeing we haue made ſo good an entrance into the name of Norris, enobled by famous feats of armes, we count it an eclipſing of his renowme, to neglect the declaration of other enterpriſes and atchiuements, no leſſe tending to the inlargement of his honor, than to the reproofe of the reporter if they ſhould be concealed.

The winning of the ſconſe called Bolt.

Touching the maner therefore of the winning of the ſconſe called Bolt by generall Norris the ſecond of Aprill, thus it was. Marching thither, he ſummoned it with a trumpet, but they within with moſt reuiling words denied to yéeld, which the generall perceiuing, ſent fiftie or threeſcore ſouldiors in little ſkips with muſkits to view the ſconſe, for that it ſtood ſo as none could come to it but by water. Theſe men did ſo plie the lowe holes with ſhot, that they made the enimie kéepe in his head: which theſe men perceiuing, did go nére, ſtill ſhooting ſo till they came to the fort, which with ſpéd they ſcaled, and put ſtraw in the lowe holes, ſetting fire on it, which they within perceiuing, did not reſiſt, and ſo this ſtrong fort was ſuppreſſed without anie ſhot of cannon, or ſlaieng anie one man, and hurting but foure. And ſo they marched toward Graue, leauing ſufficient to kéepe it. Now concerning the maner of the conflict done by generall Norris againſt the Spaniards nére Graue, thus it was.

A conflict betweene generall Norris and the Spaniards.

The whole companie of Engliſh and Dutch, marching within ſix miles of Graue, ſtaied, ſauing three hundred Engliſh, which marched within one Engliſh mile of Graue, or thereabout, there meaning to inſconſe themſelues, which they put in practiſe. But the enimie well knowing their ſtrength and intent, ſet out three companies: the firſt being a thouſand Spaniards naturall, all for the moſt part old ſouldiors, & a great ſort leaders. Theſe thouſand thinking to haue cut the Engliſh in péeces, ſet forth firſt, which the Engliſhmen perceiuing, ſent for the other forces which marched apace; but the enimie purſuing his enterpriſe charged our men, & at length draue them from the trench alreadie in part made, and cauſed a retire on our ſide halfe an Engliſh mile, where they met the reſt of our forces, which turned them backe. So they marched togither and incountered with a great ſort of freſh Spaniards, which were come to the ſkirmiſh, and by the great power of God by force of armes they draue the enimie from them, and purſued them to their owne ſconſe, and by the waie they atteined a péece of ordinance of the enimie, prepared for to deſtroie our men, but yet they could doo nothing, they were ſo ioined togither in fight. So the Engliſh had the killing of them the halfe mile that they retired, and an Engliſh mile more, where a freſh ſupplie of the enimie was made; ſo our men were forced to retire againe in ſome diſorder, with ſmall loſſe of anie men. But the enimie was ſo wearie, & ſo danted with theſe conflicts that they followed but a little way, and left their purſuing, ſo that the ſpoile, honor, and gaine on our ſide obteined, there were of the enimies (as was thought) three thouſand braue ſouldiors, of our ſide onelie eight hundred Engliſh, and three hundred Dutch, countie Hollocke & countie Philip in perſon ſerued moſt valiantlie, but their men did ſmall good. Generall Norris was hurt in the face with a pike, as thruſt through the cheéke, and further into the ſide, there was hurt capteine Burrows and capteine Price, who with the generall fought moſt braulie, this was done the firſt of Aprill. This conflict

The enimie purſued to their owne ſconſe.

The huge number of the aduerſe part, and the ſmall of our ſide.

The enimies bite their fingers for anger, note why.

flict being done, our men cut the great riuer of Vase in diuers places, and in despite of the enimies shot, sent six and thirtie ships or small vessels into Graue, although they passed one of their sconses, and a little from Graue by a dort or pillage that shot most vehementlie to them, yet they passed through to the towne, and returned without anie great losse. Vnderstand that these ships did not go by the riuer but by the land, for the water ouerfloweth the land in some places twelue foot at least.

Since about the sixteenth of this moneth there passed to the towne two & twentie more of those ships, and in their passage had but foure or fiue men slaine, and twentie hurt, although the enimie shot most vehementlie vpon them, and sent out to take them three ships well appointed, which in fight our men sonke one of them, and tooke the other two, bringing them to our companie. There was slaine of the enimies, and drowned of naturall Spaniards fortie or fiftie. Now do our men meane to pursue them no more neither by land which they determined, hauing made a sconse within two arrowes shot of their great sconse, and determined to go nere and assaile their sconse: yet now they purpose to staie a good wind, that their ships of war maie come downe to the riuer, and beat at their sconse: at which time I iudge our men at land will not be idle, for the piles that the enimie made ouer the riuer, are by violence of water driuen awaie, and the water greatlie sonke on the land, so that the little vessels can not well flote as they did on the land.

The winning of the sconse called Bek.

It is reported, that when they in the sconse saw they could not command our ships, they bit their fingers, with signe of wonderfull anger. Now Graue is sufficientlie victualled for ten moneths at least, that the strength of the towne, the courage of the souldiors, and the store of victuals do make them of the towne to assure the erle in spite of the enimies violence, though they be let alone without helpe this yeare, they will almost warrant the towne, vpon the battell by Rawlton against the Spaniards. They that laie before Graue, I meane our enimies, sent a letter to the prince of Parma, that of our side were slaine six or seuen hundred of braue gentlemen that came now with the earle out of England: but saie they, we haue lost a great manie braue men, and sent to the prince the number. The prince writ againe, that he could not but be sorie for the death of so manie braue men, but he was glad our men had tasted of the same cup; & this letter was also taken of our men presentlie. The prince let it be knowne that our men for the most part were slaine, whereupon in all places there were bonfires made for ioie.

The enimies bite their fingers for anger, note why.

A conflict betweene generall Norris and the Spaniards.

Furthermore, one thing worthie the noting doth yet remaine, that is, that sone after the fight done against the Spaniards by Rawlton, our men went to Battenburrow a most braue house for beautie, quantitie, and strength, for the Vase runneth by it & a great riuer on the other side it; but our men laieng the cannon to the gates of it, made a breach, which being perceiued of the enimie they yelded. There were thirtie or more Italians, the rest boures and peasants of the countrie; the Italians went awaie, their liues and ransoms spared, but the boures are kept to be ransomed: in it were thirtie women which also were kept. Thus wonderfullie hath God blessed vs, that without slaughter on our part to be accounted, these victories are atteined with so small a companie as was looked for of vs, but God hath preserued vs. Thus now will we conclude and shut vp these exploits with the names of the great men of account that were slaine at the battell by Rawlton, as was noted in a letter sent to the prince of Parma, by Francisco de Ceresota alyer the eight of Aprill, the letter being intercepted, don Iohn de Pauilla dornell generall, don Iohn de Castilo, don Pedro Ramares de Albano, capteine Flolis, capteine Cedran, don Iohn Calagiron, Mignell de Cardona. There were slaine in all by that note six hundred. Slaine, hurt, and (in the retire) disarmed, of our companie as followeth, 161 slaine or taken, thirtie three hurt, fiue hundred fourescore & ninetene disarmed.

The enimie pursued to their owne sconse.

The huge number of the aduerse part, and the small of our side.

Persons of name on the enimies part slaine, with other souldiors, some taken, hurt, and disarmed.

The eighteenth of Aprill th earle went from Vtricht to Ammerford, where through his sudden comming the towne was not so fullie prouided for his interteinment as other places had bene: but there wanted no good will in the townsmen as appeared, for he and all his traine did find the people to their power readie to fauor them, and to do them all the good and pleasure they could. This towne is double walled, first with stone, and then with mud, and also double ditched. The nineteenth of Aprill the earle went to Newchirch foure English miles from Ammerford to see the Leger of our horse and foot there. The twentith of Aprill he came from Ammerford to Vtricht againe.

The three and twentith of Aprill, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of hir maiesties forces in the low countries of the vnited prouinces (as is afore said) and making his residence at that time in Vtricht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honourablie the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so manie thousand strangers, I could not chuse (hauing gotten the true and faithfull description, by one William Seager *alias* Portcullis an officer of armes in that seruice) to make some breefe remembrance of the maner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of Vtricht being large and faire, were rankt and set with eight ensignes of burgers richlie appointed, wearing scarffes knit like roses white and red vpon their armes, betweene whome from the court of my lord vnto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the proceeding was on horsebacke. First rid the trumpetors apparelled in scarlet, laid with siluer lace, sounding their trumpets most roiallie, their bannerols being displaied and richlie limmed with my lords armes. Then followed the gentlemen, capteins, colonels, and hir maiesties sworne men, to the number of a fortie horse, richlie adorned in cloth of gold, siluer, and silkes, of all colours. After came six knights, foure barons, with the councell of estates, the right honourable earle of Esser accompanied the bishop of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portingall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the capteine of the gard, the tresuror and controllor of the houshold, bearing their white staues. After whom followed two gentlemen vshers, and Portcullis herald in a rich cote of armes of England.

S. Georges feast solemnlie obserued at Vtricht.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuested in his robes of the order, garded by the principall burgers of the towne, which offered themselues to that seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie halberds in scarlet clokes, garded with purple and white veluet. He being thus honourablie brought vnto the church, after due reuerence done vnto the quenes maiesties state, which was there erected on the right hand, he tooke his owne stall on the left, by certeine degrees lower. Then began praiers, and a sermon made by maister Knewstubs my lords chapleine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering; first for hir maiestie, & then for himselfe, the which he performed with such decorum & princelie behauiour, that all generallie spake most honourablie of him.

L. lieutenant inuested in the robes of order.

These solemnities being done, his lordship returned as he came, leauing behind him the earle of Es-

ser and certeine gentlemen to accompanie the princes and the ladies of the court. His court was a faire and large house, belonging in times past to the knights of the Rhodes, in which was a verie great hall richlie hong with tapisserie: at the vpper end whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of estate for the quænes maiestie, with hir armes and stile thereon, and before it a table couered with all things so requisit as if in person she had bæne there; on the left hand almost at the tables end was my lords trencher and stoole, for he would haue no chaire. The tables being couered, and all degrees assembled, my lord before the state of hir maiestie knighted a Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his manifold seruices done to his countrie, the which done, the vshers marshalled the feast. At the table on the right side of the hall sat the yong prince of Portingall, the prince Elector and his wife, the princesse Simeie, the earle of Esser, the Graue Morris and his ladie, & betwæne euerie ladie was an English lord or knight placed. On the left side sat the states and chæfe burgers of the towne, and the grand prior of Amerford (who came to sæ the feast) was by my lords appointment placed vppermost at that table. Then began the trumpets to sound in the seruice which was most princelike & abundant, serued on the knæ, carued and tasted to hir maiesties trencher.

Martin Skinke knighted, who promised Portcullis to shew him seauentie ensignes that he had now in the field.

The side tables being furnished all in siluer plate, & attended on by gentlemen, sundrie sorts of musikes continued the interim of the first course, which done and auoided, the trumpets sounded in for the second, which was all baked meats of beasts, and foules; the beasts as lions, dragons, leopards, and such like, bearing veins of arms, & the foules, as pecocks, swans, phesants, turkie cocks and others in their naturall fethers, spred as in their greatest pride, which sight was both rare and magnificent. This seruice being placed on hir maiesties bord, the beasts on one side, and foules on the other, the lion lieng couchant at hir highnesse trencher; the vshers cried, A hall, which being made with much a do (by reason of the multitude) they brought vp betwæne them, with thræ reuerences to the state, Portcullis herald, inuested with the armes of England, who in Latine, French and English pronounced the quænes maiesties vsuall stile of England, France & Ireland, defendresse of the faith, &c: crieng thræ times, Largesse.

A sumptuous feast and full of deuises.

Then began the trumpets to sound, and the Dutchmen to carouse, to the health of hir maiestie, the welfare of my lord, and to the prosperities of the vnited prouinces, and nothing wanted wherein either state, magnificence, or ioy might be expressed. To be bræfe, the feast ended, and tables voided, there was dansing, bawting, and tumbling, with the forces of Hercules, which gaue great delight to the strangers, for they had not sæne it before, and thus they passed the time till euensong, and then departed. At supper being all assembled againe, great was the feast, and plentifull the chære; and after supper began the bariers betwæne chalengers and defendants men of armes, wherein the earle of Esser behaued himselfe so towardlie, that he gaue all men great hope of his noble forwardnesse in armes. The bariers done, and either part retired with equall praise (though not with equall blowes) there was a most sumptuous banket prepared of sugar meats for the men of armes, and the ladies: which being finished, my lord wishing them all good rest toke his leaue, and so this honourable feast broke vp about twelue of the clocke at midnight.

The earle of Esser commended for chiualrie.

About this time our men woone Knowles sconse, a strong thing, and presentlie after they woone Ample sconse: and Skinks pursuing a companie of Spaniards, slue a thirtie, and toke a fourscore and ten. The fourth of Maie all the horsemen at Newarke were viewed, and the gard perteining to the L. lieutenant were sent to kæpe the towne from spoile, where they toke prisoners to the number of thræscore and ten boures, which had slaine diuerse of our gentlemen. The same fourth of Maie countie Hollocke put (in despite of the enimie) thræ hundred men into Pame, and about that time capteine Skinke builded a sconse in Clæueland and manned it. About this time they of Graue shot fire bals out of the towne, which lighted in the great sconse of the enimie, and set all the powder on fire, where through not onelie the said sconse was laid flat, but also all the men therein were blowne vp: also the enimie about the same time, making a breach in the base towne of Graue, entered the same, but was repelled, and thræ hundred of his men slaine.

Seruice against the enimie by Skinks.

The tenth of Maie, our English capteins and soldiors toke eleuen barkes and hoies, and drowned seauen that issued out to skirmish with them. The twelfe of Maie Skinks toke in an Iland of inuincible strength in the Roine, and there hath made a mightie sconse. The foureteenth of Maie, our men lieng at Nemingam sconse, there reuolted to vs out of the towne two hoies. The fiftenth the enimie issued out of the sconse, but was retired, and lost their Lope sconse. The sixtenth, the lord lieutenant passed from Armew to the campe at Nemingam, this daie the castell of Lenon was yelded to vs, he being there in person; this daie came fiue hoies more to our men from Nemingam. The eightenth of Maie came news to our campe, that the enimie entering Graue, lost fiue hundred men. The same day at night the enimie issued forth of the sconse to kæpe our men a worke, but our men retired them streight, and there came a bote from the towne to the sconse, in despite of our men, in repelling of which, the canon from the towne shot at our men, and slue two lieutenants, and fiue or six souldiors, the capteine of the sconse was sore hurt, so was the lieutenant with an arrow, and two or thræ other souldiors.

Diuerse exploits done to and fro.

The twentith of Maie earlie in the morning was the sconse yelded to our men, the souldiors passing awaie as souldiors. There was in the same sconse seauen score and seauentæne braue men, especiallie well furnished; there was in the same sound a most braue pæce of ordinance and two lesser pæces, there was two canons comming to the sconse, which were turned to Barriks house. ¶ Thus far hauing noted out of a booke penned by Henrie Archer, one of the gard to the right honourable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall in those parts, I leaue with hartie praier his honors happie and prosperous successe, and returne to other accidents such as in the meane time happened.

On the one and twentith daie of Januarie, two Seminarie præsts (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same daie, a wench was burnt in Smithfield, for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue don the like to hir vncle. On the second daie of Februarie, or feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John Whitegift archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham lord warden of the fiue ports and Thomas lord Buckhurst, were chosen & taken to be of hir maiesties priuie councell: the two first to wit, the archbishop & the lord Cobham, were sworne the same daie, and the third on the next morrow; who being persons worthie that place, both in respect of their deserts for their former good cariage in the commonwealth, & for the gifts of nature & learning wherewith they are richlie adorned, haue occasioned Francis Thin to make the like discourse of the

Seminarie præsts executed at Tiburne.

A wench burnt in Smithfield.

Archbishop of Canturburie, lord Cobham, & lord Buckhurst of the priuie councell.

archbishops of Canturburie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before done in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme.

The liues of the archbishops of Canturburie, *written by Francis Thin, in the yere of our redemption* 1586.

POsthumus Labienus (good reader) when he wrot the Roman histories in Greeke, craued pardon of the reader. Whereupon Cato the elder did scoffinglie saie; Truelie he had beene to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke as one compelled thereunto by the decree of the Amphictiones; the which like matter also found in Aulus Gellius lib. 9. cap. 8. and spoken of Aulus Labienus, is the same historie vnder other names. For Gellius reciteth that Albinus, who was consull with Lucius Lucullus did write the deeds of the Romans in the Greeke tong; in the beginning of whose historie he hath set downe, that none ought to be angrie with him, although that he hath not written eloquentlie in those bookes. For being a Roman borne in Latium a part of Italie, the Greeke tong was but a stranger vnto him. Which worke when Marcus Cato had read, and happened on this excuse of Aulus Labienus, he reprehendinglie said; Art not thou Aulus a great trifler, which haddest rather craue pardon for a fault committed, than to be without the committing of a fault, sith we are accustomed onelie to craue pardon when we erre unwittinglie, or offend by compulsion of others? Whereunto Cato further added: Te quis perpulit vt id committeres, quod priusquam faceres, peteres vt ignosceretur? Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saieng of Cato, the name of Posthumus Albinus is there to be placed; for these two Aulus Posthumus Albinus, and L. Lucinius Lucullus were consuls at the time when Cato persuaded that warre should be denounced vnto the rebelling Carthaginians: so that the same storie recited vnder the name of Posthumus, Aulus, and Albinus is all but one thing, done to and by one man, hauing diuerse names. Which historie I haue not vouched, to the end that I would craue fauor for writing the doings of other persons in a tong wherein I am skilleſſe; because it deserueth not anie pardon, that one should heedlesse and headlong both wittinglie and wilfullie run into that for which he must after craue pardon. But I haue set downe the same, to the intent that the wise sentence of Cato may not be forgotten, saieng that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so graue, so wise, and so reuerend a person incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liues of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy fauourable acceptance) because I haue beene moued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intreatie of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (worthilie sworne of hir maiesties priuie councell) in the new augmented chronicle of Holinshed, haue with manie good speeches animated me vnder the bands and duties of amitie (than which a greater law or burthen can not be laid vpon anie man) to enter into this discourse of the archbishops, being a thing neuer written before in our vulgar tong. Whereunto although I am most vnapt amongest great numbers in this land, as well for the matter and stile, as for the shortnesse of time which I had therefore (all which might feare a better man than my selfe, to withdraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections) yet I hope that courtesie accompanied with a mild disposition of nature will fauorablie imbrace my good meaning, and beare with all other imperfections in the penning thereof, both because nothing is so exactlie handled, but that some Zoilus will some waie or other repine at it, and also because the reason which I haue before aleaged, and Cato hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to craue pardon for the vnaduised entring into anie such vndertaken action, & a iust cause to moue thee not to mislike of this or anie thing which we doo at the entreatie of our neere and deere friends, vnworthie of anie deniall. In discoursing of which archbishops, I determine not to dispute of the antiquitie of the christianitie of this realme, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being streitened within the borders of Wales) nor yet of the hatefull paganisme, with which all the rest of the parts of this Ile now called England was ouerspred; which Augustine the monke of Rome (not the doctor of the church and bishop of Hippo in Affrica) found here when he came first into this Iland, but onelie naked-lie to shew the time, the order, the succession, the deeds and names, with the honor and offices of the archbishops and metropolitans of the same see of Canturburie. Wherefore, for this time I doo in this homelie sort enter into the matter, taken (in some part) out of Matthew Parker, who learnedlie in Latine wrote the liues of seuentie bishops of that place, as here doth presentlie follow.

Diuerse exploits done to and fro.

Augustine.

Augustine the monke, in the foureteenth yeare of Maurice the emperor, being the yeare of our redemption fiue hundred ninetie and six, as hath William Thorne monke of Canturburie (though some attribute his comming to the yeare fiue hundred ninetie and nine, but not so rightlie as I suppose) being about one hundred and fiftie yeares after the landing of the Saxons in this Iland, was sent by Gregorie the first of that name bishop of Rome into England, which Augustine first arriued in Kent at a place called Rekesburgh, and after christened Ethelbert king of Kent, who gaue to him a house at Stablegate, as hath Thomas Spot, deliuering that matter in these words: *Et concessit* (which was Ethelbert king of Kent) *eis locum habitationis in ciuitate Dorobernia situatum, videlicet in parochia sancti Alphegi ex opposito regia strata versus aquilonem, per quam murus palatij archiepiscopalis in longitudine se extendit. In quo loco sanctus August. cum suis domesticis vsque ad conuersionem regum hospitatus est. Illa tamen qua per viam extiterant sarcinis onusta loco prædicto longo post tempore stabulata sunt, ob quam causam vsque hodiernum diem situs ille Stablegate vocatus est. Fuerat enim tunc quasi oratorium pro familia regis vt ibi adorarent, & dijs suis libamina immolarent, &c.* And a little after that also he thus saith; *Anno Domini* 597 *Augustinus cum suis socijs illo in loco conversans vitam cœpit imitari apostolicam,* and that king Ethelbert with his people was christened on Whitsundaie.

Thomas Spot.

This done, Augustine was the sixteenth kalends of December made archbishop of the Englishmen by Etherius bishop of Arras in France, to whome Gregorie the first of that name bishop of Rome did send the archbishops pall. Whereupon Augustine placed his archbishops see at Canturburie, and was the first archbishop that sat there: for in the yeare of Christ fiue hundred ninetie and eight, king Ethelbert remouing his palace from Canturburie vnto Reculuer, gaue his palace which he had in Canturburie to the said Augustine and his successors, that the metropolitan see might remaine there, which pa-

Thomas Spot.

lace he turned into the palace in which the said Augustine dwelt, being the palace which after remained to his successors archbishops of Canturburie; besides which this Augustine ordeined for the metropolitan chaire, a certeine old church built by the Romans consecrated to our Sauior; which church is at this daie called Christs church in Canturburie, for difference of the other Christs church beside Aldgate in London. Moreouer, this Augustine, as saith William Thorne, did dedicat a church in Canturburie called saint Pancrace. Touching which, because that Matthew Parker hath not fullie made mention therof by the name of saint Pancrace, although he speake therof as of the abbeie of saint Augustines and monasterie dedicated to Peter & Paule; I shall not spare to set downe the words of the said William Spot, which were written after this manner: *Erat autem non longè ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem quasi medio itinere inter ecclesiam sancti Martini & muros ciuitatis phanum siue idolum situm, vbi rex Ethelbertus secundùm ritum suæ gentis solebat orare, & cum nobilibus suis dæmonijs & non Deo sacrificare. Quod phanũ ab inquinamentis & sordibus gentilium purgauit* (which was Augustine) *& simulachro quod in eo erat confracto, synogogam mutauit in ecclesiam, & eam in nomine sancti Pancracij martyris dedicauit, & hæc est prima ecclesia ab Augustino dedicata.*

A little after the which he further more saith thus: *Hijs námque gestis, Augustinus prædicti sancti Pancracij ecclesiam à rege obtinuit vnà cum terra adiacente: in cuius fundo prædictus rex suggestione sancti patris Augustini ecclesiam in honore apostolorum Petri & Pauli à fundamentis construxit: & in eadem ecclesia rex sibi & successoribus suis Cantuariæ regibus sepulturam elegit. In hac & ecclesia Augustinus se & successores suos Cantuariæ archiepis. statuit sepeliri: hæc igitur ecclesia vsque ad hodiernũ diẽ monasteriũ Petri & Pauli, sanctiq; Augustini ab omnibus terræ incolis appellatur.* Thus much that old booke written, as some haue noted (for the title therof) by William Thorne, or William de Spina: although for mine owne part (grounding my selfe vpon Matthew Parker, who verbatim hath inserted much of this matter into his booke) I suppose that it was rather written by Thomas Spot or Sprot, than by William Thorne, being both of them monks of Canturburie; and therefore sith the one continued the historie of the other, I haue vouched it sometime by the one name, and sometime by the other.

This Augustine (as saith that booke) died the seuenth kalends of June, in the yeere of our redemption fiue hundred and fiue, being about two moneths, two weekes, and two daies after the death of pope Gregorie, after that he had béene bishop eight yéers, fiue weekes, and three daies, as saith an ancient and goodlie booke of saint Augustines: but as saith Matthew Parker, he died in the yeare of our Lord God, fiue hundred and eleuen, after that he had remained fiue and ten yeares in that sée; or but ten yeares, as the said Thorne will haue it, whose bodie was buried and laid without the doores in the porch of the said monasterie of saint Peter and saint Paule, the same church being not yet perfect nor dedicated. But as soone as the same church had receiued his dedication, his bodie was translated into the north porch thereof, and there was honorablie buried; which porch (saith the said booke of Thorne) was in that part of the old church, where in his time did stand the chapell of the virgine Marie; and in the same also were all the other succeeding bishops of Canturburie accustomed to be buried, vntill the time of Theodorus the archbishop, who with the other bishops were inforced to be buried in the church, because the said porch could not hold anie more dead bodies. Upon the tome of which Augustine was this epitaph ingrauen. ¶ Hic requiescit diuus Augustinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, qui olim huc à beato Gregorio Romanæ vrbis pontifice directus, & à Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, & Ethelbertum regem, & gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad fidem Christi perduxit.

Laurence borne at Rome, and of great learning, was chosen successor to Augustine by the said Augustine whilest he yet liued. He laboured by his letters to reduce the Britons, Scots and Irish to true christianitie and obseruation of Easter. He (as saith Matthew Parker) built a church to the virgine Marie (whereof more shall follow) in the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule, which yet he did not consecrate, but left the same to be performed by his successor Melitus. There hath béene an opinion amongst the monks, that all the archbishops of Canturburie, from the time of Augustine the first bishop vntill Stigand, or rather Thomas Becket, were monkes: but that is refelled, in respect that this Laurence was a priest, as Matthew Parker auoucheth out of Bede lib. 1. cap. 27. Touching which bishops to be monkes thus speaketh a booke of the monasterie of S. Augustines: *Hoc discernens* (Ethelbert king of Kent, who sent Melitus bishop of London and after bishop of Canturburie to Rome to haue licence to place monkes in that monasterie) *permisit vt ipsi prædicatores nostri monachi monachorum sibi associarent gregem, & eorum vitam sanctis moribus exornarent, vnde diuino nutu tam consono regis voto & ordinum monachorum accidit in posterum, vt in archiepiscoporum Cantuarien sis ecclesiæ successione, omnes fermè ab aduentu Augustini vsque ad Thomam martyrem, qui in numero 39 fuerunt, per 568 annos intermedios, monachi fuerunt.* This Laurence died that yeare in which Eadbald king of Kent imbraced the faith of Christ, which he had till that time detested, after the death of his father Ethelbert, or rather the next yeare (as some haue) but others plainlie affirme that he died in the yeare of Christ six hundred and nineteene, the fourth nones of Februarie, being the second yeare of Rufinian abbat of saint Augustines, and the third yere of Eadbald king of Kent. But againe to the church of the virgine Marie within the monasterie before said, as the said Thorne writeth with these words: *In isto monasterio ecclesiam in honorẽ sanctæ Dei genetricis ob facinorum suorum expiationem fundauit* (king Ethelbald after his christening) *& ipsam ecclesiam manerio de Northborne regaliter dotauit. Quod manerium est 30 aratrorum vt in codicillo eius apparet, quod monasteriũ huic monasterio ita liberè contulit sicut pater suus aut ipse vnquam liberiùs tenuerunt. Ista autem ecclesia beatæ virginis à principio fuit posita ad orientem monasterij, & erat cœmiterium fratrum inter ipsam ecclesiam & monasterium. Sed post dilatato monasterio fuit ista ecclesia penitùs prostrata, & ibi superadificata crypta sicut nunc apparet.* Now although it maie seeme to come out of order to speake anie more of this Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, sith I haue alreadie made mention of the daie and yere of his death, yet I thinke it not amisse, rather here than not at all, to set downe the words of a famous booke (which Matthew bishop of Canturburie neuer saw) of Augustines, the goodliest monument that I haue beheld belonging to anie house of religion, touching the same Laurence: which words I am the willinger to write, although they be somewhat long, because I will not defraud the author of the true telling of his owne tale, nor posteritie of the spreading by print the part of that booke, which otherwise perhaps might neuer more come to light: thus therefore

speaketh

speaketh that booke. *An. Dom. 613. Laurentius archiepiscopus, qui non solùm de Anglis nouæ quæ tunc erat ecclesiæ curam gerebat, sed & veterum Britaniæ incolarum necnon & Scotorum, qui Hiberniam insulam Britaniæ proximam incolunt, populis pastoralem curam impendere intendebat, à suæ prædicationis solicitudine ad suam sedem Dorobernensis ecclesiæ regressus, præsentis monasterij ecclesiam consecrauit, & præsente rege cum confluis turbis corpus Augustini transtulit in eandem ecclesiam consecratam, corpus verò sancti Letardi episcopi Syluanectẽsis in Gallijs, cuius metropolis est Remẽsis, necnon & corpus Bertæ vxoris Ethelberti in porticu sancti Martini sepeliuit, horum enim corpora extra ecclesiam prius fuerunt sepulta, eo quòd tempore obitus eorum ecclesia nondum fuèrat consecrata. Et nota quòd ista porticus quæ vocatur sancti Martini, fuit ex parte australi ecclesiæ tunc consecratæ. Quod tamen in eodem loco vbi nunc est altare sancti Iohannis non fuerat idem sancti Martini porticus, patet per Bedam li. 2. cap. 4. vbi eandem ecclesiam inter alia describit in hunc modum. Habet (inquit) hæc ecclesia viz. apostolorum Petri & Pauli in medio pene sui altare, in honorẽ Gregorij papæ dedicatum. Dato igitur quòd altare Gregorij quod nunc est, fuit in medio pene eiusdem ecclesiæ primitùs ab eodem Laurentio dedicata (quæ multo fuerat arctior quàm est ecclesia nostra moderna, sicut in locis sequentibus sibi aptis temporibus Wulfrici, Scotlandi, & Widonis abbatũ qui ecclesiam dilatauerunt erit manifestiùs explanatum) sequitur idem Martini altare siue porticum, quamuis in eadem parte ecclesiæ fuerat, non tamen in eodem loco quo nunc est altare sancti Iohannis vbi Berta fuerat regina sepulta verisimiliter extitisse.* But now leauing this matter of that author, and returning to the death of Laurence, we saie that there was this epitaph fixed vpon his grauestone, placed next vnto the bodie of saint Augustine as here followeth:

Porticus ecclesiæ sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.

Porticus sancti Martini in ecclesia sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.

Hic sacra Laurenti sunt signa tui monumenti,
Tu quoque iucundus pater antistesque secundus,
Pro populo Christi scapulas dorsúmque dedisti,
Artubus hinc laceris multa vibice mederis.

Laurence.

Melitus.

Melitus borne of a noble familie, and an abbat of Rome, being sent by Gregorie into England to aid Augustine in the haruest of the Saxons conuersion, in the yeare of our redemption six hundred and one, was in the yeare six hundred and foure by Augustine made bishop of London; he went to Rome in the fourth yeare of his bishoprike, being about the yeare of our Lord six hundred and eight; he was expelled his bishoprike by the sonnes of Sigebert or Sebba, in the yeare of Christ six hundred and eightæne, and fled into France; but he was called out of banishment by Laurentius bishop of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ six hundred and ninetæne, in which the said Laurence died, after whose death, this Melitus was made archbishop of Canturburie; he died the eight kalends of Maie about the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and foure, in the eight yeare of king Eadbald, and was buried in the porch of the monasterie of Peter and Paule, after that he had gouerned the sée of Canturburie fiue yeares, as hath William Thorne: though Polydor Virgil will affoord him but foure yeares: vpon the graue stone of which Melitus was this epitaph set:

Polyd. lib. 4. Angl. histor.

Summus pontificum flos tertius & mel apricum,
Hic titulis clara redditis mellitè sub ara:
Laudibus æternis te prædicat vrbs Dorobernis,
Cui semel ardenti restas virtute potenti.

In which epitaph this bishop is called *Mel*, alluding to the vertue of his name, which was Melitus, in English signifieng honnied, or made of honnie.

Iustus.

Iustus was first created bishop of Rochester in the life of Augustine the first archbishop of Canturburie; who not long inioieng the sée of Rochester, was with Melitus in the yeare of Christ six hundred and eightæne, fleing the persecution of the christians in Kent, when he passed ouer into France, but after returning home in the yeare of Christ six hundred and ninetæne, this Iustus was againe restored to his sée of Rochester, where he remained so long as Melitus liued: after whose death, he was about the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and foure remoued to the arch chaire of Canturburie; where he ordeined Paulinus to be archbishop of Yorke, in the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and fiue, though some haue six hundred fourescore and seuen. This bishop Iustus departed this world the fourth ides of Nouember, in the yeare that the world became flesh, six hundred threescore and foure, and about the nineteenth yeare of king Eabbald, and was buried in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule with his predecessors. On the grauestone of which Iustus was this epitaph set:

Istud habet tustum, meritis & nomine Iustum,
Quarto iure datus cum cesit pontificatus:
Pro meritis Iusti, sancta grauitate venusti,
Gratia diuinam diuina dat hic medicinam.

Honorius.

Honorius by birth a Romane, was chosen archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, and was consecrated at Lincolne by Paulinus archbishop of Yorke, in the church which the same Paulinus there built, and receiued his pall from Honorius the first of that name bishop of Rome: he diuided his prouince into parishes, appointing inferior ministers vnto them: he made Paulinus fleing out of the kingdome of the Northumbers bishop of Rochester, he died in the twelfe yeare of Ercombertus king of Kent, in the yeare that God became man six hundred fiftie and foure, or rather six hundred fiftie and three, the last daie of Februarie, as hath Matthew Parker, but of September as others haue, & was buried with his predecessors in the north part of the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule, after whose death the bishoprike was void by the space of one yeare & six moneths, whose epitaph was on this sort:

Honorius archbishop of Canturburie.

Quintus honor memori, versu memoraris honori,
Digne sepultura, quem non teret vlla litura:
Ardet in obscuro tua lux vitramine puro (demit.
Sic scelus omne premit, fugit vmbras, nebula

Deusdedit.

Deusdedit, or Adeodatus, descended of the Westsaxons, who in his mother tong was called Frithona, was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie by Ithamar bishop of Rochester. This Deusdedit, died in the yeare of our redemption six hundred threescore and foure, or rather six hundred threescore and three, the daie before the ides of Iulie, after that he had bene bishop nine yeares, foure moneths and twelue daies, being buried with his predecessors in the porch of the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule in Canturburie, being the last archbishop that was buried in that place: this man doth Polydor call Theodatus, which is all one in signification with the other Deusdedit, or Adeodatus: but that the one is compounded of the Latine, and the other of the Greeke, both signifieng in English, a person giuen by God: the epitaph of which Adeodatus was after this maner, according to antike inuention greatlie then vsed, & alluding to his name of Deusdedit in the second & third word of the 1. verse:

Alme Deusdedit, cui sexta vocatio cedit,
Signas hunc lapidem, lapidi signatus eidem:
Prodit ab hac vrna virtute salus diuturna,
Qua melioratur, quicúnque dolore grauatur.

After whose death the bishoprike was void fiue yeares eight moneths & fiftæne daies, during which time none administred the same bishoprike, though Matthew Parker will haue the vacancie of the bishoprike to continue a longer time, about the date of ten yeares or more.

Theodorus.

Theodorus archbishop of Canturburie was chosen

ten in this sort. The sée of Canturburie being long time void of a pastor, Wigard the priest a learned Englishman was sent to Rome by Egbert king of Kent, and Oswie king of Northumberland, to be ordeined archbishop of that sée. After his coming to Rome, this Wigard and most of his companie died of a grieuous plague there, before he was created bishop: whereupon, about the yeare of Christ six hundred threescore and eight, as hath Matthew Parker, but six hundred three score & nine, as others haue, Vitilianus the pope made Theodorus, a Grecian borne archbishop of Canturburie, and sent him into England: who arriued here (as hath William Thorne) in the yeare of Christ six hundred threescore and ten, the sixt kalends of June, being threescore & three yeares of age, hauing legantine power ouer England, Scotland, and Ireland. This man brought with him into England a large librarie of Greeke and Latine bookes: who about the yeare six hundred three score and eightéene, deposed Wilfrid archbishop of Yorke, a man notablie learned in poetrie, arithmetike, astronomie, musike, and in the Greeke and Latine toongs, as hath William Malmesburie.

An. Do. 668. Matth. Parker, *In vita Theo. & venit Cantuar. anno 2. postquam consecratus est 6. kalend. Iunias ij.*

Chron. Wincelcombe.

This Theodor in the yeare that the world became flesh six hundred & fourescore, diuided the prouince of Canturburie into fiue dioceses, & appointed gouernors thereof: he held two synods, the one at Hereford, and the other at Cliffe at Ho besides Rochester, as hath Matthew Parker. Besides which, as it appeareth by William Thorne and Beda (or else the historie of Rochester hath mistaken Cliffe for Hedfield, or Hethfield, if these two synods were all one) by Florilegus, and the Saxon chronicles of Merton, and of Peterborow (as that worthie antiquarie M. William Lambert hath well noted) that Honorius held a synod at Hedfield in the yeare of Christ six hundred and fourescore, to keepe backe the heresie of Eutiches begun in Constantinople, & first ordeined the vse of singing throughout England, which before was vsed onlie in Kent. He wrote manie bookes, namelie, *Summam pœnitentialem, Patrum canones, Ordinationes cleri, De fide contra Eutichem*, and manie others: he consecrated Erkenwald bishop of London, and Eadhed, Bosa, and Eata bishops of Yorke. He died the nineteenth daie of September in the third yeare of the vacancie of the kingdome of Kent, after the death of king Edricus, falling in the yeare that the second person of the trinitie tooke on him the forme of a seruant, six hundred foure-score and ten, being fourescore and eight yeares of age, after that he had gouerned that sée one & twentie yeares, three moneths, and foure and twentie daies, being buried in the church of Peter & Paule at Canturburie, but not in the porch thereof, as his other predecessors were: for Deusdedit was the last of those which were buried in that place, whose writing on his graue I find to haue béene verie much: but because that worthie booke & monument of saint Augustine hath not fullie set it downe, as it hath donesome other epitaphs, I will onelie deliuer so much of that epitaph as is come to my knowledge, concerning the said archbishop in this sort:

Beda lib. 4. cap. 17.

Matth. Parker *in vita Theodori.*

Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul,
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga vocat:
Princeps pontificum, fœlix summúsque sacerdos,
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.

After which there lacked a great number of verses, which should haue hanged herevpon, but they not appearing, the latter part and conclusion of his epitaph was there deliuered in this maner:

Námq; diem nonam decimam September habebat
Cùm carnis claustrum spiritus effugeret:
Alma nouæ scandens fœlix consortia vitæ,
Ciuibus angelicis iunctus in arce poli.

Touching which archbishop, I thinke it not amisse to deliuer to the world, what an ancient anonymall chronicler hath written concerning his erection of schooles of learning at Crékelade, which is supposed to be the mother of the vniuersitie of Oxford, the words of which author are these.

Theodorus archiepiscopus Cantuarienſis per omnes chronicas commendatur Luciferos radios rationis vna cum Adriano abbate orbi Britannico infulsisse, & insulam quondam nutriculam tyrannorum in familiare philosophiæ domicilium contulisse. Horum vtique rationis euidentia memoria reducitur modernorum per illam villulam quæ lacus Græcorum, Anglicè Grekeslade à Theodori disciplina vbi scholas primitùs tenuit nũcupatur. In illa enim lacu refulsit quasi sol Theodorus à sole iusticiæ illustratus. Thus much that author, which I suppose that the archbishop of Canturburie Parker had not séene, when he maketh Theodorus (vnlesse my memorie faile) to be author of the vniuersitie of Cambridge.

Brightwaldus an Englishman borne. This man hath Polydor falslie shewed to be the first archbishop of Canturburie that was an Englishman, making the rest to be Italians and Romans, wherein he hath doublie erred (as saith Matthew Parker) for Deusdedit the second bishop before this man was of the Westsaxons, and Theodore next before this man was borne in Tharsis of Cilicia, in which error of Polydor, William Thorne was drowned long before him. This man was sometime abbat of Raculfe now called Reculuer, besides the north mouth of the riuer Gentade néere the Ile of Tenet, he was chosen archbishop in the second yeare of Withred king of Kent, in the yeare of our redemption six hundred ninetie and two, and ordeined bishop in the yeare six hundred ninetie & three, in the third kalends of Julie, being consecrated by Gwdwine metropolitane of France, as hath William Thorne and Beda. Sergius the first of that name, bishop of Rome granted vnto him by his bull the full primasie ouer all the English churches. When this bishop entered the sée of Canturburie, there reigned in Kent two brothers, Wilred or rather Withred, and Swinfard, which Withred built the church of saint Martins in Douer where they became monks, and indowed it with great possessions.

Brightwaldus. Polydor. l. 4.

Genlade.

691. William Thorne.

Withredus & Swihardus.

Touching which thus writeth the same booke of S. Augustine: *Withredus monasterium sancti Martini apud Douerià fundauit, vt testatur Gulielmus Malsmeburie, & secundum aliquos in eodem loco 22 canonicos instituit seculares, sed propter illorum execrabilem vitam, rex Anglorum Henricus 2, concilio Theobaldi archiepiscopi Cantuarienſis in monachorum ordinem idem monasterium transtulit, & ibidem nouam ecclesiam construens 13, monachos de ecclesia Christi Cantuarienſis introduxit.* Brightwaldus died in the fift ides of Januarie, in the sixt yeare of Edbert king of Kent, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred thirtie and one, and was buried in the church of Canturburie, after that he had gouerned the same chaire eight and thirtie yeares, three moneths, and foure téene daies, whose epitaph was written as hereafter followeth:

Matth. Park. Beda li. 5. ca. 24. 37 ann. 6. mens. 14 dies.

Stat sua laus feretro Brithwaldus, stat sua metro,
Sed minor est metri laus omnis laude feretri,
Laude frequentandus pater hic & glorificandus,
Si prece flectatur dat ei qui danda precatur.

Tatwinus or Tadwinus in Saxon Tatpine, whome some call Cadwine or Scadwine by the corruption

Tatwinus.

ruption and ignorance of writers, was borne in Mercia, a monke of the order of S. Benet in the abbeie of Bpe. dune, Bzuidune, or Bzenton, although some others saie that he was not of the profession of a monke. Bede doth constantlie affirme that he was consecrate (in the first yeare of Gregorie the third bishop of Rome) in Canturburie by Daniell bishop of Winchester, Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and Adulfe bishop of Rochester. Controuersie falling betweene him and the bishop of Yorke, concerning the honours of their bishoprikes, this Tadwine went to Rome about the yeare of Christ 733, where he receiued the pall of pope Gregorie: to this archbishops time doth Bede continue his historie. Tatwine died after that he had beene archbishop of Canturburie three yeares, in the yeare of our redemption 734, or (as hath William Thorne) the last daie of Julie, seauen hundred thirtie and fiue, being the tenth of Edbert king of Kent, and was buried in the church of Canturburie, with this superscription written vpon his graue stone:

Pontificis glebe, Tacwini Cantia præbe,
Thura, deus, laudes, e cuius dogmate gaudes:
Huius doctrina caruisti mente ferina,
Et per eum Christi portare iugum didicisti.

Nothelmus borne at London, archpriest of the church of London, and bishop of the same, was aduanced to the metropolitane see of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 736, in the fift yeare (as hath Matthew Parker) of pope Gregorie the third, & was consecrated at Rome, where he receiued his pall. He was a great helpe vnto Bede for the increase of the historie of Bede, written of the church of England: he was (as saith Gulielmus Spina) three yeares and more in the bishoprike of Canturburie, and died in the fiftéenth yeare of Edbert king of Kent, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and fortie, the sixtéenth kalends of Nouember, and was buried with his predecessors, hauing this remembrance ingrauen vpon his sepulture:

Hîc scrobe Nothelmus iacet archiepiscopus almus
Cuius vita bono non est indigna patrono:
Cunctis iste bonis par in bonitate patronis,
Protegit hic iustos vigili munimine custos.

Cuthert, borne of a famous familie of the English nation, was first bishop of Hereford in Mercia, and then in the yeare of our redemption 740, being the ninth yeare of Pope Gregorie the third, made bishop of Canturburie, who in the time of Ethelbald king of Mercia, called a synod at Cliffe beside Rochester. In this synod was present king Ethelbald of Mercia, Cuthert archbishop of Cantur. Totta, Hunita, & Padda bishops of Mercia, Aldwines bishop of Lindseie, Sigga bishop of the south Sarons. This archbishop procured Edbert king of Kent by publike edict, to change the place of buriall of the archbishops, which were before accustomed to be buried in the monasterie of saint Augustines of that citie, to the metropolitane church of Canturburie, in which church he was buried by subtiltie before the monks knew of his death; who thinking to haue his bodie to their church, and finding him buried before they came, did afterwards assemble with armes (as saith Spot) to fet awaie this bodie of his successor Bzegwine, to burie it in their monasterie: but when they saw it was alreadie buried, they departed in anger deceiued of their hope. Capgraue saith that he was buried in the church (neere vnto the great church) which was built in the honor of saint John, which he therefore built to be a place for christenings, to examine causes of iudgement, to correct euils, and to burie the archbishops: which church of saint John manie ages after did Lanfranke repaire. Which translating of the buriall of the archbishops to Canturburie, happening in the time of Aldhumus the tenth abbat of that house, which died in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred and sixtie, and the fiue & thirtith of Edbert king of Kent, occasioned the monks finding fault with his default in that action, to set these verses (for the memoriall) vpon a stone of his buriall, made in the monasterie of saint Augustines:

Fert memor abbatis Aldhumi nil probitatis,
Pontificum pausam cassat tutans malè causam:
Prisca premens iura dū Cuthertus tumulatur,
Fulta sepultura sanctis per eum reprobatur.

Before the death of which abbat, that is in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred fortie and eight, being the three and twentith of the reigne of the same Edbert king of Kent, this archbishop Cuthert, after that he had sat seauentéene yeares, departed the world, and was buried (as is before said) out of the monasterie of S. Augustines from his predecessors.

Begwinus borne of worshipfull parents of the Sarons bloud, in the countrie of old Saronie in Germanie, came into England, & was here made a denizen: who being vnwillinglie made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fiftie and eight, or seauen hundred fiftie and nine as some haue, confirmed the burieng of the archbishops in the place which Cuthert had before appointed. He sat in that chaire three yeares, and then surrendered his soule vnto God, whose death was not knowne, till that he had béene buried three daies before in the church of S. John besides his predecessor Cuthert, about whose time was Stretburg, Winchester, London, Yorke, and Doncaster, with manie other places much consumed by lightening.

Lambertus or Iambertus, or rather Ieanbeyche, and Geanboyche, being abbat of S. Augustines, was made archbishop of Canturburie, the seauenth ides of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred sixtie and two, who hauing the pall giuen him, was made archbishop of Canturburie by pope Paulinus or Paule, the first of that name, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred sixtie and foure. In this mans time Offa king of Mercia found means to translate the archbishops see from Canturburie to Lichfield, (when Eadulphus the bishop thereof had a pall giuen him by pope Adrian) for the grieuous displeasures which Offa conceiued against the Kentish, but especiallie for that this bishop would haue aided (as saith Matthew Paris in his chronicle of saint Albons) Charles the great determining to inuade England, touching which matter thus writeth Matthew Parker, shewing what bishops were subiect to the metropolike see of Mercia, and what bishoprikes were vnder the metropolitane see of Canturburie: his words be these.

Eadulfo igitur Lichfeldensi episcopo archiepiscopalem celsitudinem administranti subijciebantur hij Merciorum episcopi, Denebertus Wigornensis, Werebertus Legecestrensis, Eadulfus Sunacestrensis, Wulmardus Herefordensis, necnon & orientalium Anglorum episcopi viz. Harardus Helmanensis, & Tidferth Domucensis. Sedi verò Cantuarensi, Londonensis, Wintoniensis, Roffensis, Sireburnensis, antistites, dum Lambertus sedit, tantùm superfuerunt, etsi neque sumptui neque labori pepercit, vt sedem suam pristinæ dignitati restitueret. Quidam verò referunt cùm legati ab Adriano papa in Angliam missi concilium apud Calcuch (or rather Calchith) in prouincia Northumbrorum tenuissent anno 787, ibi Lambertum archiepiscopatus prafatam partem episcopo Lichfeldensi remisisse. This man after that he had gouerned his famed archbishoprike about seuentéene yeares, or rather two and twentie yeares, perceiuing his end to draw neere, and desirous to vndo all such decrees as his predecessors had made touching

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Ex archiuis.

W. Malmf. lib. 1. De reg. gestis. Roff. histor. Henricus Vetnaurudunensis. Edmerus.

ing the place of the buriall of the archbishops, and to bring that to his ancient place, commanded that his bodie (when he was dead) should be carried vnto the monasterie of saint Augustines, and there to be buried with his former predecessors, which was easilie performed; and therefore was honorablie buried in the chapter house of saint Augustines, with this epitaph heere vnder written in forme following:

Gemma sacerdotum decus à tellure remotum,
Clauditur hac fossa, Iambertus pulvis & ossa,
Sub hac mole cinis sed laus tua nescia finis,
Incola nunc cœli, populo succurre fideli.

Athelardus. Athelardus was first abbat of Maldune, then bishop of Winchester, in the yeare of our redemption seuen hundred ninetie and three, in the yeare of the reigne of Offa surnamed the great king of Mercia thirtie and fiue, and in the one and twentith yeare of the gouernement of pope Adrian. This bishop of Canturburie going to Rome, obteined of pope Leo the fourth of that name, to haue the whole metropolitan iurisdiction reduced vnto the church of Canturburie from Lichfield, in behalfe whereof Kenulfe king of Mercia wrote vnto the pope, whereunto the pope answered. The tenor of both which letters Matthew Parker hath set downe in his booke of the liues of the bishops of the see of Canturburie. In this mans time, as hath Matthew Parker noted,

Simon Dunel. *Pagani* (which were the Danes and Norwegians) *portu Egfredi regis vastato, monasterium Doni annis prædarunt.* During the regiment of this bishop, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred ninetie and eight, manie houses and multitudes of men were consumed in London, by a sudden chance of fire. After which he died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred and six, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, and not in the monasterie of S. Augustines; from which time there was neuer anie controuersie nor quarell moued by the monks of S. Augustines for the not burieng of the archbishops in their abbeie, as there had manie times beene before.

Wulfredus. Wulfredus being first a monke of Canturburie, was elected and aduanced to the dignitie of the archbishoprike of Canturburie at Rome, by pope Leo, the fourth of that name, who also consecrated and indued him with the pall, in the third yeare of Kenulfus king of Mercia, being the yeare of the incarnation of Christ eight hundred and six. This man in the ninth yeare of his bishoprike went vnto Rome, and was accompanied with Wibert bishop of Shirburne. Whilest this man was archbishop, a great plague was in the church of Canturburie, which consumed & killed all the monks except fiue. Besides which, at the request of this bishop, Kenulfe king of Mercia, at the dedication of the abbeie of Winchcombe, which he had built from the ground, set the king of Kent at libertie, being his prisoner; who after departing this world was buried in Christs church at Canturburie.

W. Malms. Io. Capgra. Tho. Sporus.

Ex archiuis. Rosse. hist.

Theologildus. Theologildus, or Flegildus, or Feogildus, or Fleologildus, as most books haue, being first abbat of Canturburie, was after aduanced to the archiepiscopall dignitie of the metropolitan see of all England, who because he died suddenlie, is not placed in the catalog of the archbishops, being buried in Christs church of Canturburie, as saith Gernasius, before the altar of saint Michaell towards the south.

Ex archiuis. Gernas. Dorobor.

Celnothus. Asser. Mene. Rosse. histor. Celnothus, or Ceolnothus, otherwise called Ciathredus, or Swithredus, deane of the church of Canturburie, was aduanced to that bishoprike by pope Gregorie, of whome he receiued the pall. He was buried in the church of Canturburie, dedicated to our sauior Jesus Christ, after that he had ruled that chaire eight and thirtie, or as others haue, fortie yeres. In the foure and twentith yeare of this bishop, and the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie and fiue, a great armie of the Danes did winter in Shepeie. In the nine and twentith yere of his gouernement, being about the yeare of saluation eight hundred and three score, the greater part of the Danes by deceit went to Winchester, tooke it, & leuelled it with the ground. Shortlie after which, Swithine the bishop thereof being an old man departed this life. The Yeare that this Celnothus died, the bishops see of the east Angles, which was at Domne or Dunwich, was translated to Eltham; the cause whereof is set downe by William of Malmsburie in this manner: *Tempore* (saith he) *Bedicani regis Merciorum, & Egricti regis Westsaxonum, Humbrictus & Wilredus fuerunt episcopi orientalium Anglorum. Sed eodem Ludecano & antecessore eius Burredo inuadentibus prouinciam, etiam episcopis necessariorum copia sublata fuit. Et quidem, vtrique reges intra regionem prouincialium incursu extincti sunt. Cessarunt autem episcopatus, & ex duobus unus factus, sedem apud Elteham villam non adeo magnam accepit.* Thus much he, and thus much I touching the time of Ceolnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, which giueth some cause of wonder to me, that nothing is found written (for anie thing I can learne) of him gouerning that see so long as he did.

Athelredus. Athelredus first being a monke of Canturburie, was after bishop of Winchester, and from thense by the liberalitie of king Ethelred, aduanced to the metropolitane miter of all England. Of whose doing (saith Matthew Parker) this onelie is found written, that in the yeare that the word descended from the bosome of the Father into the wombe of the mother, eight hundred seuentie and two, the seuenth ides of June, being Whitsundaie, he consecrated Werfred bishop of the Wicces, after the death of Alewine. This Athelred after that he had possessed the honor of archbishop of Canturburie eightéene yeares, died an old man, ouerwome with sickenesse, being buried in Christs church of Canturburie with his predecessors.

Plegmundus. Plegmundus by kindred a Mercian, being chosen archbishop of Canturburie, was sacred at Rome by pope Formosus, of whom he receiued the pall with full power of a metropolitan. This man did first in the ile Cestria (which of the inhabitants is called Plegmundesham) liue an heremits life manie yeres, after which he was schoolemaster to king Alfred or Alured, of whose doing thus writeth Matthew Parker. *An. Dom.* 905. *Plegmundus Cant. archiepiscopus, vnà cum rege magnificè cognomento Eduardo seniore, concilium magnum episcoporum, abbatum, fidelium, procerum & populorum in prouincia Gewisarum (id est in illa parte Angliæ quæ in plaga australi sita est fluminis Thamesis) cõuocauit. Fuerat enim illa regio iam 7 annos præ hostium vi & impetu furioso episcoporum sollicitudine & cura pastorali destituta: vnde salubriter constitutum fuit in hac synodo, vt pro duobus episcopis, quorum vnus Wintoniæ, alter Sireburniæ sedẽ habuit, quúmq; crearentur antistites ne grex domini pastorum cura orbatus luporum lanienæ & voracitati subijceretur. Quorum antistitum sedes hoc nominè appellantur, Wintonia, Sireburnia, Wellia, Cridium, & Petrocium, quod est iuxta Wellenses aquilonares, ad flumen Heremoth* (or rather Yellmuth) *posita villula. Celebrato itáque concilio, & canonica electione facta, constituit Plegmundus archiepiscopus in sede Wintoniensi Brithestanum: in Wellensi Athelmum (qui post Plegmundum factus est archiepiscopus Dorobernensis)*

Plegmundus, Chron eccles. Cantuar. Asser. Mene. Gerua. Dorobernen. W. Malms.

Gewisse ex Saxon. antiquitatib. petenda.

bernensis) in Cridiensi Radulphum: in Sireburnensi Wolstanum: & in Petrociensi Athelstanum. Sed & in alijs prouincijs ordinauit duos episcopos, australibus Saxonibus (quorum antistites sedem habuerunt Ciceſtriæ) virum idoneum Burnegum præfecit, Mercijs verò Kenulphum ad ciuitatem Dorcestriæ: hij omnes vno die Doroberniæ ab archiepiscopo Plegmundo consecrati sunt. Non multò post, facta parochiarum distributione, superfuerunt episcopo Wintoniensi prouinciæ Hamptoniensis, Sutherensis, & Wilcensis cum insula Vecta. Prætereà Eduardo rege adhuc viuente Wilcensis pagus suum habuit episcopum, cuius sedes Rameſberiæ fuit, Sireburnensis verò episcopus habebat Summersetam, Wellensis Dorcestriam & Barkeriam, Cridiensis prouinciam Deuonienſem, Petrociensis Cornubiensem patriam. Thus much Matthew Parker, which I haue thought good here to insert, that thereby the state of the clergie, the number of bishops with their dioceſes might appeare in the life of this Plegmund, who ordeined them out (as you see) of the dioceſes of other bishoprikes. This being thus ordered, this Plegmund did by the kings appointment go with others to Rome, to pacifie the popes displeasure. Now after the death of this archbishop, his bodie was buried in Christs church of Canturburie.

Ex archiuis W. Malmſ. Ex modo erigendis episcopatum Wiceu. vide tractatum amplum de episcopis Wilton. & Bathon.

Roſſ. hiſt.

Athelmus being first abbat of Glastenburie, then bishop of Wels, and laſtlie archbishop of Canturburie, of whom we can saie but little, onelie this we set downe out of Matthew Parker, that he laid the first foundation of the abbie of Malmsburie. But for that it is somewhat dissonant from that which I haue read in other authors touching the same, who make Adhelme the inlarger of Malmsburie to be bishop of Shirburne, I will set downe what others haue written thereof. Malmsburie, saie they, was founded by one Medulph a Scot, of whom it was first called Medulphesburie, but of so small reuenues (though Lesleus bishop of Rosse lib. 4. pa. 167. saie that *Medulphus cœnobium magnificum extruxit in ciuitate Malmſburienſi, &c.*) that the monks were not able to liue thereof, whereof Adhelme being abbat, it was in his time greatlie aduanced. He was a learned man & first made abbat of Malmsburie, in the yere of Christ six hundred three score & fifténe by Eleutherius then bishop of the west Saxons. This Adhelme the twentith of Inas king of the west Saxons, was made bishop of Shirburne, whereby it appeareth that Adhelme who first inlarged or laid the first foundation of the abbie of Malmsburie was some hundred and almost thirtie yeres before this Athelme the first bishop that euer was of Wels, and after the bishop of Canturburie: for this bishop of Wels liued in the yeare nine hundred and six, and the other in the yeare six hundred three score and fifténe, the one in the daies of Inas king of west Saxons, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and seuen, and the other in the reigne of Edward the elder, which began his kingdome in the yere of our saluation nine hundred. But it maie be that the first Adhelme bishop of Shireburne inlarged that house, and that the same being manie yeres after destroied by the Danes, had a new foundation thereof laid by this Athelmus archbishop of Canturburie: thus this touching that & so againe to Athelmus. This archbishop of Canturburie did crowne king Athelstane, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred twentie and foure, which king did build three coining houses at Canturburie, whereof one was for himselfe, the other for the archbishop, and the third for the abbat of S. Augustines. Besides which also he built three like houses at Rochester, two for himselfe, and one for the bishop. Of such like houses likewise he built eight at London, six at Winchester, two at Lewes, two at Hastings, one at Chichester, two at Hampton, two at Warham, two at Exceſter, two at Shaftsburie, and one in euerie other towne.

Athelmus.

Tho. Spot.

Wolfelmus the fourth bishop of Wels was aduanced vnto the archbishoprike of Canturburie, of whom as yet I cannot find anie thing, neither when he was made or by whom, howlong he sate, when he died, or where buried, but onelie that William of Malmsburie giueth him thirténe, and the historie of Couentrie foure téne yeres of gouernment. But I find such diuersitie of the yeare amongst authors, in their accounts of the yeares of their first comming to the see, and continuing therein, that I thinke it impossible to reckon them.

Wolfelmus. Chron. Well. & Bath. W. Malmſ.

Odo, surnamed Seuerus, or the seuere person, otherwise called Odosogodus, which being Latine Saxon, signifieth in English, Odosogood, was borne in the prouince of the east Angles, of an honorable stocke of Danes, which were pagans, who did vnworthilie disherit him, because in his youth he became a christian. This man forsaking his countrie fled to the seruice of Ethelmus a duke vnder Edward the elder, by whom he was committed to tutors to learne the Greeke and Latine speeches; whereupon he became singular in verse and prose. Shortlie after his baptisme he was made subdeacon, and then within few yeres following became a priest. Before his priesthood he was a souldior, in which he continued likewise after that he was bishop, thrise seruing the king in his wars: for being aduanced to the bishoprike of Shireburne or Sarisburie, by the gift of king Athelstane, he was in the wars with him against Aulafe the Dane. After the death of Athelstane he was made bishop of Canturburie by king Edmund, brother and successor to Athelstane, and receiued his pall from Agapetus the second, then pope of Rome. He crowned Eadred or Eldred king of England in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and six: which bishop in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and fortie made such peace betweene Aulafe the Norwegian, hauing spoiled England and gotten Yorke, *Vt Aulafus totã Angliæ insulam ad borealem plagam via regia (quæ Watlingstreet dicitur) sua ditioni subiectam teneret: Eadmundus verò australis eiusdem-callis parte contentus pacificè frueretur, quique superuiueret regni totius regimen obtineret.* This bishop inforced Edwin to forsake his concubines, banishing them all from the church, and one of them from the kingdome into Ireland. He made his nephue Oswald bishop of Worcester, and after translated him to Yorke. He gouerned the see of Canturburie manie yeares, and died in the reigne of Edwin king of England, being buried in that Christs church which belonged to his owne see, the forme of whose towne standing on the south side of the altar of that church, was made in maner of a pyramide. After his death, Elsinus bishop of Winchester by monie obteined of king Edgar the bishoprike of Canturburie; but this Elsine going to Rome to be consecrated, miserablie died in the waie with extreame cold on his feet, which could neuer receiue anie heat although they bowelled their horses and put his feet in their warme bellies: which some saie happened to him by the iust iudgement of God, because he had before obteined this bishoprike by simonie, & reprochfullie spurned the towne of this Odo Seuerus and greeuouslie railed vpon him. After the death of this Elsinus, Wythelmus a monke of Glastenburie, as I haue read in the historie of Wels, and the seuenth bishop of that see of Wels, was chosen to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But (as saith

Odo Seuerus. Ex archiuis. Roſſ. hiſt. Io. Capgra. W. Malmſ. Edmerus. Fabianus. Mat. Par's. in vita Dunſtan. Lond. liber. W. Malmſ. Roſſ. hiſt. Chron. Well. & Bath.

saith Matthew Parker, *Quia rebelles correctionis verbere omnino non cohiberet.* He was by king Edgar commanded to returne to his forsaken bishoprike of Wels, in whose place of Canturburie (by the iudgement of all men) saint Dunstan was thought meet to succéed.

Dunstan. Dunstan the three and twentith archbishop of Canturburie, after the account of Matthew Parker, this man was borne (in the yeare of our redemption nine hundred twentie and foure, being the first yere of king Athelstane, in the countrie of the west Saxons) of noble parents on both sides, whose father was called Herston, and his mother Kinedcida; he was instructed in his youth in the liberall sciences in Glascon or Glastenburie. For as saith Matthew Parker, *Nondum cœtus monasticus illã ecclesiam occupauit, abbatísque nomen penitus erat incognitum, sed artium professores regij alebantur stipendijs. Si quis autem ab hominum consuetudine ad solitariã vitam se vellet abducere, modo solus, modo paucioribus consociatus, patria relicta, capta in aliena regione oportunitate viuendi, vixit peregrinus. Qua occasione Hibernenses quidam nobiles habitandi locum a ciuili turba multitudinéque seiunctum Glasconia delegerunt. Ibi adolescentes nobiles ingenuis artibus mercede instruxerunt, inter quos Dunstanus in illa iuuenili institutione cæteris instructior ad eas artes, musicam & pingendi atque sculpendi scientiam adiecit.* After which he serued his vncle Adelme, or Athelme archbishop of Canturburie, from whom he came to the seruice of king Athelstane his nére kinsman, whom the king the more fauored because he could plaie and sing well of and to the harpe. After this (for that as séemeth his harpe could plaie alone) he was banished the court, who departing from thense was laid in wait for, bound and cast into a durtie puddle: but in the end comming to Elphegus his vncle also being then bishop of Winchester, by whose counsell he was made a monke, he was executor to Algiua a woman borne of kinglie bloud, who by this Dunstans persuasion made hir will in this sort: *Iesum Christum rerum mearum hæredem facio, te* (meaning Dunstan) *eiusdem hæreditatis tutorẽ constituo, vt quicquid ipsum cognoueris velle, tui arbitrij sit effectu mancipare.* After whose death Dunstan distributed hir moueables amongst the poore, and appointed hir liuings and lands to houses of religion, for of that inheritance he builded fiue monasteries. Then when king Athelstane was dead, he came to the court and grew in fauour with king Edmund: but after falling in his disgrace he was banished from him, wherewith not wholie ouerthrowne, he recobteined the kings fauour, *Deinde loca in quibus Dunstanus natus, genitus, enutritus, educatus, aut versatus sit,* king Edmund, *Dunstano ad cœnobia extruenda dedit,* whereupon (as saith Matthew Parker) *Dũstanus sui ordinis monachorum copiosa collecta multitudine, cœnobiũ quod tunc solùm in Anglia fuit, repleuit, ipse eorum dux ac magister abbatis nomine primus in Anglia appellatus est.* But here I must with reuerence saie thus much, that if Matthew Parkers writing, that this Dunstan was the first that was named an abbat in England, be not to be taken and ment that he was the first that was named abbat of the house of Glastenburie, or that was named abbat after the destruction of monasteries and religion by the Danes, it can not be true. For besides manie abbats of diuers religious houses named by Bede, manie hundred yeares before this Dunstan, the same Matthew Parker himselfe doth name diuers archbishops of Canturburie before this Dunstan to haue bene abbats of sundrie places, as Lambert abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie, Theologild or Fleogild abbat of Canturburie, & Athelmus abbat of Glastenburie, &c. This Dunstan ruled all things vnder king Edred or Eldred, which began his reigne in the yere of Christ nine hundred fortie and six. After the death of which king, Dunstan was by his successor king Edwin the third time banished the court: whereupon he went vnto his monasterie of Glastenburie, but not setling himselfe there, was banished the realme by the king, whose anger still increased against him in the end, by meanes wherof he went into France. After the death of Edwin, Edgar his brother, made king in the yeare of Christ nine hundred fiftie and nine, did call a councell at Bzanford, vndid the acts of Edwin, called home Dunstan, and whether he would or no made him first bishop of Worcester, then bishop of London, both which he held at one time, and within two yeares after, archbishop of Canturburie. To this Dunstan were almost all the bishops of England of kin, or alied in bloud by one meanes or other. For as saith Matthew Parker, *Erant tunc temporis plures & digniores episcopi consanguinitate inter se copulati. Odo enim Cantuarienſis & Osketellus Eboracenſis archiepiscopi propinqui fuerunt, his duobus Oswaldus consanguineus. Dunstani ex altera parte cognatio fuit cum Adelmo Cantuar. archiepiscopo, Elphego caluo Wintonienſi, & Elphego iuniore abbate, qui postea etiam Wintonienſis episcopus fuit: tum Wulfino Sirebornienſi episcopo, qui prius abbas Westmonasterienſis fuerat. His cognationibus iuncti se invicẽ potiundis episcopatibus tanquam proprijs hæreditatibus iuuerunt. Itaque regem acriter hortatur Dunstanus, vt Oswaldus prædecessoris sui Odonis fratruelis, & Ethelwaldus Abindoniæ abbas, episcopi crearentur. Oswaldum ilico consecrauit Dunstanus Wigornienſem episcopum, an. Dom. 960, annóque sequenti mortuo Brithelmo Ethelwaldum Wint. episcopum* Which Dunstan bishop of Canturburie annointed Edward king of England after the death of Edgar, in the yeare of Christ nine hundred three score and fiftéen. He assembled a councell at Kirkling in the prouince of the east Angles, in the yeare of saluation nine hundred three score and seuentéene, and after this called an other at Calne in Wiltshire, in which was concluded a full banishment of secular and maried priests, and introducing of monkes into their places, which order hath euer since continued for the space of six hundred thirtie and foure yeres in England, vntill about the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and foure, much about which all religious houses were dissolued and their order of life reiected. After this, Dunstan crowned Egelred king of England in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred three score and eighténe, or rather nine hundred three score and seuenténe, he sate at Canturburie seuen and twentie yeares, died the fouretenth kalends of Julie, and was buried at Canturburie, as writeth Geruasius Dorobernensis in these words out of Edmerus: *Sanè via vna, quam curuatura cryptæ ipsius ad occidentem vergentem concipiebat, vsque ad locum quietis beati Dunstani tendebatur. Ipse námque sanctissimus pater ante ipsos gradus in magna profunditate terræ iacebat humatus, tumba super eum in modum pyramidis grandi sublimique structura, habente ad caput sancti altare matutinale, &c.*

Ethelgarus succéded Dunstan in the archbishoprike of Canturburie, he was first made abbat of the new monasterie of Winchester, by Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, after which he was made bishop of Seolseie in Sussex. But after that the Iland was spoiled by the Danes, he was aduanced to the metropolitike sée of Canturburie, of whose doings by reason of the iniurie of the time, for now the Danes troubled all the realme, nothing is found, but that he died and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, after that he had bene archbishop one yeare and three moneths.

Siricius, being first a monke of Glastenburie, was in succession of time by saint Dunstan made abbat

Ofbernus. W. Malms. Io. Capgr. Ofbernus. Simon Dunel. Mat. Parker. *in vita Dunstan ex vetustissima Dunstani legenda.* Simon Dunel. Roger Houed. Simon Dunel. Ethelgarus. Siricius.

abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie; after which, he was vnder the same Dunstan, indued with the bishoprike of Winchester, and at length in the yeare of our redemption eight hundred fourescore and nine, or as some haue, nine hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the time of king Ethelred, or Egelred; he was aduanced to the archbishops see of Canturburie, where (as saith William Malmesburie, and the historie of Couentrie) he continued fiue yeares: he was buried (after his death) in Christs church of Canturburie, to which place he gaue his bookes, being as Matthew Parker saith, verie good.

W. Thorne.

Stephan. Birchinton.

Alricius or Alfricus, who proceeded likewise out of the monasterie of Glastenburie, was first abbat of Abindon, after bishop of Wilton, and at length created archbishop of Canturburie, and receiued the pall of pope John, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred fourescore & sixteene: who after that he had ten years as some saie, & but six yeares as Malmesburie & Couentrie writeth, godlie and valiantlie defended the church of Canturburie from the inuasion and spoile of the Danes, departed this life, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and six, in the reigne of king Ethelred, and was first buried at Abindon, and then remoued to his owne church of Canturburie.

Alricius, Hist. Petriburgensis.

Chro. Steph. Birchinton.

Elphegus or Alphege, issuing forth of the monasterie of Glastenburie, was first made abbat of Bath, who being borne of honorable parents, passed his youth in the monasterie of Hirst, whereof he was [illegible] religious person: then he went to Bath, and there built him a cabin, in which he liued to himselfe; after which, he was by Dunstan consecrated bishop of Winchester, and then archbishop of Canturburie, receiuing his pall at Rome. In the end, this Elphegus being seuen moneths imprisoned, was by the Danes led to Grænewich, and there beheaded, about the yeare of Christ one thousand and twelue: during the time that Swaine had the gouernment of England. He was buried in Paules church at London: but after, by the commandement of Canutus the Dane king of England, he was remoued to Canturburie, and there his bodie lieth honorablie interred, after that he had gouerned six yeares, as hath W. Malmesburie.

Elphegus.

Simon Dunel.

Roger Houed.

Simon Dunel.

Liuingus, surnamed Elfanus, being the tenth bishop of Wels, was elected to the see of Canturburie, & installed therein, who after seuen moneths imprisonment by the Danes as was Elphegus, being deliuered, did (beholding the miserie of his people) flie into banishment: but Swanus being dead, & Ethelred reigning, he returned home, & after the death of Ethelred, crowned king Edmund Ironside at London, who being slaine by treason of Edrike (as most write) this Liuingus did at London crowne Canutus, & so in the end of his life obteined some quiet. This bishop after that he had bene archbishop of Canturburie seuen yeares, and had beautified that church with manie gifts, departed the world, in the yeare that the world became flesh one thousand and twentie, being the second yeare of Canutus the Dane, and was buried in Christs church at Canturburie.

Liuingus.

W. Malsm. de pont.

Gemeticus de gestis regum.

Ste. Birchinton.

Agelnothus, Egelnotus, Athelnothus or Aethelnothus, diuerslie called of diuerse writers, was surnamed the Good, being the sonne of the noble earle Agelmare. This man (after that the chanons of Canturburie in the persecution of the Danes, being of greater number than the monks, had after the manner of other churches made their chiefe to be called a deane) was first made deane of Canturburie: after being chosen to that bishoprike he went to Rome, in the yeare that the word descended from the bosome of the father one thousand & twentie (being the second yeare of the absolute reigne of Canutus) and receiued the pall of pope Benedict.

Agelnothus, Egelnotus, Athelnothus de Canturbur. loco.

Matth. West.

In this mans time, the same Canutus went to Rome about Easter, where he obteined of the pope, That the English schole of Rome should be free from all tax; That all his subiects English and Danes in their pilgrimage or other trauell, should be free from toll of passage from place to place: and lastlie, That the archbishops of England should haue their pall freelie without anie monie: wherof the said Canutus writeth to this Agelnothus and others thus.

The letter of Canutus to his bishops *of England touching those things.*

Canutus rex totius Angliæ, & Denemarchiæ, Noruegiæ, & partis Swanorum, Agelnotho metropolitano, & Alfrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo, omnibúsque episcopis & primatibus, & toti genti Anglorum, tam nobilibus quàm plebeis salutem, &c. Then a little after followeth: *Conquestus sum iterum coram domino papa, & mihi valdè displicere dixi, quòd mei archiepiscopi interim angariebantur immensitate pecuniarum quæ ab eis expetebantur, dum pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent: decreturúmque est ne id deinceps fiat. Cuncta enim, quæ a domino papa, & imperatore, & à rege Rodulpho, cæteríque principibus, per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro mea gentis vtilitate postulabam, libenter annuerunt, & concessa etiam sacramento confirmarunt, sub testimonio quatuor archiepiscoporum, & 20 episcoporum, & innumeræ multitudinis ducum & nobilium quæ aderat, &c.*

After the returne of Agelnothus from Rome, he stored the church, which before that time laid waste since the persecution of the Danes was done. This bishop instructed Canutus in good learnings, and crowned two of his sonnes, Harold, and Hardeknute; and then after that he had bene bishop eighteene yeares, died in the fourth kalends of November, being buried in Christs church in Canturburie.

Edsinus, Elsinus, or Eadsinus, a secular priest, was first chaplen to king Harold, by whome he was promoted to the bishoprike of Winchester: then after the Death of Harold the King, and of Agelnoth the bishop of Canturburie, he was elected archbishop of Canturburie, and receiued his pall of pope Alexander (as some haue, or rather of Benedictus, as others will) in the time of Hardeknute, or rather of Harold, about the yeare of Christ one thousand thirtie and eight. This man by reason of sickenesse not able to discharge the burden of his bishoprike, committed the same to one Siward abbat of Abindon, and after bishop of Rochester: which Edsinus the bishop, did with his councell helpe Edward the confessor, banished into Normandie, to the kingdome of England, with whome he was verie familiar; because he crowned that king at Winchester. After which, when with great sickenesse he had eleuen yeares ruled the see by his vnkind and vnthankfull deputie Siward (whome he labored to make his successor, notwithstanding that Siward would scarselie vouchsafe to find him things necessarie) he died the fift kalends of November, rather famished by the said Siward, than of other death, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie: which Edsinus was accustomed in his writings thus to subscribe his name: *Ego Eadsinus archiepiscopus ecclesiæ Christi subscripsi.*

Edsinus. Ste. Brichinton.

Wil. Malsm. de pont.

Robert, by nation a Norman of the monasterie of Gematicens came into England by the calling of king Edward the Confessor, who dearelie loued him for the friendship which he shewed to the same

W. Malsm. Robert a Norman.

Edward whilest he was brought vp in Normandie, and for the fauor that William duke of Normandie did beare to this Robert. For which cause, king Edward the first made him bishop of London, & then bishop of Canturburie, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and nine. He accused (to the king) Emma the kings mother of adulterie, and caused Godwine earle of Kent to be banished; but after that she was purged by the Ordall (a manner of triall in those daies by consecrated fier, in going bare foote ouer nine hot burning shares) and earle Godwine was restored by the labor of the nobilitie; this Robert was banished, as after shall appeare. For the king asking pardon, that he had so rashlie accused his mother of adulterie with Aldwine bishop of Winchester, was for his penance beaten with rods by the bishop, and receiued three blowes of his mother: in remembrance of which purgation, the quéene and the bishop gaue nine mannors to the monasterie of saint Swithins in Winchester, which the king confirmed, with an inlargement of a further gift of other two mannors, called Meones, and Portland to the said monasterie. Whereupon the archbishop finding himselfe so disgraced and growne into the hatred of the people, did voluntarilie banish himselfe out of the kingdome of England, and at length dieng in Normandie, was buried in the monasterie of Gemeticum, from whense he came.

Stigandus. Walt. Couen. Matth. Paris. Ioronal. hist. Wil. Malmſ. Thom. Spot.

Stigandus chapleine to Edward the Confessor, who was aduanced to manie honors, but whether for his vertue or by his subtiltie, in abusing the gentle disposition of Edward the Confessor, I know not, but certeine it is, that he did not obteine them by reson of his learning, for he was altogither vnlearned or vnlettered. Notwithstanding which, it was no impediment vnto him to ascend the top of the archiepiscopall dignitie of Canturburie by these degrées. First he was bishop of Helmam amongst the east Angles, then bishop of Winchester and Chichester, & then lastlie, in the tenth yeare of the said K. Edward, being the third yeare of pope Leo the third, and the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiftie and three, aduanced to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, during the life of the last before exiled bishop Robert, liuing then in Normandie. Who hauing thus atteined the highest spirituall honor, did not yet leaue the bishoprike of Winchester, for which cause he was termed a simoniake, couetous, a theefe, an inuador of other mens possessions, and for that cause could neuer obteine the pall of the true pope of Rome. Wherefore in the end he got one of the schismaticall bishops of that sée called Benedict, to inuest him with the pall. Which Stigandus remaining archbishop of Canturburie at the conquest, so wrought, partlie by policie, and partlie by force, as may be seene in manie chronicles, that he and Egelsinus the abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie, the two chiefest lords in Kent, obteined of William Conqueror at Swainescombe in Kent, that the same prouince should for euer keepe their accustomed lawes and liberties; which granted, they deliuered the whole shire & castle of Douer to William Conqueror: notwithstanding all which, and that William Conqueror did outwardlie seeme to honor him, yet he would not be crowned of this Stigandus.

1067, or 1068, as some haue.

After which, William Conqueror, about the second yeare of his reigne, going into Normandie, caried this Stigand with him, and would not suffer him to depart his sight, rather for feare of his subtiltie, than for anie credit he gaue to his fidelitie: whom though he neuer trusted nor loued, yet the king would alwaies call him by the name of father, and rise to méete him in all assemblies. In the end, the king dissembling the matter no longer, but laieng all the fault vpon pope Alexander, did in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three score and nine, falling in part of the fourth yeare of William Conqueror, find meanes to haue him deposed. For the said Alexander, sending Hermanfredus bishop of Redimence, with John and Peter priests cardinals into England, in the octaues of Easter, they so handled Stigand, that inforcing him to flie hither and thither, sometime into Scotland with Alexander bishop of Lincolne, and sometime into Elie to hide himselfe; they at length in a councell holden at Winchester deposed him, and his brother Agelmar bishop of the east Angls, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three score and ten, being part of the fourth yeare of the said William Conqueror. Whereupon, Stigandus being spoiled of all his goods, was committed to perpetuall prison, where he was hardlie kept from anie food and other things, till he would confesse where his treasure was: but he rather choosing to be famished than to shew it, hauing before with an oth denied it, did in the end most miserablie depart the world, after that he had béene archbishop seuentéene yeares. But when he was dead, there was a keie found about his necke, which after led the king to innumerable treasure, hidden by him in diuerse places.

Roger Cest. Ioronal. hist. Walt. Couen. Wil. Malmſ. Radulph. de Diceto. Rog. De Cest. Roff. hist. Wil. Thorne. Florilegus. Hist. Eccles.

Lanfranke. Ioronal. hist. Chron Saxo. Cant. Sigebert Gemblacens. Wil. Gemite. Roff. hist. Wil. Malmſ. Ioronal. hist. Walt. Couen. Reg. de Cest. Roff. hist. Chro. Saxo. Cant.

Lanfranke an Italian Lombard, being from his youth brought vp in learning, came into Normandie, allured thither by the fame of Herluine abbat of Bec: who going towards that place, was in a wood robbed and fast bound, but after being let loose he came to Bec, where he professed and taught logike to releeue his pouertie, being first made a monke, and after prior of the same abbeie; whom, when William the bastard duke of Normandie did affect, he was made abbat of Cane, being further in following time also by the said William (when he was king of England) made archbishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Canturburie the fourth kalends of September (in the fourth yeare of the said William Conqueror, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three score and ten) of these bishops, William of London, Siward of Rochester, Walkeline of Winchester, Remigius of Dorcester, Herfastus of Helmham, or Thetford, Stigerard of Seolseie, Hermon of Shireburne, and Giso of Wels. This Lanfranke thus installed, Thomas archbishop of Yorke came to Canturburie vnto him to be consecrated: but vpon some termes of contention vsed betwéene them, Thomas departed vnsacred, whereof he complained to William Conqueror. But after, Lanfranke so cunninglie handled the matter, that Thomas by the kings especiall edict sware obedience vnto him. Shortlie after this, Lanfranke of Canturburie, & Thomas of Yorke, with Remigius of Lincolne bishops, went to Rome, to receiue their pals of pope Alexander the third: where Lanfranke obteined two pals, one of loue, and another of office and honor. During whose abode at Rome, Thomas the archbishop of Yorke began afresh to complaine of his subiection to Canturburie: but the pope referred the deciding of that matter to the king & the nobilitie of the realme; which in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three score and twelue, being the sixt yeare of William Conqueror, deemed the same at Windsore, the tenor of the same sentence being set downe in the life of this Lanfranke by Matth. Parker, at what time also (saith Gerualius) the pope granted him *Totius Angliæ, Walliæ, & Britanniæ (secundum morum antiquorum) primatum.*

This Lanfranke in a Councell at Winchester ordeined that no canon should haue anie wife: as by

by these words appeareth set downe by Matthew Parker, *Statuit inter alia, vt nullus canonicus vxorem haberet, extra vrbem in vicis & castellis sacerdotes non compellendos vxores dimittere, prohibendos autem ne matrimonium protraherent qui iam sunt cœlibes. Tum episcopis iniunctum est, ne quos aussint presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare nisi cœlibatum professos.* He kept an other synod at London for remouing of bishops sees to greater cities. In this mans time there was without the citie of Canturburie in the east part a church of S. Martins, where was a bishops see, whereof the bishop alwaies remained at or within the shire, and was in all things deputie to the archbishop, who did continuallie frequent the court. This vnderbishop being alwaies a monke, had the charge of the monks of Canturburie, and did come to celebrate the solemnities in the metropolitane church, which done he returned home, who with the prior of Christs church (whom they called deane) did with like attire and habit obteine place in all synods. Which order of deputie bishop continued vntill the time of the Normans gouernment, at what time the last bishop of that place was called Godwin, who being dead, Lanfranke denied to make anie other bishop of the church of S. Martins, because two bishops ought not to be in one citie, when in truth he was not a bishop in the citie but out of the citie in the countrie. Wherfore Lanfranke appointed in his place a clearke of his, and created him to the title of an archdeacon, whereof the archbishop repented him before he died. This archbishop was at the councell of Rone in Normandie appointed by William conqueror, in the eighth yeare of his reigne, wherein manie things were decreed touching the state of England, and Lanfranke at that time recouered manie things against Odo bishop of Baieux and erle of Kent, which he vnjustlie withheld from the bishoprike of Canturburie. Beside which he recouered also to his see fiue and twentie manors. To this man did Scotlandus (as hath Geruas. Dorobernensis & Guido abbats of S. Augustine) sweare obedience. For which great contention was betweene the monks of that house and the bishop of Canturburie, who repared the church of Canturburie being partlie verie ruinous, and partlie burnt. Moreouer, he built two hospitals, the one at Harbaldowne and the other at saint Johns, whereof the one was for lepers, and the other for sicke & weake persons, to which he gaue of the treasure of the archbishoprike yearelie one hundred & fortie pounds. Besides which he built the church of S. Gregories, wherein he placed canons to serue such as were sicke and weake, building an other church neere to the lepers, where they might serue God and be buried. Wherevnto maie be added (as saith Geruasius) that he built the bishops palace at Canturburie. He gaue yearelie fiue hundred pounds in almes to the poore, and in a famine sent to London and fed one thousand people. The old church of Rochester being downe, he built the same anew, giuing great gifts vnto it, he gaue one thousand marks to the white monks, & purchased the manor of Redburne. And though he had the dailie gouernement of the common wealth, yet he gaue himselfe mostlie to diuinitie, wherein he was procured by his father Herebald, and his mother Rosa to be instructed. He corrected the old and new testaments corrupted by the transcribers, he wrot bitterlie against Berengarius touching the sacrament, he made commentaries vpon Paules epistles, and the psalter, and euerie yeare wrot manie other works. In the third yeare of his bishoprike he consecrated Peter bishop of Lichfield or Chester at Colchester, and in the yeare following made Patrike bishop of Dublin (in Ireland) at London. In which yeare also he consecrated Hernestus monke of Canturburie bishop of Rochester, & further, made Gundulph monke of Canturburie bishop of Rochester after the death of Hernestus. In the eigth yeare of his bishoprike, in a councell held at London he deposed Ailnod abbat of Glastenburie. In the eightenth yeare of his gouernment he crowned William Rufus, consecrated Godfreie bishop of Chichester, John bishop of Welles, and Guido abbat of saint Augustines. Sometime after which he was by William Rufus banished, who as he was going to Rome, hearing of the death of the same Rufus, returned to his bishoprike, where when he had sitten nineteene, or (as saith Geruasius) twentie yeares, he died (as he had long desired) of a feuer, the fourth kalends of June, in the yere of Christ 1088, after which the see was void foure yeares (as hath M. Parker) but Per quinquennium as writeth Geruasius. Of which Lanfranke Sigebertus Gemblacensis setteth downe these verses, composed by Anselme his successor:

Archiepiscopi nec diuitias nec honores,
Sole sub vndecima geminos subeunte dieta,
Lanfrancus subijt sed curis atque labore,
Fœlicis vitæ sibi ponitur vltima meta,
Natus in Italia Papiensi de regione,
Ciuibus egregijs & honesta conditione, (sis
Monachus atq; prior Becci fuit hinc Cadomen-
Abbas, post præsul primatus Cantuariensis.
Totius Anglorum fuit ecclesiæ reparator,
Et Normanorum nihilominus auxiliator,
Cuius doctrinam pars maxima senserat orbis,
Et commune fuit viduis solamen & orbis,
Claudis, contractis, leprosis, dæmoniosis,
Surdis & cæcis nec non etiam vitiosis,
Post exhortamen non spreuit ferre leuamen,
Hic dum vixit erat spes omnibus atq; leuamen.
Regum rex æterne Deus rerumq; creator,
Sis sibi perpetuus defensor & auxiliator,
Virgo redemptoris mundi sanctissima mater
Illum conserua ne spiritus arcteriatur,
Omnes electi precibus meritisq; iuuate,
Lanfrancum vestris & vobis consociate,
Vos quoq; qui vitam gratanter adhuc retinetis,
Et spem venturæ donec superestis habetis,
Hortor & admoneo, quòd eidem subueniatis,
Et quod feceritis post mortem percipiatis,
Nam qui propter eum supplex & sedulus orat,
Pro semet supplex & sedulus ipse laborat.

In reading these verses the superstition of the time is to be remembred.

Anselmus borne in Augusta a citie of Burgundie, situat at the foot of the Alps, was descended of worthie parents, his father being called Gundulphus, and his mother Yeneberga. This man moued with the fame of Lanfranke, came to the abbeie of Bec in Normandie, where he was made a monke, in the twentie and seuenth yeare of his age, succeeding Lanfranke in the place of the prior of Bec, who shortlie after the decease of Helwine the abbat of Bec, was also substitute in his place, continuing abbat fiftéene yeares. After being called into England by Hugh erle of Chester (extreamlie sicke) he was in the end made archbishop of Canturburie by William Rufus, though afterwards he would haue vndone his gift to Anselme loth to lose so great reuenues as he receiued by the vacancie of the see. This Anselme thus departing with the abbeie of Bec, was consecrated archbishop by Walkeline bishop of Winchester. After which, sharplie admonishing the king for spoiling of churches, he grew in the kings displeasure, and could not obteine licence to go to Rome for his pall, sith (as he said) there ought none of his subiects to be in subiection to pope Urbanus. For which cause a councell being called at Rokingham by the king, the nobles, and the clergie,

Anselmus. Roger de Cestria. Matth. Paris. Roff. histor. Ioronal. histor. Eadmerus.

Anſelme ſtood in defenſe of the pope, and the others reſiſted againſt his authoritie. Wherupon in the end all the biſhops, except the biſhop of Rochester, forſooke their obedience to Anſelme, ſome of them onelie affirming that they denied obedience vnto him in things which he commanded on the behalfe of pope Urban, and not otherwiſe. Which Anſelme vnderſtanding, craued leaue to depart to Rome, but could not obteine it: but notwithſtanding all which, a peace was after made betweene the king and him, vntill Whitſuntide. But the biſhop not finding this protection ſufficient, he was ſpoiled of his goods and lands, and greeuouſlie moleſted by the kings officers, wherwith not moued, he did yet receiue Urban for pope, which king Rufus and the cleargie of England in that ſchiſme of the popedome would neuer doo, for which cauſe he obteined the pall of the ſaid Urban, by the means of Walter biſhop of Alba, who brought that pall from Rome to Canturburie. The doing whereof cauſed William Rufus ſecretlie to labor with the pope, to haue Anſelme by ſome means or other to be altogither withdrawne from England, in which he preuailed not. Wherupon William Rufus returning from the wars, fell at diſſention with Anſelme, who now had libertie either to tarrie in England, and not to appeale from the king to the pope, or elſe to depart the realme, and to giue anſwere thereof within eleuen daies, wherof the archbiſhop receiued the laſt, and ſaid that he would depart England. Then the archbiſhop departing from the king (who yet ſaid he would not refuſe his bleſſing) went to Canturburie, where he tarried foure teene daies: after which, as he was taking ſhip at Douer, he was by one William the kings clerke, & the people there, ſpoiled of all he had, & ſo ſent naked ouer the ſeas into France. The archbiſhop thus departed, the king ſeized all he had, and vndid all his decrees. In the end, Anſelme paſſing to the pope, was well interteined by him at Rome, whither came the ſame William that ſpoiled him, as the kings ambaſſador, and obteined a reſpect of hearing Anſelme cauſe, vntill the feaſt of Michaelmas following; during which time both the pope and the king died.

Annal eccleſiæ Auguſtinæ.

Eadmerus.

This Rufus feeling the ſweet that came vnto him by ſpirituall liuings, whereof he reteined manie in his hands, would ieſt with theſe words, that *Panis Chriſti panis pinguis eſt*, The bread of Chriſt is ſweet and fat bread. After the death of Rufus, Anſelme was called home by king Henrie the firſt, and reſtored to his biſhoprike, with all other things to him belonging; for the king did greatlie fauor him, as may appeare by this deed, which is in Saxon, the tenor whereof we haue here ſet downe in Saxon, and the Latin out of Matthew Parker, being both ſet downe in the ſame booke of the biſhops of his ſee. Wherin is two things to be noted, firſt the ſimplicitie and good meaning of that age, that in ſo few words did conueie ſo great matters, not leauing contention for lawyers to wrangle vpon, contrarie to the cuſtome of our age, who make their charters exceſſiue long, & yet not ſo ſtrong as they were in times paſt. The other is the maner of ſealing vſed by the kings in thoſe daies: for the kings ſeale which is now hanged at the end of all patents, in this ancient grant is faſtened to a little part of parchment drawen out & cut from the left ſide of this charter. For in times paſt the kings did not vſe to ſet to their ſeales to anie grant, till Edward the Confeſſors time, which firſt brought that order into England (if my memorie faile not, & therefore I haue not miſtaken the words of Ingulfus for this Edward his charter) for the more witneſſe of the truth, to be ſealed with wax, which yet it ſeemed the following princes did vſe but at pleaſure, for I haue ſeene an ancient deed of William Conqueror part in Saxon, and part in Latine, without date, in which the king gaue to Guiſo biſhop of Wels the manor of Banewell in Somerſetſhire, which Harold had taken from them, whereunto was neuer anie ſeale but the ſubſcription of the king and the nobilitie, written in Saxon characters, the nams whereof I thinke good (though it concerne not the biſhops of Canturburie, for antiquities ſake, and becauſe that ſome of theſe names haue yet a being) to ſet downe in this ſort: *Ego Gulielmus dux, Waltheof dux, Robertus frater regis, Rotgerus princeps, Gualterus Gaſebtard, Serlo de Burci, Rotgerus Derundell, Richardus filius regis, Gualterus Flæmine, Wurſtan, Baldwinus de Waranbeicge, Otheltard Aelfgardethorne, William de Waluile, Bundi Stallere, Robert Stallere, Robert de Yle, Rotgerus pincerna, Hardineg Wulfutard, Brightine, &c.* And ſo to the charter of Henrie the firſt made to Anſelme.

Gerual. in vita Eduardi Con.

The Saxon charter of king Henrie the *firſt, for the reſtoring of Anſelme* his priuileges.

H. Angle-landes kynning gret. Huge de Boclande & P. Baynarde. & ealle myne picnæſer en lundune. Ic pille & be beode þ ealle Anſelmes mænn þe he hefð on lundune and ealle hir oðre mænn, þe cumeð and apeðhr into þære buph. þ hi beon ſpa ſacleaſe or eallen ſcpunen ſpa Landſpanc Apcebircop hir mænn betſt hærde on myn æſ faðer tyme. & hapigeð þ ge heom naht ne myr heoden. t. Hug. Comite de Ceſtria. ap. peſtmonſt.

The ſame charter in Latine.

H. rex Anglorum Hugoni de Bocland & Willihelmo Baignard, & omnibus miniſtris meis Londoniæ ſalutem. Præcipio & volo vt omnes homines Anſelmi Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopi, quos in Londonia habet, & omnes ſui in ea villa euntes & redeuntes, ita quietè de omnibus conſuetudinibus ſint, ſicut vnquam Lanfrancus archiepiſcopus ſuos in ea meliùs & quietiùs habuit tempore patris mei, & videte ne eis vllam iniuriam faciatis. Teſte Hugone comite de Ceſtria apud Weſtmonſter.

Aurea hiſtor. pars 2. W. Malm.

After this, Anſelme called a ſynod at London, in which he depoſed for ſimonie and other euils, Guido abbat of Wimondham, and Edwine abbat of Ramſeie ſimoniaks; and theſe other abbats, Geſferie of Peterborow, Heimo of * Ceruelle, Egelrike of Pideton, bicauſe they were not ordeined in the cleargie, with Richard of Elie, and Robert of S. Edmunds, for other defaults & exceſſe. In which councell alſo amongſt manie other lawes conteining ſix and twentie chapters, for the cleargie were theſe: That clearks ſhould weare garments of one colour, and ſuch ſhoes as were appointed cap. 10. That abbats ſhould not make anie knights that might eat or drinke in that houſe with the monks cap. 17. That the bodies of the dead ſhould not be buried out of their paroch church cap. 24. And that none with raſh noueltie ſhould attribute to dead bodies, to wels, or other places (which we haue knowne to haue often happened) anie reuerence of holines without the biſhops authoritie ca. 25. And that none ſhould exerciſe that moſt lothſome buſines, in which hitherto men were wont to be ſold like brute beaſts, cap. 26. The which conſtitutions of this ſynod of London Giraldus biſhop of Yorke could not make his people to obeie, neither yet would manie other parts of the realme obeie the ſame, eſpeciallie ſuch as following the kings order had diſpoſed of their eccleſiaſticall liuing, as the king had done for the inueſting of biſhops. Againſt which Anſelme did greatlie ſtand, and would not conſecrate ſuch biſhops, the which Girald archbiſhop of Yorke alwaies did, at the

1103 * Herteſeie as ſome ſuppoſe.

Abbats did make knights

Burialls in paroch churches.

request and pleasure of the king, who appointing a place and day for them to be consecrated by him, thither came William bishop of Winchester to receiue his benediction, but he in the end not meaning to take the same consecration at Giralds hands, deliuered his staffe and ring againe to the king, of whome he had receiued it: whereupon the king banished him, and sent William Warlwast ambassador to the pope about that matter, whereof is more spoken by Holinshed in the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Giraldus Cambrensis. de Gestis. Ang. histor.

This Anselme comming from Rome, together with William Warlwast, was forbidden by the said Warlwast (from the king) to enter England, vnlesse he would without anie subiection to the pope obserue all the customes of England brought in by William Conqueror and William Rufus his predecessors: whereunto Anselme disagreeing, remained three years at Lions with the archbishop Hugh. But after that he was reconciled to the king by means of the countesse of Adela his sister, whome Anselme came to visit in hir sickenesse, who going into Normandie to the king (then in subduing the same) did so effectuallie worke with him, that Anselme was restored, and this peace made betweene them; that all such bishops as were before inuested by the king, and excommunicated by pope Paschall should be absolued and keepe their bishoprikes, and that neither the king nor anie other laie man hereafter should doo the like againe. Whereupon Anselme returned into England, and was restored to his bishoprike, and to all the commodities receiued by the king in the time of his banishment. After the kings returne to England, there was by the king a councell kept at London, in which the inuestiture of bishops was wholie giuen to the king. This Anselme bestowed much on the decking and reparing of the church of Canturburie, and instituting the monasterie of the monks of Chester first built by Hugh earle of that prouince, ouer which monasterie he made Richard his chapleine abbat. This archbishop was verie diligent in writing, of whose doing there are extant three hundred sixtie and seauen epistles, he compiled diuerse treatises, first: De veritate. 2 De libertate arbitrij. 3 De casu diaboli. 4 De grammatico & discipulo. 5 Monologion. He wrote also a booke called Sententiarum prologion, a booke De incarnatione verbi, and manie other bookes, as one intituled Cur Deus homo, an other De conceptu virginali, and also De orationibus contemplatiuis, and lastlie De processione spiritus sancti. Who thus spending his time to helpe other, did, two years after his last comming into England, fall sicke of an ague at saint Edmundsburie, and hastened to come to Canturburie, where keeping his bed a long time he at length departed this life the eleuenth kalends of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and nine, the seauentie and six of his age, and the sixteenth of his bishoprike, being buried at the head of Lanfranke his predecessor.

Walt. Coment. Sim. Dunel. Matth. Paris.

Will. Malms. Rosf. histor.

Aurea histor. 2. pars.

Chron. Rober.

Aurea histor. pars 2. W. Malms.

1103 * Yertsete as some suppose.

Edmerus.

Rodulphus.

Rodulphus borne in Normandie a Benedictine monke, was sometime the scholer of Lanfranke in the abbeie of Cane. This man being first made abbat of Sagos, was from thense by Anselme lead into England, and made bishop of Rochester, whose aduancement to the see of Canturburie was after this manner. Henrie the first holding manie spirituall liuings in his hand, and the nobilitie complaining thereof, he was in the end ouercome by their petition, to subiect them vnto pastors and gouernours, for which cause he appointed Faricius abbat of Abindon to the see of Canturburie, a man doubtlesse of great wisdome and grauitie. But manie of the nobilitie being against it, they would haue had the king to promote one of his secular clearks and chapleins to that dignitie. Against whom it was obiected that none had possessed that see, but such as were monks, except Stigandus, whose unhappie end did shew the punishment of the breach of that monkish succession, wherefore by all mens voices, & the kings changing of his mind touching Faricius, this Rodulphus was made archbishop of Canturburie, and consecrated by William bishop of Winchester, the fiftéenth yeare of pope Paschalis, and the fourtéenth of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and fourtéene, and the fift kalends of Julie next following receiued the pall at Canturburie sent from pope Paschall by one Anselme abbat of S. Sabina, nephue of the other Anselme archbishop of Canturburie. In which daie of receiuing the pall, he consecrated Theolfus bishop of Worcester. In this bishops time the most bishops of England were Normans.

But this was not so as may before appeare.

Matth. Paris. Radulph de Diceto.

Now Rodulphus being old, sickly, full of the palsie and of the gowt, was hard to be pleased, and somewhat became vnthankefull to the king which had preferred him. For whereas the bishop of Salisburie was readie apparelled and prepared to haue executed the solemnities of the marriage (which belonged to the bishop of Canturburie) betweene Adelicia and king Henrie the first at Windsore, this Radulph commanded him to leaue off the same, and committed the doing thereof to the bishop of Winchester. Besides which, when the king was at Berkeleie in the Easter, and came to London at Whitsuntide, and sat crowned in his throne, that daie the quéene was to be crowned, this Radulph saieng the diuine seruice that daie (leauing his masse in the middle) did come vnto the king, whome Thomas archbishop of Yorke had crowned when he came to the kingdome, because Anselme was banished and out of the realme. Against which archbishop of Canturburie the king rose vp to receiue him with curtesie: but the bishop notwithstanding boldlie asked the king who crowned him, whereunto the king answered, that he cared not, and therefore did not remember it. Whereto Radulphus replied, Who soeuer did the same did not rightlie doo it, wherfore either leaue you off your crowne, or I will leaue off my masse. But the king nothing troubled therwith, did answer him; If as thou saiest this crowne be not well put vpon my head, doo thou that which thou thinkest is rightlie doon. With which words the bishop came nearer, and lifting vp his hand to take the crowne from the kings head. The nobilitie (as the king was about to loose the lace which tied the crowne fast vnder his chin) with one voice cried out against the bishop, and greatlie laboured him not to take off the kings crowne in this solemne coronation of the quéene. With whose acclamations Radulphus being quieted he went forward with his masse, beginning at this verse *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Which fact of Radulphus doone at this vnseasonable time, the cleargie and nobilitie did so hate, that they agréed (as hath Matthew Parker) neuer to haue anie monks to be bishops of Canturburie, whereunto the king assented, and by law established it. But this decree did not long hold, for the two following bishops were monks, and the third being Becket, was the first canon after Stigand that was consecrated bishop of Canturburie.

Roger being sometime chancellor of England.

Ioronall hist.

In the time of this Rodulphus was the question of obedience moued betweene him & the archbishop of Yorke. For Thurstan bishop of Yorke at the first would not sweare obedience to this Radulphus, for which cause Radulphus in his old age went vnto Rome; but the pope giuing a doubtfull sentence, the archbishop of Canturburie shewed the same vnto king Henrie the first at his returne into England.

Matth. Paris. Ioronal. histor. Aurea histor. 2. pars. W. Malms. Chron. Cœnob. Martini. Roger de Cestria. Rosf. histor. Ex archiuis.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dunel. Ioranal. hist. Radulph. de Diceto. Gisburnensis. Roger de Chestria. Roff. hist. Ex archiuis. Edmerus. Ex archiuis. Gisburn. Matth. Paris.

Wherevpon Thurstan was forbidden to enter into England; but the pope excommunicating both the king and Rodulphus, compelled them to receiue Thurstan into Yorkshire with this condition, that he should not medle out of his diocesse of Yorke, and professe his due obedience to the sée of Canturburie. At length Rodulphus hauing the palsie three yeares departed the world (after that he had béene bishop of Canturburie eight yeares, or as others saie nine yeares) the thirteenth kalends of Nouember, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred twentie and two, being about the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of that learned king Henrie the first (which for the same was surnamed Beauclerke, or faire, or skillfull clerke) and was buried at Canturburie. This bishop was of speech courteous, noted of no notable crime, but ouer much giuen to mirth and iesting, for which he was surnamed the iester or trifler.

William Corbell.

1121

William Corbell or Corbois, whome Matthew Parker maketh the six and thirtith bishop in succession, and some call Gulielmum de Turbine, was first a secular clerke, then a monke of the order of saint Benet, and after that, prior of saint Oswith of Chich, who in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of Henrie Beauclerke, and the third of pope Calixtus, was by Henrie the first made bishop of Canturburie on Candlemas daie, and consecrated of William bishop of Winchester, the bishoprike of London being then vacant. This done, this William goeth to Rome for his pall, at what time Thurstan thinking it now time to moue Calixtus about the subiection of the sée of Yorke to Canturburie, did yet find no grace at Rome therefore, because the pope vtterlie remoued from himselfe the deciding thereof; albeit the Saxon chronicle of Peterborow doth saie that gold and siluer did end this quarell. Wherefore William of Canturburie and Thurstan of Yorke comming home togither, saluted the king then in Normandie, and so entred England. After this he consecrated John his archdeacon of Canturburie into the bishoprike of Rochester, in the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, as hath Rob. Montensis, at what time also he blessed Godfreie the kings chancellor to be bishop of Bath at London.

Chro. Sigisb. Gemblacens.

1126

In the fourth yeare of his consecration he did hold a synod in the monasterie of saint Peters at London; which synod was called Synodus Willielmi, or Williams synod. In this bishops time Paules church and a great part of London was burnt; for the citie was consumed by fire from saint Clement of the Danes without Temple barre to London bridge, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and thirtie, being the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and the eight yeare of the consecration of this bishop. At what time also the church of Canturburie was consumed with the like flame and fell downe, which this William, being legat of the apostolike sée, did againe build vp, and dedicated it in the same yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundred and thirtie, being the thirtith yeare of Henry the first, the fourth nones of Maie, as hath Geruasius Dorobornensis, with great & honorable preparation in the presence of the king and quéene of England, and of Dauid king of Scots, with the nobilitie and prelats of both realmes, as hath Geruasius. Unto which church then consecrated king Henrie the first gaue the church of saint Martins of Douer and the archbishop yearelie gaue ten pounds. This bishop William was so faint-harted, that he almost died because he was ouercome by Henrie de Blesles (bishop of Winchester and brother to king Stephan (which built the hospitall of the holie crosse nére Winchester) in the legantine power which the said William secretlie laboured to obteine. For first Henrie going to Rome, this William followed to resist him; but Henrie so preuailed, that being made a cardinall, he succéeded William being dead in the office of Legat. This William declared his inconstancie in crowning king Stephan, contrarie to his oth made to Maud the empresse, who being feared by the terror of his conscience, let fall the holt when he celebrated the masse at the coronation of the same Stephan. After which, this bishop for sorrow falling sicke, died the eleuenth kalends of December, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and seauen, hauing gouerned that sée fiftéene yeares and nine moneths, being buried in the church of Canturburie; after whose departure the sée was void one yeare, two moneths, and fourtéene daies.

1136 Matthew Parker ex Pol. crat. Roger de Chestria Ioranal. hist.

Theobald.

Theobald, whose originall is not knowen, was of a Benedictine monke made abbat of Bec, after which in the second yeare of king Stephan, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and eight, in a councell at London (assembled by Albert bishop of Yorkia the popes legat in England) he was chosen archbishop of Canturburie by the suffragans of that sée, and consecrated by the said Albert; after which he sent twelue monks to the new church of Douer, & offred them Alcelme sacrist of the church of Canturburie. In which moneth being Januarie this Theobald with great pompe went to Rome, and receiued the pall of pope Innocent the second of that name, of whome he also obteined this title to be called Legatus natus, which was euer after attributed to his successors, whereby they were from that time forward termed Legati nati, which title they haue kept vntill our time, so long as the pope had anie authoritie in England. This Theobald was but meanlie learned, but well qualited, and of mild conditions, whereby he was both acceptable to the king and to the nobilitie, of whom thus writeth Geruasius: *Hic Theobaldus 37 ab Augustino Cantuariensem ecclesiam adeptus, cùm esset natura simplex & aliquantulum literatus, asciuit clericos scholares quorum consilio suo impetu quolibet ducebatur. Post annos verò quinque minùs quàm deceret considerata ratione Ieremiã priorem, qui eum elegerat, deposuit, etiam post appellationem, aliúmque substituit. Ieremias autem tàm de sua iustitia causæ quàm de Romani pontificis æquitate confidens ad sedem apostolicam accessit, & de sua restitutione literas obtinuit. Restitutus itaque in prioratum, apostolica authoritate post modicũ cessit, ne archiepiscopus causa sua aliqua cæteris inferret grauamina. Huiusmodi depositio prioris anteà pænes nos facta non est, &c. Successore autem suo Waltero ad episcopatum Cicestrensis ecclesiæ vocato, substitutus est in prioratum Cantuar. ecclesiæ Walterus Paruus archiepiscopi capellanus.*

Theobald. Roff. histor. Ex archiuis. Gualt. Cornut. Matt. Paris. Gembl.

The like matter of the depolition of Walter Paruus Geruasius pursueth in the historie, with the originall how the archbishops of Canturburie got the prerogatiue to make and depose the prior of Canturburie, being a thing which came by mere vsurpation in this sort. In the wars in the time of king Stephan, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred & fiftie, Geruasius reciteth, that Walter the prior of Canturburie, séeking helpe of this bishop Theobald to succor his house in distresse, submitted all the things & gouernment of the same to the archbishop, at the first refusing it; but in the end, accepting therof, with much importunitie he placed a monke called Dericus to haue the ouersight of all the things within dores and without, who should therefore yéeld account to the bishop, at what time first began the euill and trouble. For that which was then attempted for necessities cause for their benefit,

Ex archiuis.

Gulielmus archiepiscopus (as hath Geruasius) *fundauit ecclesiam sancti Martini monachorum de Doura.*

fit, turned after to their hinderance, because the bishop vsing all things with extremitie; the prior appealed him to Rome, which Theobald despised, imprisoned the monks (whereby they could not follow the appeale) and tooke from them all their writings and priuileges. But in the end the matter was compounded with quiet in some part betweene the bishop and the prior, who at length by the flattering words of the archbishop, which the prior beleeued, did in the end surrender his priorie to the archbishop. And when the prior amongst other words of his resignation said to the bishop; I resigne my priorie, (at what time manie supposed, that the archbishop would haue replied; And I restore thee to the same) this bishop contrarie thereunto said; And I depose thee from the same, further commanding the prior, that he should follow him to London, where he should receiue full restitution. Whereupon the prior despising the aduise of his brethren, came with some of the ancients of his house to the bishop at Lambeth, who being called aside as though they should talke of the restitution of the prior, with the archbishop, the bishops seruants tooke this Walter so deposed, and led him to Glocester, commanding the abbat of that house in the archbishops name that he should not suffer him to depart thense, or to go forth. Whereupon the prior remained there in a prison during the life of this Theobald archbishop, who consecrated Walter archdeacon of Canturburie bishop of Rochester, chosen by the monks of Canturburie by his appointment, from whense euer after the archbishops of Canturburie were patrons of the church of Rochester, as saith Matthew Parker: but Geruasius preweth their authoritie in that see long before, for thus he writeth. *Obijt* (which was *an. Dom.* 1147) *Ascelinus Roffensis episcopus, anno episcopatus sui sexto, nono kalendis Februarij, cui successit Walterus archidiaconus Cantuarienſis, frater Theobaldi Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopi, qui ſecundùm antiquam conſuetudinem, in capitulo Cantuariæ electus eſt à monachis Roffenſibus. Cuius electionis primam habuit vocem Hugo abbas ſancti Auguſtini, eò quòd apud eccleſiam Roffenſem monachicum ſuſceperat habitum; ad prafatam verò abbathiam tranſlatus cum monachis Roueceſtriæ coram Theobaldo Cantuarienſe archiepiſcopo (ad quem ſpectat de iure antiquo epiſcopatus ipſius donatio) in capitulo Cantuar. in præſentia totius conuentus Cantuar. cleri & populi multitudine, vt prædictum eſt, ipſum elegit Walterum. Qui more anteceſſorũ ſuorum iurauit ſuper quatuor euangelia, ſe fideliter obſeruaturum dignitatem Cantuar. eccleſiæ, quam habebat in eccleſia Roffenſi. Eſt autem eccleſiæ Cantuarienſ. conſuetudo ab antiquis temporibus conſtituta, & à pijs patribus obtenta, quòd epiſcopus Roffenſis debeat eligi in capitulo Cantuarienſ. ex dono archiepiſcopi & electione conuentus Roffenſis eccleſiæ. Facta autem electione debet electus iurare ſuper quatuor euangelia fidelitatẽ eccleſiæ Cantuarienſ. & archiepiſcopo. Et quod non debeat Roffenſ. epiſcopus operam dare, vel conſentire vt eccleſia Cantuarienſ. priuetur honore vel dignitate, quã habeat in eccleſia Roffenſ. Et quòd debeat baculus paſtoralis epiſcopi Roffenſis defuncti à monachis Roffenſibus ad altare Chriſti Cantuarienſ. deferri. Et quòd vacante Cantuarien. eccleſiæ ſede vel abſente archiepiſcopo, debeat epiſcopus Roffenſis in Cantuar. eccleſia epiſcopalia miniſtrare, ſicut proprius & primatus Cantuarienſis eccleſiæ capellanus, ſi tamen a conuentu Cantuarienſis fuerit vocatus. Hac igitur facta fidelitate conſecratus eſt Walterus ab ipſo fratre ſuo Theobaldo archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi. Quo conſecrato, archiepiſcopus archidiaconatum Cantuar. cuidam Rogerio dedit de ponte epiſcopi, qui & ipſe Cant. eccleſiæ fidelitatem iurauit ſicut archidiaconi facere conſueuerunt.* Thus much Geruasius a monke of Canturburie in defense of the honor and priuileges of the see of Canturburie. After which this Theobald receiuing an oth of obedience of the said Roger archdeacon of Canturburie, he blessed him into the bishoprike of Yorke and made Thomas Becket, commonlie called saint Thomas of Canturburie, archdeacon of Canturburie in his place, procuring him also to be the kings chancellor.

In the third yeare of the consecration of this archbishop, pope Eugenius held a councell at Rhemes, whereunto Theobald was called. Wherefore Henrie bishop of Winchester the popes legat (who in authoritie of superioritie of that office did often contend with the said Theobald for the archbishoprike of Canturburie, was *Legatus natus*, and the other as I maie terme him, but *Legatus datus*, the first for euer, the second but for a time) did subtillie vse the matter both with the king and the pope, that the one should call him to the councell, and that the other should forbid him to depart out of his realme; to the end that if he obeied his spirituall pastor, he might fall into the censures of the church; & if he obeied not his temporall lord, that he might fall into the ciuill punishment and be banished the realme, whereupon he was commanded to staie in England, and all the ports stopt that he might not passe forth. But he rather fearing the displesure of the pope than the king, scaped the hands of such wardens, passed the sea and went to the councell. Which councell being ended, as hath Geruasius, the bishop returning home, was honourablie receiued by the couent of Canturburie; whereof when the king had intelligence, being then at London, he grew so angrie, that he came with all speed to Canturburie, where manie words of heat passing betweene them, more than were conuenient or tending to peace, at length the bishop was by the king commanded to depart the realme: who after a few daies respite, passed the seas at Douer, and went into France, where he remained a certein time, and was called backe to saint Omers by the queene, and William de Ypre, that the kings messengers might more easily come vnto him, at what place he consecrated Gilbert elect bishop of Hereford the nones of September, by the helpe and assistance of the outlandish bishops, which were Thidrike bishop of Amiens, and Nicholas bishop of Cambraie. Now the bishop thus banished, for requitall thereof, interdicted the king: but after leauing saint Omers he came to Graueling, entred the sea, returned into England, came into Northfolke, and landed at Gosford in the lands of Hugh Bigod, whom the said earle meeting receiued with great honour: in which countrie he interdicted the land, and would not be remoued from that sentence, vntill the bishops Robert of London, Hilarie of Chichester, and William of Norwich, with diuers other noble men came vnto him to Framelingham castle in Northfolke, belonging to the earle Bigod, where at length a peace was concluded betweene the king and him, the interdict was released, and the bishop with great honor & ioie came to Canturburie. Where hearing how the monks of S. Augustines had contemned his interdict, and thereof complained to the pope, he trusting to a sure staffe of the popes fauor, did aggraue the sentence against those monks, whom he excommunicated with Silueſter their prior, & William surnamed the Deuill, kinsman to abbat Hugh of that house, after deposing the same Silueſter in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and eight.

At length, such was the fauour of this Theobald in England, as he at Wallingford or rather at Winchester, as hath Geruasius, reconciled king Stephan & Henrie Fitzempresse, contending for the crowne of England in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie and three. After comming home, he required a little summe of monie of fiftie shillings and seuen pence of the monks of saint Augustines *Pro dotatione*

Geruas. Tho. Spot.

Robertus abbas S. Michaelis.

Theobald. Roff. histor. Ex archiuis. Gualt. Couent. Matt. Paris. Gembl.

Histor. eccles. Cantuar.

1147 Beginning the yeare at Christmas.

dotatione chrismatis, which the monks denied. Whereupon Theobald laid the censures of the church on them, whereby the matter was by appellation deferred to the pope, who wrot to Henrie bishop of Winchester and Robert bishop of Hereford, to define the cause; which they did, in giuing sentence against the monks. Things thus quieted in England, there was a councell held at Rome, whither went these bishops, Theobald of Canturburie, Walter of Rochester, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Couentrie, and Robert of Excester, with so manie abbats called thither. After this, Theobald called a synod at London, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie & two, being the seuentæenth of king Stephan, and the fouretæenth of his consecration, in which councell was present king Stephan and his sonne Eustace, whom he required to be made king, to which (being by the pope forbidden) they would not by anie meanes assent. Which was so brought to passe by the means, as saith Geruasius, of one Thomas a clearke borne at London, whose father was Gilbert, and his mother Mawd. Wherefore the king and his sonne thutting them vp close, with threats and feare obteined that which they could not doo with fauour and authoritie, for manie of them were therby brought to yeld to the kings mind. But Theobald priuilie stealing from the place, got a boate wherein he was carried to the Thames mouth into the sea, where he entered a ship at Douer, and passed ouer the seas, whereupon the king did banish him and seized on all his substance. In this councell were manie kinds of friuolous appeales to Rome forbidden, which Henrie bishop of Winchester had procured; to which Henrie, Lucius the pope, as master Lambard hath noted out of the chronicle of Rochester, did send a pall, determining to haue made him a new archbishop, assigning seuen bishops to be vnder his subiection: but as it seemeth, the same tooke no great effect. For which doing of Henrie, there was great contention betweene Theobald and him, for Canturburie would vse his ordinarie authoritie ouer his suffragan Winchester, and he would extend his legantine power ouer his metropolitan Canturburie, by which meanes were manie appeales made to Rome. After the death of king Stephan, Theobald was called out of exile, and was in greater fauour with Henrie the second, than euer he was with Stephan; and yet Thurstan, or rather his successor William archbishop of Yorke, did priuilie attempt to crowne king Henrie, which he would not suffer, admitting none thervnto but Theobald, as appeareth by these letters.

Gervas. Chronic. Robert. Walt. Couent. Chro. Petrob. This Thomas is supposed to be Thomas Becket. Annal. eccle. August. Cant. Wil. Nubrigen.

Henricus rex Angliæ & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Anb. Theobaldo Cant. archiepiscopo salutem. Super hoc quod mihi mandastis, quòd audieritis me coronandum ad natale ab archiepiscopo Eborac. apud Lincoln. in prouincia vestra, sciatis quòd nullo modo me ibi coronabit, nec alibi contra dignitatē vestram. Ibi enim me coronabit, sicut mandastis, Lincoln. episcopus, si præsentiam vestram habere non potero, quam multùm desiderarem. Sed hac vice parco labori vestro, & cùm dominus Lincoln. episcopus possit modo supplere vices vestras, nolo quòd ad me veniendo tanto labore vexemini. Et hoc pro certo sciatis, quòd nec in his nec in alijs quàm diu coronam portabo, vestram offendam gratiam nec diuinam dignitatem. Teste T. cancellario nostro, apud Notingham.

Which William attempting the matter at Rome was, after that the king had repelled him, poisoned vpon his returne into England, the king being Sigisb. Gembl. after crowned in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie & fiue, by Theobald, in the seuentæenth yeare of the gouernment of his archbishoprike. About this time was Canturburie and Rochester almost all burnt with the church of Yorke. Theobald being now verie old died in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred three score and one, the fouretæenth kalends of Maie, as saith Geruasius, after that he had bæne bishop two and twentie yeares, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, after whose death the church was void one yeare one moneth and fouretæne daies.

Thomas Becket borne in London, the sonne of Gilbert Becket, was taught and brought vp at Merton colledge, from which he went to Paris, was after a iustice of England, then in seruice with Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, after which he went into Italie to learn the ciuill law, who returning home, was made archdeacon of Canturburie by Theobald, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and foure, master and ruler of Beuerleie, and parson of Bromfield, of whom Matthew Parker thus writeth: *Deuotus semper fuit diuo Albano à quo cepit primos redditus scilicet ecclesiā de Bramfeld.* From whense he was aduanced to the chancellorship of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and foure, who going to the court being a deacon, left off his clerklie apparell and attired himselfe after the fashion of such as serued the prince. He was a good souldior both for the church and the kingdome, for the miter and for the crowne: he being the first Englishman after the conquest, which possessed that see, was made archbishop of Canturburie at Westminster by the kings edict, and consent of all the clergie, except as some saie, Thomas bishop of London: but Geruas. saith, *Mentiuntur planè qui dicunt Londonien sem electioni Thomæ archiepiscopo restitisse, quia sedes illa Londonij illis diebus vacauit & postea vsque ad natiuitatē Domini*; in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred three score and two, in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the second, and the second of pope Alexander the third, about the fortith of his age as hath Geruasius, and was made priest, (for he was before but a deacon) by Walter bishop of Rochester on Whitsun eeue, and the next daie consecrated bishop of Canturburie by Henrie bishop of Winchester, of whom in this treatise I will set downe the words of Geruasius Dorobern: touching his death, leauing the rest of his life for other place. *Anno gratiæ* 1170 *Thomas in fine quidem anni martyrio coronatus est, dies enim natalis Domini erat in sexta feria, sancti Stephani in sabato, sancti Iohannis in die dominica, sanctorum innocentium feria secunda; feria verò tertia sanctus Thomas passus est dum monachi vesperas cantarent in choro, quod in anno sequenti videlicet* 1171, *esse non potuit, &c. Qui asserit sanctum Thomam martyrizatum anno* 1170, *annum incipit & terminat in Annuntiatione, qui autem dicit eum passum esse anno gratiæ* 1171, *annum præcedit alterius & anticipat trium mensium spatio.* Of which Thomas Becket, and of all other the archbishops of Canturburie, which were chancellors of England, I will here in this booke speake but little, referring the discourse of all the rest of their doings to my large booke of the liues of the chancellors, where the liues of these archbishops shall be liberallie penned, and for this man at this time refer thee to the collections of the chancellors set downe in Holinshed, pag. 1274.

Thomas Becket. Ex archiuis. Roff. infis. Houeden. Wal. Couen. Roff. infis. Ioronal. antiq. Rog. de Cestr. Matt. Paris. Florileg. Hecebeens. Ioronal. antiq.

Richard archbishop of Canturburie was chosen to

to that see in this order. One Robert abbat of Bec, elected archbishop, being desirous to liue quietlie, and fearing troubles to follow, did willinglie refuse that place. After which the king laboured Odo the prior and the monks of Canturburie, to chuse a quiet man, and not such a troublesome person as Thomas Becket was counted to be. For which cause he named to them the bishop of Baion, as hath Gerualius. Whereunto the prior answered the king, that they would doo according to his request, and therefore did chuse this Richard a Benedictine monke prior of the monasterie of S. Martins of Douer, who by Henrie the second was admitted to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, whose consecration when all things were prepared therefore, was withstood by the young king Henrie, writing his letters to this effect to Odo prior of Canturburie.

The letters of yoong king Henrie *to the prior of Canturburie.*

******Enricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dux*
****H****
******Normanniæ, & comes Andegauiæ, regis*
Hērici filius, charo & fideli suo O. priori Cantuar. ecclesiæ, & vniuerso conuentui salutem & dilectionem. Ex certa quorundam relatione reperimus, quòd in ecclesia vestra, & etiam in prouincialibus ecclesijs, personas quasdam minùs congruas pater meus instituere attemptet. Et quoniam absque assensu nostro id nequaquam fieri debet, qui ratione regiæ vnctionis regnum & totius regni curam suscepimus, super hoc Romanam sedem in multorum præsentiam appellauimus, & appellationem factam venerabilibus patribus nostris, & amicis Albert. & Theod. cardinalibus apostolicæ sedis legatis scripto & nuntio nostro denuntiauimus, qui sicut viri prudentes appellationi detulerunt. Hanc etiam ipsam appellationem fidelibus nostris London. Exoniens. & Wigorn. episcopis scripto nostro denuntiauimus, & quemadmodum appellauimus iteratò sub testimonio vestro appellamus, &c.

Whereupon the bishops being in some doubt what to doo, sith most fauored the election of this Richard, and some fauored the appeale: yet at length he was at Auinion consecrated by pope Alexander the third with these words; *Tibi Richarde tuisque successoribus Cantuarien sis ecclesiæ, primatum ita plenè concedimus, sicut à Lanfranco & Anselmo, alijsque ipsorum prædecessoribus quondam Cant. episcop. fuisse possessum constat.* A little after which, this archbishop returned into England with his pall and leguntine power of the pope of Rome, swearing fealtie to the king, *Saluo ordine suo* This man would confirme the election of the bishop at the will of the prior, without lawful inquisition in the kings chamber. When he came to Glocester, in saint Oswalds church (which was subiect to the bishop of Yorke) the clerks of Roger then bishop of Yorke would not be subiect vnto him: whereby dissention arose betweene them. He kept a councell at Westminster, in which, the same Roger bishop of Yorke would not be present; but complained and renewed the quarell of bearing vp his crosse in the prouince of Canturburie: further affirming, that the bishops of Lincolne, Excester, Worcester, and Hereford, ought to be at his obedience; as manie other archbishops before that time had made chalenge.

In the fift yeare of his consecration, he ordeined three archdeaconries in his diocesse of Canturburie, where before there was but one. Hugonius a legat comming into England called a councell at Westminster, in which, about contention betweene the bishop of Yorke and this Richard, for sitting on the right side of the legat; the archbishop of Yorke was well beaten, his rochet torne, and he feigne to complaine to the king. Which being for that time turned to a iest, yet in the end, the matter was after composed and appeased betweene the two bishops for fiue yeares. Whereupon, by oth they bound themselues to stand to the arbitrement of the bishops of France and of Rome. This man, after the death of king Henrie the sonne (as saith Matthew Parker, though Gerualius maketh king Henrie liuing much after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred three score and seuenténe, leauing the gouernement of his bishoprike to Gilbert bishop of London, did go ambassador for the king of England into Sicilie, with the kings daughter Ione, to be maried to William king of that Ile: who in returning, did in the same yeare depose William Watermill abbat of Peterborow, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred seauentie and six. After, in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie and seuen, this Richard refusing to consecrate Roger before elected abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, because that Roger would not sweare such absolute profession of obedience to the archbishop, as the archbishop would haue inforced him vnto; this Roger went to Rome, made his church tributarie & feodarie to the pope, with whome he wrought all he could to bring the bishop of Canturburie in his disgrace. Which in the end he did so effectually, that the pope (to vse Gerualius Dorobernensis words) did in *Contumeliam archiepiscopi*, grant to the said Roger episcopall iurisdiction, with the miter, staffe, and ring, ensignes belonging to a bishoprike.

Much about fiue yeares after, that is in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and two, as hath Gerualius, Walter bishop of Rochester died in the moneth of Julie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his bishoprike: who being buried, this archbishop did seize vpon his townes and possessions, with the church of Rochester, as of right he might doo during the vacancie of the see, and further accursed all such as did breake the ancient prerogatiue of the church of Canturburie, or diminish their dignitie. Notwithstanding which Randolph *Præfectus Angliæ*, cheefe gouernour of England (being that man as I suppose which was called Ranulph Glanuile cheefe iustice of England, and liuing at this time) did resist without the kings consent. Wherfore the archbishop sent letters to the king, being in the affaires beyond the seas, concerning the same, and receiued this answer, that he should doo all things as he had beene accustomed, and at his pleasure place a bishop in the vacant see; whereupon this archbishop appointed his clearke Walerane, archdeacon of Baion to the bishoprike of Rochester. This bishop after that he had gouerned ten yeares and eight moneths, riding from Wrotham, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seauentie and foure, as hath Gerualius Dorobernensis (but he faileth in his account by the transcribers fault, for I thinke it should be one thousand one hundred eightie and foure) besides Rochester, was in the waie striken with such an extreame cold and sickneesse of mind, that he could scarse come to Hawling, where lieng downe vpon his bed vehementlie troubled with the collicke, he died in the night of the next daie, being the fourteenth kalends of March, whose bodie was caried to Canturburie, and honourablie buried in the chapell or oratorie of S. Marie. In the time of this archbishop, in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie and seauen, was the church of Canturburie burnt; and

Florileg. Ex archiuis.

Gerualius Iorolanens.

Gisburnens. Radulphus de Diceto.

Matthew Paris in hist. minor.

Houeden.

Matthew Paris in hist. minor.

Ex archiuis. Geruas. Doro.

and in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie eight, was the church of Rochester with the whole citie consumed with fire: besides which, in the said yeare 1177, were monks brought into Waltham abbeie built by king Herald, and the secular preests expelled by king Henrie the second.

Baldwine. Ex archiuis.

Baldwine, borne at Excester in Deuonshire of an vnknowne father, being brought vp at learning, did keepe a schoole himselfe. After which he was made an archleuit or archdeacon, being termed the light of the people, which office he voluntarilie forsaking, became a Charterhouse monke, from whense he became abbat of Ford in Deuonshire, then bishop of Worcester, and lastlie chosen archbishop of Canturburie. About whose election was no small stirre, as well amongst the laitie and cleargie of England, as amongst the cleargie of Rome, the pope hauing before made void the election of the abbat of Bath, sometime prior of Canturburie to that archbishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, which contention of election continued about nine moneths. After which, the matter was declared vnto the pope, who sent him the pall, and he was aduanced to the see of Canturburie, the fouretæenth kalends of June, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and fiue, the one and thirtith of Henrie the second. Betweene which archbishop and the monks of Canturburie was much contention for the building of saint Stephans church in Hakington beside Canturburie, wherof is large discourse in the life of the said Baldwine, written by Geruasius Dorobernensis, Matthew Parker, and by William Lambert esquier (a rare antiquarie) in his perambulation of Kent.

Radul. Niger.

Geruasius.

After the death of Honorius prior of Canturburie (which made all the said stirre, in withstanding Baldwine for the church of S. Stephans, and appeling the bishop at Gillingham to the popes audience in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and six, at what time the bishop was taking his iourneie from Gillingham to Canturburie) Roger succeeded this Honorius in the same prioric, by the authoritie and fauor of the king, and of this archbishop, in the fourth yeare of his consecration, who so hated the monks of Canturburie, that in following time he draue them out of the monasterie of the Trinitie, and by the kings authoritie placed secular clearkes therein. Of which matter Geruasius maketh so long and large a discourse, as almost halfe the first part of his historie is nothing but of the same bishop (vsing his legantine & metropolitane power ouer all the parts of Wales, which neuer anie of his predecessors did before, as appeareth by Matthew Parker.) He did in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie & eight, being about the foure and thirtith of king Henrie the second, take his iorneie into those parts, on whome attended Giraldus Cambrensis that writ the historie of that voiage of Baldwine, and dedicated it to Stephan archbishop of Canturburie, beginning his booke with this note thereof. *Anno ab incarnatione Domini* 1188 *apostolatus apicem regente Vrbano* 3. *imperante Romæ Alemmanorum rege Friderico, Constantinopolitano Isaco, regnante in Francia Philippo Lodouici filio, in Anglia Henrico* 2. *in Sicilia verò Willi. in Hungaria Bela, in Palestina Guidone, anno vz. quo Saladinus tam Aegyptiorum quàm Damascenorum princeps occulto Dei iudicio, sed nunquam iniusto, publico bello certamine potitus, Hierusalorum regnum obtinuit, vir venerabilis, & tam literatura quàm religione Cantuariorum archipræsul Baldwinus in salutifera crucis obsequium ab Anglia in Walliam tendens, apud Herefordiæ fines Cambriam intrauit.* In reciting of all which kings of Europe, and others, Giraldus hath forgotten the kings of Scots and Denmarke.

Ex annal. Gilb. Matth. Paris.

This Baldwine interdicted the prouinces of John earle of Dorset and Sommerset, sonne to Henrie the second, for the mariage of Isabell the daughter of the earle of Glocester his kinswoman in the third degree. Wherof earle John complaining to Iohn the cardinall, latelie as legat arriued in England, appealed him to the pope, the cardinall confirming the same appeale, and vndoing the interdict. This archbishop went with king Richard the first Anno Dom. one thousand one hundred ninetie and one to the warres of Hierusalem, where he died at Acon, after that he had bene bishop of Canturburie six yeares eleuen moneths and fiue daies. There he made his will, and gaue all he had to the soldiors, committing the same to be disposed by Hubert bishop of Salisburie, which went thither with him also at the same time. After his death and honourable burieng, and in the kings absence, the monks of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred nintie and two, expelled Olbert of Brittow (whome king Richard by the counsell and helpe of Baldwine had made prior of the monasterie of the trinitie of Canturburie a little before, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie and one) and railed against the said archbishop Baldwine, calling him (bicause he was mild of nature) slouthfull and lukewarme, the same bishop being also by pope Urban reprehended by these words: *Vrb. pp. seruus seruorum Dei, monacho feruentissimo, abbati callido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso, ex quo monachi affirmant quòd melior monachus simplex quàm abbas, melior abbas quàm episcopus, melior episcopus quàm archiepiscopus fuerit.* Touching whome in like sort thus writeth Geruasius Dorobernensis, that his words *semper erant quasi simplicia, & ipsa pauca & ambigua*

Reginald.

Reginald archbishop of Canturburie being thervnto onelie chosen, was neuer installed, nor receiued anie consecration therefore, bicause he died shortlie after his election to that place, who yet deserueth to be remembred, & that the rather bicause the monks did chose him against the kings mind. In doing whereof before his full election, there arose great and long stormes and troubles about the same. For the king, the cleargie, and the other nobilitie, were desirous to haue one William de Monte regali to be chosen & aduanced to that place. But the monks reiecting their petition, and following their owne mind, did elect this Reginald, who was the fourth bishop of Bath & Wels, after the vniting of those places into one bishoprike. This Reginald borne in Lombardie, being about the foure & twentith yeare of his age, was by king Henrie the sonne of Henrie the second made bishop of Bath (in the yeare of our redemption 1173, falling the nineteenth yeare of the same Henrie the second) by the name of Reinalt fitz Joseline: he died fiftæne daies after his election to the see of Canturburie (going from thense to Bath) at Dogmersfield in Hampshire, whose bodie was on Christmas daie caried to Bath, & there buried in the third yeare of Richard the first, being about the yeare of Christ 1191. At this time Hugh bishop of Chester and Couentrie, put out the monks of Couentrie, & brought in secular clearks: but after his death the monks were restored to their old home.

Anony. M. S.

Matth. Parker.

Roff. histor.

Hubert Walter.

Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert, being borne in Westerham in Northfolke, was brought vp vnder Reginald or Randulph Glandfield procurator or chæfe iustice of all England. This man hauing obteined the deanrie of Yorke, then the bishoprike of Salisburie, did after that go to Jerusalem with Richard the second, and was made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeare of Christ 1193, receiuing the pall from pope Celestine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie & foure, being the fift yeare of

Geruasius. Houeden. Tho. Sprot. Wil. Nouburg.

of the ransomed king Richard the first, beside which he was chancellor and cheefe iustice of England, and at London did consecrate Herebert archdeacon of Canturburie bishop of Salisburie. This Hubert had charge, or was maister ouer the kings wards, by the kings especiall grant. Who in the end, after that he had sat seauentéene yeares, as hath the historie of Couentrie, comming to his manor of Tenham, did there fall sicke, and shortlie died within foure daies, being buried at Canturburie in the south wall of the quier, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and three, the ides of Julie being the same yeare, falling in the seuenth yeare of king John, after whose death it séemeth that sée was void about two yeares.

Hubert made iustice of England an. 1193 and dieng an. 1205, he could scarse gouerne fortie yeares.

Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie was chosen after this maner. The monks of Canturburie did in the night chuse one Reginald their subprior, and vnknowen to the king did inthronize the elect in all spéed, sending him with their letters to the pope, taking an oth of him before his departure, that he should not discouer his election to anie, or beare himselfe as elected, without the licence of the monks. But he as soone as he came into Flanders, forgetting himselfe, opened the matter. Whervpon the monks came to the king, craued pardon, and asked leaue to chuse an other; whereto the king consenting, did with manie faire spéeches moue them to chuse Iohn Gréie bishop of Norwich. Wherevnto when they had agréed, the king sent for Gréie then souereigne at Yorke about the kings affairs, & led him honorablie to Canturburie, where in the presence of the king & the people he was pronounced in the metropolitane church to be rightlie and lawfullie chosen archbishop of Canturburie, and the monks forthwith did place him in the archbishops sée. The knowledge of which inconstancie of the monks comming to pope Innocent, he commanded the monks vnder the power of binding and lowsing to chuse a third person, which was called Stephan Langton borne in England, but bred vp in forren countries, & to make void both the former elections, which the monks did accordinglie. Wherevpon the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie, chalenging the election of their metropolitan, or at the least to ioine with the monks in chusing of the archbishop, opposed themselues against the monks, which comming before the pope, he presentlie gaue sentence in behalfe of the monks. With which secretlie against their willes the monks at Rome (which were there to defend their cause against their bishops) chose Stephan Langton with secret murmuring, although onelie Elias de Brantfield the monke that then defended the cause of John Gréie would not by anie meanes assent therevnto, secretlie departing into England. By force of which election, Stephan Langton the fiftéenth kalends of Julie receiued his consecration of the pope at Viterbie; with whome the pope sending the monks backe againe into England wrote flattering letters vnto king John, to appease him for the reprobation of John Gréie and the election of Stephan Langton, whom the pope required the king to receiue with all courtesie. But the king stomaching the maner therof, with the matter, and the man, banished all the monks which had béene at Rome, & expelled all the other monks which remained at Canturburie out of their celles, whereof insued great trouble to king John and the kingdome, as in the English historie may more at large appeare. For the king reiecting this Langton brought vp in Paris, and chancellor of that vniuersitie familiar with the French king & cardinall of Chrysogon, wrote vnto the pope about the said Langton. Wherevpon Ioannes Florentinus legat of the pope came into England, onelie attended vpon with three horsses, whereof the one was lame and led by hand; which legat afterwards keeping a councell at Reding, but doing no good in the cause, did in hast depart England, when he had filled his purse with monie. Much about which time the friers minors came first into England, going barefoot, whose apparell was grisell garments girded with cords full of knots. After this, the pope séeing all things to go contrarie to that he had iudged, wrot againe to king John to receiue Langton, further directing his bulles to William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, and to Maugerius bishop of Worcester, that if they could not persuade the king therevnto, that then they should interdict the land: which they after did when the king would not agree therevnto. Which done, they with Joseline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford fled the realme for their labor. Therewith the king more grieuouslie moued, seized all their lands and goods, and caused the monks to flie out of the relme; by which act the people rebell, the nobles forsake the king, and the kingdome is wholie in an vprore. At length the pope himselfe hearing thereof, did thunder an interdict against the king by name, and the bishops of England, committing the diuulging thereof to the said bishops of London, Elie, and Worcester, liuing then beyond the seas, who not willing to plaie that part, posted the same ouer to certeine bishops in England, which fearing the king, durst not obeie the pope. Yet the land and king being interdicted, king John subdued Wales, conquered Ireland, reduced the Scots to quiet, forbad anie causes to be caried to Rome, subdued his rebelles, lent the emperor a great summe of monie, & feared not Stephan Langton or the pope. Wherevpon Philip the French king was persuaded to warre vpon king John, which he denied, till he should sée no amendment in the king of England. At length Stephan Langton (finding succor and helpe) came into England with his complices, and shewed that the king was remoued from his kingdome. For the auoiding whereof the king was by Pandulph the legat brought to vnequall conditions, and submitted his kingdome to the pope for a thousand marks (whereof the wiser sort haue made some question) and receiued the crowne againe of Pandulph, whereby the realme was quieted, the pope satisfied, the king freed, Langton restored, and the interdict released. But after when Langton saw how these things were carried, he did greatlie lament and with déepe sorrow greeue thereat, when he beheld king John to giue vp his crowne and scepter to Pandulph. For comming to the altar, he could not withhold himselfe, but openlie shewed how greatlie he was offended therewith; and therefore euer after became a louing father to his countrie, in such sort, that the first seuen yeares was a tragedie of the kingdome, and this time which followeth will be but a comedie of his gouernement in the sée of Canturburie. For now contention falling betweene the king and his barons, the pope tooke the kings part, and Stephan Langton ioined with the barons. Wherevpon the pope (when he could not at the request of the king bridle the barons) did excommunicat them as traitors to the king, which sentence he committed to be published by Stephan Langton. But he going to the generall councell answered the bishop of Winchester and Pandulph (the popes legat) that brought that excommunication, that he would first in person talke with the pope about it: wherupon they suspended Langton from his bishoprike, & excommunicated the barons from the church. For which cause Langton going to Rome, was there by the abbat

Chro. cænobij Martini.

of

of Bellew, Thomas of Huntington, and Geffreie of Crawcomb knights, accused of that which he had done in England, how he had set the barons against the king, & would not execute the popes excommunication. With which Langton being ouercome, without anie excuse craued to be absolued from the former suspension. Wherevnto the pope would not agree, but doubled the same, and sent vnto the suffragans of Canturburie to denounce it ouer all England; yet in the end, by the wise carriage of himselfe he was absolued with this condition, that he should stand to the popes iudgement touching the controuersies betweene the king and the barons, & that he should not returne into England before the same were ended. After this the king would againe haue remoued Langton from his see, which he could not doo, no not with the helpe of the pope, because the cardinals did resist it. During which troubles king John departed this life; and Stephan Langton after his death held a councell at Osneie, in which one was crucified and hanged that said he was Christ, and two women were condemned, the one because she said she was the virgin Marie, and the other Marie Magdalen.

Mart. Paris.

1216

Aurea lector. Matthew Paris.

This archbishop translated the bodie of Thomas Becket from a marble tombe, to a rich shrine decked with gold and siluer, whereto was a wonderfull concourse of people, for all which this Langton found baie and horsemeat during the time of that solemnitie. At which time also in places of the citie, conduits and pipes of purpose made therefore, did abundantlie run with wine. The charge of which translation could not be againe recouered by foure of the bishops of Canturburie that followed. Before which time this Langton carried some of the relikes of this saint Thomas to Rome. This archbishop procured the customes of England called *Magna charta* to be made, to end all controuersie betweene the king and the barons. When the realme was in quiet, he held a councell at Westminster, in which he made a sermon vpon this text: *In Deo sperauit cor meum, & refloruit caro mea.* When he had so begun his sermon, a certeine countrie man in the companie with a lowd voice said; By Gods death thou liest, for neither thy hart trusted in God, neither doth thy flesh flourish or spring againe: which person being apprehended by the rest of the companie, was plucked out of the church, and receiued worthie punishment therefore. A little before his death, he made his brother Simon archdeacon of Canturburie, whom the pope reiected, and would not admit to the bishoprike of Yorke, wherevnto he was chosen. This Langton gouerned the see of Canturburie two and twentie yeares, and died at his manor of Slindon in Sussex the seuenth ides of Julie, being carried to Canturburie the daie before the nones of the same, and buried in saint Michaels chapell. He did write manie things learnedlie and eloquentlie, he diuided the bible into chapters as the church now vseth it, he writ the life and historie of Richard the first. In the time of this man the burrow of Southworke with the church of saint Paries was burnt, the same fire going ouer London bridge as far as the Tower and the Vintrie: of whom thus writeth Nicholas Triuet; *Hic super totam bibliam fecit postillas, & eam per capitula (quibus nunc vtuntur moderni) distinxit, qui dum Parisijs in theologia regeret, factus est ecclesiæ Grisogoni presbyter cardinalis, deinde factus archiepiscopus, inter alia bona quæ fecit, pulchram aulam quæ est in palatio Cantuariæ ædificauit.*

Others saie 21 yeares, and died as hath Trinet, an. 1228. being 12 Hen. the third.

Richard the great.

Richard surnamed the great came to the bishoprike by this meanes. The monks hauing leaue of king Henrie the third to chuse an archbishop, did make choise of one Walter de Hemesham or rather Euesham, the third nones of August, whom they presented to the king, which by the aduise of the clergie did ouerthrow the said Walter so by the monks elected and erected, because he was defamed for manie things; wherevpon he runneth to Rome: but the kings ambassadors & the bishops messengers, comming thither first, did preuent him. But before that these ambassadors, which were the bishops of Chester and Couentrie, finding the pope and the cardinals somewhat vntoward towards the king of England, did in the end obteine of the pope (by ministring pecuniarie aid vnto him, and promising a tenth out of England, Wales, & Ireland, for the maintenance of his warres against Frederike the emperor) that he sentenced the matter against the said Walter, auoided his election, and reserued to himselfe the prouision and disposing of the church of Canturburie. Wherevpon they (fearing that the pope would chuse one at his owne pleasure, as Innocent his predecessor had done Stephan Langton) with all speed obteined from king Henrie letters to the pope to confirme their promise, and that he should promote Richard chancellor of Lincolne, a man famous for good life and learning, to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. Wherevnto the pope agreed, and writ to haue the said Richard placed in the archbishops chaire: by reason of which precept, this Richard the great was consecrated (without anie pall) at Canturburie by Henrie bishop of Rochester, in the feast of the Trinitie, at what time the king was also present; and the said Richard did then consecrate the bishops of London and Elie. This done the pope sendeth for the performance of the promise of the tenth of England, Wales, and Ireland: wherevnto the king (against his will, but in respect of his promise) seemed by silence to agree; but the barons flatlie denied the same, and the bishops by procrastination demanded three or foure daies respit to giue answer therevnto, who in the end for feare of the popes curse consented, whereby it was fullie paid by all men; except onlie Ranulph earle of Chester, who did resist & would not suffer it to be paid in his prouince, whom yet the pope did not excommunicate.

Ste. Birchin.

1229 as some haue.

This archbishop assembled a synod at Westminster, where he made good lawes, and as he was by nature gentle, so was he seuere in defending the liberties of his church. For against Hubert of Borow (constable of Douer castle, chefe iustice of England and earle of Kent, being in great fauour with Henrie the third, who also made Richard as some name him the sonne of the said Hubert knight) he thundered out excommunication, because he could not find other remedie at the kings hand for the iniurie which the said Hubert had done against him, in deteining from the said bishop the castle of Tunbridge, the towne therof with the lands therto belonging, and the other possessions of the earle of Clare; which during the minoritie of the said earle, did of right apperteine to the see of Canturburie. This was the first time, as some haue, that such reuenge by waie of excommunication was taken vp and laid vpon those which did withhold anie of the possessions of the clergie. At length the archbishop goeth to Rome, hoping thereby to right his cause, against whom the king sendeth Roger de Cantelew with other ambassadors to the pope, at what time the archbishop not onlie complained of Hubert, but also that the king had the suffragan of the said archbishop to sit in his exchekier, and to heare ciuill and criminall causes. Wherevpon the pope moued with the dignitie of the archbishops calling, the reuerence of the mans personage, with his eloquence, wisedome and learning gaue sentence in behalfe of the said Richard against the other, wherevpon they returned home vtterlie confused. After which the bishop

March Paris in H. 3. anno & minori.

Thomas Becket did excommunicate such as either infringed the churches liberties, or detained anie of his possessions.

Canteleye.

1235 as hath Trinet.

shop being three daies on his iorneie towards England, and now extreme werie and full of paine, did end his daies in the towne of saint Gemma, with whom & by whose death there also died all that which was done at Rome in the former matter. This archbishop did write in his life manie most learned bookes, which were *De fide & legibus, De sacramẽtis, De vniuerso, &c.*

Seph. Brigandon. S. Edmund.

Saint Edmund (which name I vse for antiquitie and difference sake) archbishop of Canturburie, commonlie called S. Edmund of Abington, after the place where he was borne, came to that bishoprike in this order. The monks had chosen Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester, being for his fidelitie in great fauour with K. Henrie the third, and his chancellor, whom they presented vnto the king, well accepting thereof, and without delaie granting vnto him the administration of the temporalties of the archbishoprike. But the pope inquiring of Simon Langton (archdeacon of Canturburie brother vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, Stephan Langton) of the state and behauiour of this elect Rafe Neuill: this Simon either an enimie to the king or him, or else to both, being led with hope to obteine the archbishoprike for himselfe, did priuilie and subtillie persuade the pope, that he was vnlearned, light of behauiour, inconstant, hot in speech, a courtier, following a courtlie kind of life, and further, of so subtill and craftie wit, and also well beloued of the king, that he managed all the affaires of the king and kingdome: for which cause, if he were archbishop of Canturburie, he would with the consent of the king and the people, find meanes, that England should shake off the yoke of the pope and tribute to Rome, which king John had confirmed to pope Innocent, being a thing which the pope had the more cause greatlie to feare; for that before this time, Stephan Langton (archbishop of Canturburie) had once appealed from the grant of that tribute, the forme of whose appeale he reduced into writing, being at this daie extant to be seene of all men.

Matth. Paris Caron. maiori & minori. Hoiilegus.

Ste. Brichin.

1229 as some haue.

Wherevpon the pope, moued by the words of Simon, did without cause shewed therefore, frustrat the election of Rafe-Neuill (when the monks came to Rome to haue the same confirmed) and granted power to the monks to chose another; by reason whereof they elected John their subprior, to whome in the end the king gaue full assent. But when the letters of his election were exhibited to the pope, this John was deliuered to the cardinals to be examined of his doctrine, who three daies after informed the pope that they found not anie default in him. All which notwithstanding, he was repelled, and his election voided by reason of his age, which was not sufficient to weld so great a charge. Wherefore in respect thereof, the pope persuaded him to remoue his election, which without delaie he did, obeieng the popes will, & with obteined licence departed into England.

Matth. Paris in hist. maiori & minori.

These two elections thus frustrat, the third time the monks chose John Blund then studieng in Oxford, whome the king also admitted, who had as good successe at the popes hand as the others before had: for the pope did also reiect this man, because that being familiar with Peter de Roches bishop of Winchester, he had receiued two thousand marks of him, which as it was suspected he corrupted the monks of Canturburie to make that election of him: and moreouer, that he kept two benefices appointed for cure of soules, against the order of the ancient councels. For which cause, the monks of Canturburie that were present at Rome, were required by the pope, that they would by his voice now the fourth time chose Edmund, canon & treasuror of the church of Salisburie, a godlie and learned man, to be their archbishop of Canturburie, which yet they would not doo in hast, as after shall appeare. Which Edmund being borne at Abington in Barkeshire, had to his father one Edward, and to his mother Mabell, both of them surnamed the rich, because they had at Abington so greatlie increased their substance by merchandize: who procured this their sonne to be trained in learning at Oxford, distant about fiue miles from Abington, where he increasing in learning, gaue himselfe to diuinitie, when he came to mans estate; and entring into the profession of a clearke or spirituall man, he did vse to preach in the adioining shires of Oxford, Glocester, and Worcester. After this, he was made a canon of Salisburie, about which time his father, with his wiues consent, became a monke in Euesham. But although this Edmund were wise, learned, vertuous, & honored; yet would not the monks at Rome vpon the popes consent chose him, vnlesse they might also haue the kings fauor therein, and the assent of the rest of their monks at home. Wherefore the pope did secretlie send the pall to this Edmund, sith those monks durst not openlie gainesaie the election. But for what cause the pope so desired it, we know not by the course of the histories: for this Edmund was sent, vnknowne, and a mere stranger vnto the pope. But be it as be maie, it is most true, that he receiued his consecration at Canturburie by Roger, surnamed the Blacke bishop of Lincolne, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and foure, falling in part of the eighteenth & nineteenth yeare of king Henrie the third; at what time he put on his pall at the masse time, which he did celebrat in the presence of the king, thirteene bishops, and a great number of other people, who being thus installed in the see of Canturburie, did first succor the common-wealth, troubled with intestine & euill councell. For he persuaded the king to remoue from him Peter bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Riuallis ambitious persons, and authors of ciuill discords; and himselfe with the bishops of Chester and Rochester went into Wales, and made peace betweene the king of England, Leolin prince of Wales, and Richard earle Marshall: whereof the two last had ioined their powers, and prepared wars against the first. Besides which, he restored the earls of the kingdome which were fallen from the crowne, to the kings new fauour, and to their old honors: vpon which, the king commanded Peter de Roches to get him home to his bishoprike of Winchester, and cast Peter de Riualis out of the court, threatning him, that if he did not take holie orders, that he would plucke forth his eies with his owne hands: but this peace so by the bishop made was after broken.

Ex archiuis. Chron. sancti Albani. Abbreuiat. Rich. Ciceff. Polycratic.

Ex archiuis.

Matth. Paris hist. maiori & minori.

1239 as hath Iohannes Londen, 4. no. of Aprill.

This archbishop held a synod at London, in the which were made thirtie and six prouinciall lawes. After this, there fell dissention betweene the king & this archbishop, because he withstood the mariage of Elenor (sister to the king, and widow to William Marshall earle of Penbroke, hauing as was said, vowed chastitie) to Simon Montfort earle of Leicester: for which cause the king sent secretlie to the pope to haue a legat come into England to bridle this archbishop, and such as tooke his part. Wherevpon the pope sent one cardinall Otho hither into England, whome the king met at the sea side, receiued with humilitie, bowing his head to the cardinals knee, and after brought him into the inner parts of the realme: which legat making his gaine here in England, bestowed all the vacant spirituall liuings vpon that flocke which he had brought with him.

Matt. Par. calleth him *Willielmum Marisciallum comitem Glocestr. in Hibernia mortuum*, which cannot be. For William Marshall neither died in Ireland, nor was earle of Glocester: for it was Rich. Marshall erle of Penbroke that died in Ireland.

him. Wherewith saint Edmund being moued, did reprehend the king, both for the comming of the legat, and the vexing of the realme, which the legat reuenged as a great iniurie done vnto him. In the meane time, Simon Montford obteined a dispensation from the pope for the mariage, with a like dispensation for the vow that Elenor had made, and with commandement to Otho that he should pronounce sentence in behalfe of the mariage; all which he performed, and so the mariage was consummat.

This Otho remaining still in England, held a councell at London at the west end of Paules church, where the old contention for place of the right side of the legat was againe renewed by the bishops of Canturburie & Yorke, who falling to extreame chiding, the legat to appease the matter, shewing forth the popes bull, said: *Videtis hic depictum Christum crucifixum, eique à dextris Paulum & à sinistris Petrum astare, inter quos nunquam mota est de Christi dextris aut sinistris occupandis contentio, etsi ambo sunt in gloria æquali. Veruntamen propter Petri clauigeri dignitatem & apostolatus principatum, meritò à dextris crucis eius imago collocanda videtur.* With which persuading example the archbishops being pacified, the bishop of Yorke tooke the left hand.

Verb. Matth. Paris in chro. maiori.

About this time did this Edmund archbishop of Canturburie consecrat Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne, of whom an ecclesiastike writeth thus: *Sub hac tempora Hugone Wellensi episcopo Lincoln. mortuo, electus est à capitulo Robertus cognomento Grosted, id est caput crassum, vir humili quidem stirpe satus, sed virtute, prudẽtia, doctrináque insigni.* But this opinion of that writer, that he was but meanelie borne cannot be so, if that pedegree be true (which for manie reasons I am not lead to thinke ouer sound, I speake vnder correction of better antiquaries) which I haue seene of the said Grosted, taken out (with the armes as hath beene most constantlie affirmed vnto me) of the old portalle of the said Grosted; who being the yonger brother of a second house, and but meanelie mainteined, might occasion others to write that he was borne of meane parentage; when in deed it appeareth by that pedegree remaining within my custodie at the writing of this same, that his right name was Robert Copleie, and surnamed Grosted of his great head. For this Robert is there made a yonger sonne of Rafe Copleie the kings seruant, yonger sonne of Thomas Copleie, sonne of Adam Copleie, sonne of Thomas Copleie, sonne of Rafe Copleie, sonne of Hugh Copleie, sonne of Adam Copleie, which was slaine at the besieging of Yorke, in the time of William the Conqueror. This Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie reiected Richard of Wendouer chosen by the voices of the monks of that house to be bishop of Rochester, and would not consecrat or admit the said Richard. Wherupon the monks appealed and went to Rome, whom this archbishop followed. At what time Otho the legat (supposing that he had now opportunitie to reuenge himselfe of this Edmund, who had so much before withstood him) did forbid the archbishop to take shipping, or to enter into that tourneie: but he would not obeie the legat, because the authoritie of the legat was taken awaie by the popes countermand.

Grosted bishop of Lincolne of what descent he was.

Ioh. Lond. saith 1237 *Edmundus archiepisc. Cantuar. pro quibusdam negotijs ecclesiam suam contingentibus Romam adiuit.*

The bishop now at Rome, not onelie complained of the monks of Rochester, but also of the legat Otho, and of Henrie the third; but the pope reiecting all his speeches, did iudiciallie confirme the election of Richard of Wendouer to the bishoprike of Rochester, which notwithstanding this archbishop Edmund had pronounced to be void: for which sentence being on their behalfe so pronounced on the feast of saint Cuthbert, that daie was made a double feast in the church of Rochester. This done, the pope not yet satisfied, did moreouer reuoke a sentence giuen by this archbishop against Hugh earle of Arundell; for recompense of both which supposed wrongs, the one to Wendouer, the other to the earle, Edmund was appointed to paie one thousand marks vnto either partie, wherupon being so impouerished, he returneth home with greefe. But a new contention did receiue him at his comming home into England by the legat aforesaid, which added further trouble vnto him. For whereas the monks of Canturburie had chosen them a prior without his knowledge, this Edmund did excommunicat them; which the legat did release, and confirmed the other election, which the said Edmund did againe vndoo, punished the stubburne monks, and interdicted their church: for which cause sith the archbishop should seeme to haue the vpper hand, Otho the legat commeth to Canturburie, thinking to haue disgraced the bishop: but hearing the cause againe, he remooued the prior, chastened the monks, bound some of them to perpetuall penance, and made some others of them to be tied to a streicter kind of life.

Hugh. Alsum.

After this, the archbishop granted eight hundred marks at the councell holden at Reading by legat Otho, to helpe the popes wars against the emperor, although he had manie times in manie councels stiflie gainesaid the same. In the time also of whose gouernement, the church of Paules in London was dedicat vnder the name of the cathedrall church of saint Paule by Roger bishop of London, in the presence of the king, the noble men, and the bishops: at the doing whereof, the bishop of London with the deane and chapter of that church, did make a solemne and sumptuous feast. This thus spoken, it resteth now to draw to some end of the doings of this archbishop, whose actions be stretched longer than at the first I meant, & than this short discourse of the archbishops doth require: but sith I cannot leaue him so, I must now go forward otherwise than I would. You heard before that he complained to the pope against the king for manie euill things done by him, whereof the chiefest was, that he ouerlong kept in his hands the void metropolitan, cathedrall, and conuentuall churches. For the reformation whereof, he obteined of the pope, that if the king did not in six weeks prouide therefore, that the archbishop should haue the presentation: which decree of the pope obteined by Edmund through great summes of monie, the king procured of the pope to be reuoked. In which matter Polydor in the sixteenth booke of his English historie hath fallie deceiued manie, whileft he saith, that saint Edmund obteined this grant (for presentations to void spirituall liuings) of king Henrie himselfe, and that the same was some while kept, vntill that the king finding the want of the gaine which grew thereby, did reuoke that which he had before granted. And to the intent it maie be seene that this is not fallie fathered vpon Polydor, I will set downe his owne words. *Huic malo* (meaning the presentations by the king to vacant spirituall liuings) *Edmundus occurrendum iudicans; à rege impetrauit, vt huiusce rei curandæ munus solus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiret, quo per hunc modum episcopatus atque cœnobia rectoribus orbata & melius gubernarentur, & citius dignis decernerentur præpositis. Verùm cùm aliquandiu ita seruatum esset, & Henricus animaduerteret non esse in rem suam quòd paulo ante concessit, illud statim reuocauit, & sacerdotiorum vacantiũ vectigalia quoad antea fecerat capere rursum cœpit.*

It may be that here goeth the first ground that if parsons did not attend to spirituall things within sir weeks, the bishops might present by lapse.

In the end this Edmund thus crossed with so manie mishaps, and lamenting his countrie and church ouerred with so manie euils, himselfe to be so much ouerreached by the deceipts of others, and his metropolitane power to be restreined by the doings of the couetous legat, he goeth to the king, rebuketh him therefore, in that he would permit these things in his owne

Matth. Paris chron. ma

Polyd hist. lib

Aaron Rich.

owne realme, and with abundance of teares saith vnto him, that he should neuer see his face. Wherfore being wearie of his life, and not minding to see those things whereof he could not abide to heare; he voluntarilie banished himselfe from the realme & his frends, who passing the sea, came to Pontineacke in France, where dailie praieng for his countrie of England to be deliuered from subiection and thraldome, he there lead a sorrowfull life for a certeine space. At length, what by sickenesse, and what by abstinence, he fell into a consumption, and then into a sharpe feuer; after which being remoued for recouerie of his helth from Pontineacke to Soises, he surrendered his life to God the sixteenth kalends of December, after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie about the space of eight yeeres, or rather seuen yeares (as hath the historie of Couentrie) whose bowels being by the physicians taken out of his bodie, were buried at Soises, and his bodie at Pontineacke, after that honorable sort that belongeth to an archbishop: after whose death the see of Canturburie was void three yeares and more. About six yeares after whose death, pope Innocent the third did canonize him a saint: and his bodie in the yeare following was translated by Lodouike king of France, being three yeares after put into a new sepulchre garnished with gold, siluer, and christall. In this bishops time was the sitterhood of saint Katharins beside the Tower of London, builded by Elenor daughter of the earle of Prouance, and wife to king Henrie the third, which house is at this daie (Anno Domini 1586) standing, and vnder the gouernment of Rafe Rokesbie esquire, maister of the requests, and maister of the said house of saint Katharins. This archbishop Edmund (as hath Gesner out of Leland) had a brother called Robert le Rich, flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fortie, which wrote a booke of the life of this bishop Edmund, and one other booke called Exegesin in canonem diui Augustini.

Matth. Paris. mon. minor.

1241 S. Edmund Land being as Polydor saith the fiue and fortith yeare of Henrie the third.

1240 And the foure and twentith of Henrie the third.

Trust. Iordan. mon. Paris. Ludegus. Reboens. Ioh. Lond. appointeth his canonization in the yeare 1246

And by translation to the yeare of Christ 1248

Bonifice the six and fortith archbishop after Matthew Parker, but the fiue and fortith after Polydor, quæne Elenors vncle, and the sonne of Peter earle of Sauoie, was chosen by the monks of Canturburie vnto that see, wholie against their minds, for they had rather haue reiected than receiued a stranger by birth, vnknowen for conditions, vnacquainted with the state of their church, & so neere to the king by mariage. But the king taking the thing to be well and lawfullie done by the monks, sent his election in parchment to the pope, vnder his seale, & the seales of the bishops and abbats, as a thing done by their generall & voluntarie consent; though manie of them did the same for feare of the kings displeasure. By meanes whereof Bonifice (being noblie borne, tall of person, and indued with a certeine comlinesse in his countenance, but in other respects far unmet for the place) was consecrated at Lions, where the pope then was; whereof some of the monks ashamed that they had chosen so vnmeet a man, forsooke the church of Canturburie, and bound themselues to perpetuall penance in the streict order (as hath Matthew Parker) of the charterhouse monks. These things thus done, shortlie after Peter erle of Sauoie commeth vnto London, and built the Sauoie without Temple bar, calling it after the name of his honor, which house was afterward the dukes of Lancaster John of Gant, and in the end was by Henrie the seuenth most statelie built vp, as it now standeth, with places of releife for the poore.

Tyrrel Angl. hist. lib. 16.

It maie be that here grew the first ground that if parrons did not present to spirituall liuings within sir weeks, that the bishops might present by lapse.

He was consecrated (as Matthew saith) John of London in the yeare of Christ 1243 who comming into England was at Canturburie on all Saints daie installed in the presence of the king, of the quæne, and of manie other of the nobilitie, in the yeare 1248

These things thus done, Robert Passelew (who was wholie employed in augmenting and keeping the kings treasure, and for that cause deare vnto the king) was chosen bishop of Chichester by the canons (of that cathedrall church) studieng to please the king. The which election the archbishop Bonifice tooke in euill part, who calling togither the bishops of his prouince, did seriouslie examine this Passelew by the bishop of Lincolne, vpon certeine difficult questions proponed vnto him; but he either not well answering, or the archbishop Bonifice not well liking his answer, this Robert was repelled, and one Richard Witz or Witz substituted in his place without the kings knowledge. In which hurlie burlie Martine the popes procurator expecting the same commoditie, did by the power of his buls bestow the benefit of the vacant liuings, which this Richard had forsaken, being aduanced to Chichester. But the king not suffering so great a reproch to be vsed towards him, did forbid this Richard Witz to enter into his baronie and secular possessions. Shortlie after which, this Bonifice archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Worcester and Hereford (which were suspected and hated of the English, in that they attributed so much to the pope) did go to Rome without the kings priuitie. The cause of whose going Bonifice alledged to be the debt of fiftæne thousand marks, wherewith his bishoprike was charged, the greatnesse of which debt could not be paid but by the popes helpe: but at his departure he made a great masse of monie of the Kentishmen, and especiallie of woods which he sold, with which he sailed into France, and to the people called Allobrogi, to subdue a certeine knight which had stolne awaie the daughter and heire of Reimond earle of Prouance, to the intent for to haue maried hir. For whose ouerthrow a great summe of monie was heaped togither in England by this archbishop, although he seemed to haue obteined the same vnder the pretense to free his church of Canturburie from the excessiue debts wherin it was left by his predecessors. At length this Bonifice comming to the pope, required of him that he might reteine with the bishoprike of Canturburie the bishoprike of Valentia in Prouance, with manie other such commodious and rich churches which he had gotten in that iourneie.

This man was vtterlie condemned of all the clergie for vnsatiable extortions.

1245

About this time was a generall councell holden at Lions, wherevnto the king and the prelats of England were cited, in the ninth of March, with day giuen vnto them vntill the eight kalends of June. In which meane time, the king sent to the pope one Laurence of S. Martins the kings chapleine, for the absence of certeine prelats from that councell, and to complaine to the pope of the iniuries which the archbishop had done vnto him. The first the pope granted, but in the second he stood against the king with the archbishop. After this approcheth the daie of the councell at Lions, whither came the pope and the clergie; at whose first comming the popes conclaue or parlor (as some haue) or rather his whole house as others haue, was burnt: in the same, & as manie affirmed, was with fire consumed that charter in which king John did by force of the legat Pandulph subiect and make tributarie the kingdome of England to pope Innocent. This councell of Lions now ended, Bonifacius obteined the popes buls to all the clergie of his prouince to this effect: *Vt ex illius prouincia beneficiorum vacantium vectigalibus septennio proximo ad illud as alienum dissoluendum, quod in translatione Thomæ quam Stephanus fecerat, Cantuarien sis ecclesia contraxerat, 10000 marcarum colligere posset, præter duo milia marcarum annuatim ei ab ecclesia Cantuarien si soluendarum.* Which when the king knew, he said: What maruell is it if Bonifacius bishop of Canturburie, whome I haue aduanced to so great dignitie, do now procure from the court of Rome such discommodities to my kingdome? But although the king did at the first a little resist the grant, yet in the end he would neither trou-

1246

ble the pope nor the archbishop, but being ouercome with intreatie, yelded vnto the same.

1252 Boniface being now returned out of Prouance, visited his dioceses and suffragans, in which there were great troubles betweene him & Fulco bishop of London, and betweene him and the prior of great saint Bartholomews, manie blowes passing from one to another. Wherby the prior was sore hurt, resisting the visitation of the archbishop. Which doings of those his suffragans, occasioned him to excommunicat all those whomsoeuer, or by what name soeuer they were called, that attempted to hinder his enterprise; from which onelie the king, the queene, erle Richard, the countesse and their children were exempted. But Ethelmer the elect of Winchester, the kings brother by the mothers side, did appeale from that sentence, and in his diocesse declared the same to be void. With which Boniface being nothing dismaied, did againe pronounce the same excommunication at Oxford, and began afresh another visitati-

1253 on, which was called the tumultuous visitation; for comming to Lincolne, he would after the death of the bishop, of his owne authoritie bestow the vacant prebends & churches, and excommunicat all such as withstood him. Against which Lupus archdeacon

Annal eccles August Cant. 1255 of Lincolne repined, and resisted him with an appellation vnto the pope, at what time this Boniface did not onelie excommunicat him, but did also pursue and afflict him in all that he might. Whereupon this William not knowing in what place to hide himselfe, went to Rome to the pope, who absolued and defended him from Boniface, with hope of restitution of the right of his church. But he being ouerwome with three yeres trauell in the same, in the end died in his iornie returning into England. The monks of Canturburie seeing the warlike & priestlie demeanor of this Boniface in his visitation, obteined a bull from the pope, that he should not visit, suspend, nor trouble their church. Which letters being brought to Boniface then being in the monasterie of saint Albans, he hurled the same into the fire, burned them, and excommunicated the bringers thereof; who needed not (as it seemeth) to feare anie thing whatsoeuer he did. For when complaints were made against him to the king and the pope, the first would doo nothing, because he was his wiues vncle; and the other did beare with him, for the nobilitie of his birth, being in a countrie neere adioining vnto him.

After this, being againe troubled in England by his visitations and other meanes, he goeth into Prouance, by wars and force to deliuer his brother Thomas sometime earle of Sauoie, imprisoned by the citizens of Merwine: where neither profiting by his owne or the popes excommunication, he returned home fowlie disgraced, after the prodigall expense of all his riches in that iornie. Much about this time king Henrie borrowed monie of the pope, & laid his kingdome to pledge: which rash deed withdrew the harts of the people from the king, because that the same bond was with trouble and charge after redeemed out of the popes hand. During these things, Boniface did dedicat the cathedrall church of

1256 Salisburie on the feast of saint Michaell, and Hugh Balsham sometime prior of Elie, and founder of saint Peters college in Cambridge, was consecrated bishop of Elie; and Magna Charta was established for the liberties of England, the breach whereof caused the barons to rebell. Whereupon Boniface departed the realme to his countrie of Sauoie, leauing Hugh Mortimer in his place, a man skilfull to gather monie. At this time pope Urban did void the two elections of the couent of Winchester, and did at Rome consecrat John of Oxford chancellor of Yorke to the bishoprike of that see, who had before paid 6000 marks to the pope, & as much to Iordan the popes chancellor before he was sacred; all which notwithstanding he by oth promised his subiection to Boniface bishop of Canturburie. Boniface, after he had beene foure yeers beyond the sea, returned to Canturburie; but before his comming thither obteined licence with condition of the barons, that he should not raise any new turmoiles, or procure anie troubles in England. Who in his absence out of the realme, commanded Walter Gifford chosen bishop of Bath to be consecrated by the bishop of Paris, and Walter de Lauilla chosen bishop of Salisburie to be consecrated by the bishop next to that place being the bishop of Winchester. Annal. eccles. Cantuar. Ste. Birchint. de archiepis. Cantuar.

Now when the troublesome estate of the common-wealth was passed, the king gaue his mind to compound the controuersies which Bonifacius had sowed in the church: wherefore those bralles which he had with the bishop of Rochester, with the bishop and church of London, with the prior of great saint Bartholomews in London, with the churches of Lincolne, Salisburie, and Canturburie, were extinguished by the kings meanes. For by law the bishop recouered the fees and seruices of the church of Rochester, in place of which seruices the said church should yearelie paie twelue marks; and moreouer, obteined all the right in the church of Lincolne during the vacancie of the see, except in eight churches in the citie of Lincolne, which were exempted and reserued to the disposition of the chapter. Which being done, the archbishop agreed with Richard earle of Glocester for his knights seruices belonging to the church of Canturburie for the manors of Tunbridge, Brasted, Werlstone, Horsmond, and Helestone; and also for the earles order, place, and stipend at the inthronization of the archbishop. Besides all which, being great matters to compasse, this Boniface deliuered his church from the full debt of 22000 marks laid vpon the same, by the immoderat expenses of his predecessors, Stephan, Richard the great, and Edmund; and at length finished the noble hall of the archbishops palace of Canturburie, begun by his predecessor Hubert, or (as Nicholas Triuet hath noted) by Stephan Langton. Gerual. Dorob. in mappa mundi. Ste. Birchint.

After the dispatch of these things, he celebrated a prouinciall synod at London by the commandement of pope Urban; and becomming more holie towards his end, he went with the other bishops to the king, requesting him that being mindfull of the decaie of his kingdome, by ecclesiasticall liuings bestowed vpon strangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godlie men of his owne nation: to whom the king answered that he would willinglie doo it. Wherefore I thinke it meet that you which are a stranger and vnlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer bishop of Winchester, whom I haue preferred to such dignities onlie for kindreds sake, should first giue example to others, and forsake your churches, and I will prouide other learned men to serue in them. Which answer of the king so perswaded this Boniface, that he alwaies after liued a wearisome life in England. Wherfore perceiuing himselfe to be misliked of the king and the people, he desired to returne into his countrie. And thereupon first felling and selling the woods, letting out the archbishoprike, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great masse of monie of the clergie of his prouince, he went with the curse of all men vnto Sauoie, where, in the castle of S. Helens, after that he had gouerned the see six and twentie yeares, six moneths and sixteene daies from his consecration, being 29 yeares from his first election, he died, the

the fiftéenth kalends of August. Before which he founded & indued with lands an hospitall at Maidstone in the honor of saint Peter and Paule, being commonlie called the hospitall of the new worke, which William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie did after change into a college of secular priests. In the time of this bishop, the palace of Westminster was almost consumed with fire. The citizens of Norwich in hatred of the monks burnt their cathedrall church with the palace. There was so great dearth of vittels, that the parents in manie places were compelled to eat their children, and a bushell of wheat was sold for twelue and sometime for sixtéene shillings. The prouision for the vniuersitie of Oxford was about this time confirmed, of whom further in these words writeth Mat. Parker.

1270 The 54 yeare of Henrie the 3 which Iohn London referreth to the yere of Christ 1267.

Annal. eccles. Cantuar. Ste. Brichint. de archiepisc. Cantuar.

*His Bonifacius vt moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione reliquis omnibus tam prioribus quàm eum sequentibus archiepiscopis dissimilis fuit. Id quod Radulphus de Diceto ecclesiæ quondam Paulinæ London. decanus, vir in Anglicana historia peritissimus, qui ad Hubertum archiepiscopum scribens, ex illa tam longa archiepiscoporum Cantuariens. tot annis ducta serie, mirari se ait, ne duos vnquam vno eodémque nomine appellari. Quod quidem vsque ad Huberti tempora, vt ipse annotauit verum fuit. Nos verò qui 70 archiepiscoporum vitas in hoc opere descripsimus, multo magis mirari debemus, & animaduertendum esse duximus, præterquam quòd & hic Bonifacius, & quatuor post eum archiepiscopi nominibus à cæteris distincti & discriminati fuerunt, ex illo toto 70 numero, ne mediam partem coniunctam archiepiscopalem sedē tot annis occupasse, quot hic noster *septuagesimus solus ad hunc annum 1572 tenuit.*

Math. Parker.

Robert de Kilwarbie.

Robert de Kilwarbie was made archbishop of Canturburie: for a little before the death of king Henrie the third, the king licenced the monks of Canturburie to chuse William de Chillenden their subprior to be their archbishop. Who went to Rome to be sacred by pope Gregorie the tenth: but at his cōming thither the pope compelled him to renounce his election, whereupon the pope of his owne authoritie, without consent of the monks, pronounced Robert Kilwarbie to be bishop of Canturburie through the fulnesse of his authoritie. Which Robert being borne in England was brought vp at Paris, where receiuing the degrées belonging to the sciences, came into England and was made a frior Minor, whereof in the end he became the prouinciall head, which office (as the popes collector) he possessed eleuen yeares. After the pope had thus made Kilwarbie archbishop, the monks of Canturburie (least they should seeme to lose their right in election because the pope had appointed one against their wils) did also chuse the said Robert Kilwarbie, and sent the said William their subprior (renouncing his election) with the prior of Douer and the officiall of Canturburie, in the name of the whole couent of Canturburie, to salute the new elected bishop. This Kilwarbie was consecrated at Canturburie on a sundaie in Lent, being the fourth kalends of March by William or rather Walter Gifford bishop of Bath, because the bishop of London was sicke. In the daie of whose consecration the prior of Canturburie required of this Robert three thousand marks; which the couent had spent in the election of William de Chillenden, sith the pope promised to the said William, that the next archbishop should paie the same vnto the couent. The archbishop Robert moued herewith, began to enquire of the conditions of the man, to the end to haue cause to remoue him: which the prior vnderstanding, found meanes that the couent remitted thirtéene hundred marks of the said summe: which moued the archbishop to cease anie further to trouble him. His consecration being ended he came to London, and with the nobilitie (at the new Temple) made Edward the first (then in Syria) king of England, appointing treasurors and officers of the exchéker to kéepe the reuenues of the realme to the kings vse. In the time of this Kilwarbie there was on saint Nicholas éue an earthquake, thunder, lightning, a fierie dragon, a comet, and an extreame tempest, which feared all the English people. In which tempest the kings iustices, whilest they went to their tribunall seats, at Westminster were so feared, that they were inforced to staie and sit at the new crosse, now called Charing crosse; or rather in that place where now standeth that ancient crosse which was made manie yeares after this third yeare of king Edward the first. For the crosse now standing was made by the same Edward, as a remembrance of the death of his wife quéene Elenor the daughter of Alphonse king of Spaine (as were also the crosses of Cheape, Waltham, Dunstable, Stamford and Grantham) vnlesse that there stood a stone crosse, the which was after plucked downe by Edward the first, in whose place anew he built the now standing crosse. This archbishop did renew & shortlie conclude in fiue articles, all the old statutes made by his predecessors, and now almost out of vse, concerning the court of Canturburie kept in the Bow church of London. He compounded the contention betweéne the monks and citizens of Canturburie, he visited all his prouince, in which visitation by his metropolitan authoritie he visited both the vniuersities, and did subtilie at Oxford dispute of diuinitie, philosophie and logike: in which arts he did reprehend and refell manie opinions and sentences of the Oxford men as not probable. Whose opinions Iohn Peckham that followed him in the bishoprike, did (in a synod of the clergie) condemne as vaine and foolish doings of sophisters, being hereticall and varieng from the christian faith. In this yeare by gathering a great sum of the prouincials of the frier Minors, he built the faire monasterie of the frier Minors, of an old tower of London set in the west part of the citie, the relikes of which west tower were before this granted by William the Norman to the bishop of London, to build the chancell (of Paules church) destroied by fire. After which he was called to Rome by pope Nicholas the third, made cardinall of Hostia, & bishop Portua, and procured by the pope to grant that another frier Minor of his order might succéed him at Canturburie. But shortlie after that he was come to Rome, and had receiued these dignities, he toke a grieuous disease, whereof he died at Viterbo, where he was honorablie buried.

1275 In the third yeare of Edward the first.

1278 In the 1ut yeare of Edward the first.

1272 And the 56 of Henrie the third.

Ex archiuis.

Gerual. Dorob. in mappa mundi. Ste. Brichint.

Iohn Peckham.

1279 In the seuenth yeare of Edward the first.

John Peckham in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred three score and eightéene (when Kilwarbie left Canturburie, was consecrated by the pope in the court of Rome, against the will of the monks and consent of the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie) whereof neither were called to that consecration: for the monks had chosen Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and the kings chancellor, whome the pope reiected. This Peckham being thus made archbishop, would be called by none other name than frier John, who was borne in Sussex of obscure parents, being of a child brought vp in the monasterie of Lewes; after which, he studied at Oxford, where he was made a frier Minor, attéining at length to be made prouinciall of the same order. Then he went to Paris to studie diuinitie, from whense he went to Lions, where he was made a chanon: which place and dignitie, as a thing of right belonging to the church of Canturburie, the archbishop of that sée did long inioie, and kéepe in their hands, till the time of Henrie the fift. When this Peckham was at Lions, he studied the ciuill

Ex de Ickham. Walt. Gifborn. Steph. Brichin. Ex archiuis.

law, and greatlie increaſing therein, went to the vniverſities of Italie, where he remained ſometime. At length he went to the court of Rome, in which he handled and pleaded the cauſes with ſuch ſkill, that he by the pope was preferred to be the hearer & iudge of the cauſes of the popes palace. This Peckham writing to the biſhop of Lincolne, doth in his letters ſaie, that he publikelie read in Paris, in England, and in the court of Rome. He held a councell at Lambeth, during which councell, the archbiſhop of Yorke as he went to the king, would haue caried vp his croſſe in the prouince of Canturburie; but by the policie of Peckham, who had in all his prouince vnder paine of excommunication, commanded that none ſhould miniſter food to the archbiſhop of Yorke and his people, the croſſe was laid downe, or elſe they muſt haue ſtarued.

Vide in ſuo regiſtr. fol. 217.

1280 In the ninth yeare of Edward the firſt. Florilegus.

In this councell, he did excommunicat all ſuch as would be exempted from his viſitation, amongſt whom (as ringleaders) were the abbats of Weſtminſter, ſaint Albons, ſaint Edmunds, and Waltham appealing long to the pope, with whom the reſt ioined; but not able to abide the archbiſhops authoritie and power, they left their appeale and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him: which councell being ended, he viſited all his prouince. He went into Wales, and at Snowden ſought to appeaſe the warres betweene Edward the firſt, and Leoline the prince of Wales: but when he could doo no good therein (ſith they were determined to die, rather than to be ſo hardlie dealt withall by the kings iuſtices and bailiffes, as they complained that they were) he returned into England, and did excommunicat them, as breakers of the kings peace. But before he went into Wales, fearing that he ſhould be there ſtaied by force, and not returne when he would, he appointed Robert Burnell biſhop of Bath, before repelled from the ſee of Canturburie, to be his vicar generall and diſpoſer of his prouince in his abſence: but in the end, the king ſubdued the Welſh, and the barons of that countrie came to his parlement at Northampton, where they ſware homage vnto him.

Florilegus. 1281 In the tenth yeare of Edward the firſt. Florilegus. 1282 In the eleuenth yeare of Edward the firſt. Ex archiuis. Hiſt. Camb. Of the welſh hiſtorie. fo. 338. 339, and ſo to fol. 371. Tho. Walſing.

This parlement being doone, the archbiſhop did againe more diligentlie than before viſit his prouince; in which viſitation, determining for euer to baniſh all Iews: he wrot to the biſhop of Lincolne that he ſhould ouerthrow all their ſynagogs, which decree by the kings meanes was ſomewhat mitigated, & the Iewes were permitted to haue one temple in the publike place of the citie, in which they might celebrat their ceremonies: whereof a great number were taken from them. At this time, the archbiſhop reiected and would not confirme Richard More profeſſor of diuinitie, and choſen biſhoop of Wincheſter, and John Kirkbie the kings chapleine, choſen to be biſhop of Lichfield, becauſe they had manie benefices. Wherupon they appealing to the pope, after the vaine ſpenſe of much monie, and long time thereabouts, were faine to leaue the matter, and againſt their wils to ſtand to the ſentence pronounced againſt them, in the behalfe of the archbiſhop Peckham. So that they being reiected from theſe biſhoprikes, one John Pontiſar was in place of the one by the pope made biſhop of Wincheſter, which greuouſlie infeſted the monks of that citie, and increaſed the liuings and rites of that biſhoprike with the ſpoiles of the ſame, as appeareth by the monuments of that church.

1283 Walt Gesb. Petr. de Ickh. Ex archiuis. fo. 242.

This Peckham was (as is proued by this which followeth) a ſeuere puniſher of euils; for being no leſſe bitter to thoſe which were not reſident on their cures, than to ſuch as had manie cures; he by publike edict admoniſhed and compelled the biſhop of Lichfield (a ſtranger, and ignorant in the Engliſh tong, and therefore remaining out of his dioceſſe) that he ſhould (vnder paine of being diſplaced) returne to his biſhoprike there to be reſident: who comming to the archbiſhop to excuſe himſelfe, was ſharpelie rebuked, becauſe he might through his reſidence vpon his biſhoprike, feed the bodies of the poore with almes and liberalitie, although he could not feed the ſoules of his ſheepe with preaching and literature. When this Peckham came to the college of Woluerhampton in the dioceſſe of Lichfield, (whoſe patronage belonged to the church of Canturburie) to viſit the ſame, he was excluded and forbidden it by the chanons vpon their priuilege of exemption: but the archbiſhop depriued Iohn Theodoſius de Camilla (who proſecuted this cauſe at Rome) of two parſonages or rectories (which he had in England) for non reſidence: during the time that the ſaid John was in theſe affaires at Rome.

1284 In the twelfe yeare of Edward the firſt. Ex archiuis.

At this time, this archbiſhop did confeſſe in his letters written to the queene, that he had ſpent more than two thouſand marks on the reparing of the buildings in his manors, ſaieng beſides, expreſſlie in the regiſter, that in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred foureſcore and foure, he did expend about three thouſand marks in neceſſarie buildings: who as he ſharpelie puniſhed the non reſidents, ſo he did with no leſſe ſeueritie puniſh adulterie.

In regiſt. fo. 45. fol. 114.

For whileſt he viſited the dioceſſe of Chicheſter, he there puniſhed Roger Ham a prieſt by one yeares penance to be performed vpon his oth, who ſpent that time in pilgrimages to Rome, to Cullen, & to Compoſtella, being depriued of all his ſpirituall reuenues, which the biſhop cauſed to be giuen to the vſe of the poore. In his viſitation alſo of his dioceſſe of Saliſburie it was found, that Oſborne Giffard knight had taken two nuns out of the monaſterie of Wilton, whome the archbiſhop did firſt excommunicat, and then releaſed vnder hard conditions. Firſt that he ſhould not all his life after enter into anie monaſterie of nuns, or vſe the companie of anie nun: then, that he being naked, ſhould be beaten with rods in the pariſh church of Wilton, & receiue the like publike puniſhment, both in the market, and the pariſh church of Shaftſburie, whereunto were added the faſt of manie moneths: beſides this, that he ſhould be diſgraded from the order of knighthood, and neuer after weare gilt ſpurs, ſword, armour, ſaddle, or gilt trapings: & moreouer, that he ſhould not weare anie coloured garments but one lie of ruſſet, furred with lambe or ſheepe ſkins, that he ſhould not weare anie ſhirt three yeers after his puniſhment, that he ſhould not returne to the order before he had paſſed three yeares in the Holieland; and eſpeciallie, that he ſhould procure the nuns to be ſent to the monaſterie to receiue the like puniſhment: all which, this Oſborne Giffard bound himſelfe by oth to performe, the biſhop of Saliſburie appointing him a forme of faſt therefore.

1285 In the thirteenth yeare of Edward the firſt. Ex archiuis.

About this time there was a certeine contention betweene the biſhop of Lincolne and the vniverſitie of Oxenford, touching the iuriſdiction of the biſhop ouer the ſcholers of the ſame vniverſitie. Concerning which, thus writeth Matthew Parker: *De qua* (meaning that controuerſie) Iohannes Cantuar. *cùm ſcholariũ tum cauſam vacillare, nec iure ſtare poſſe intellexerat, ſcholaribus reſcripſit: Si in iure contenderent, vincèos aſſuperari neceſſe eſt, præſertim cum his quibus niterentur priuilegijs, à iuriſdictione epiſcopali iure communi ſtabilita eximi nequaquam potuiſſent.* Wherupon in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand two hundred foureſcore and eight, the ſaid John Peckham hauing ouerſeene Oxfordſhire, did in that viſitation alſo come vnto

1286 In the fourteenth yeare of Edward the firſt. Ex archiuis fo. 142.

Drenford, and visited the same by his metropolitane power: *In qua visitatione quasdam philosophicas opiniones, quas errores & à Roberto Kilwarby* (his predecessor in the bishoprike of Canturb.) *antea reprehensos docuit, & tanquam hæreses & a fide christiana abhorrentes e suggestu Latinè refellit. Inter has vna erat, in homine esse tantummodo formam vnam, &c.* Of which matter Matthew Parker maketh a great discourse, declaring a contention betweene one Richard Knapwell doctor and frier preacher, one Hugh de Manchester prouinciall of that order, and this John Peckham archbishop, about those questions, which being but frierlie wrangelings, I let passe as needles to spend time, labor, and paper therevpon. This archbishop Peckham kept a councell of the bishops, in which he made fiue seuerall lawes. In whose gouernement of the see of Canturburie hapned such a cheape of corne, that wheat was sold for three pence the bushell: but shortlie after, by the space of fortie yeares following, there was contrarilie such a dearth, as a bushell of wheat was sold for two shillings. Now after that this man had bene archbishop thirtene yeares, perceiuing his end to draw neere, he made his will, and appointed Nicholas of Knouile or Knowle, person of Maidstone, and Simon de Greile, to be his executors. These men after the death of Walter Reinolds, in the vacancie of the archbishoprike, being called to account for the goods of the testator, by the prior of Canturburie, the same was at that time *Ex inuentario præter legata in specie relicta*, to haue exceeded fiue thousand three hundred and fiue pounds, seuentene shillings, and two pence, quad: of English monie, notwithstanding his great gifts vnto the cardinals, and seuen hundred threescore and ten marks to be distributed to the poore inhabiting in his manors, and the liberall aduancement of manie of his kinred, some being knights, and some being gentlemen, whereof their posterities at this daie remaine in my sweet countrie of Kent, and in other shires of England. This archbishop, after that he had possessed the see of Canturburie (as before I said) thirtene yeares, foure and twentie weeks, and two daies, departed this life in Januarie, and was buried in Christs church of Canturburie.

1290 In the nineteenth yeare of Edward the first.

Ex archiuis.

Ex inuentario eius archiepiscopi scilicet in diuersis & particularibus monasteriis mortui.

In regist. Chro. Roff.

Robert Winchelseie. *Steph. Brichinton.*

Robert Winchelseie, when he was yet a child, was brought vp at Canturburie in the rudiments of grammar, being of so faire complexion, of so good wit, and of so mild disposition, that in his childhood it was a common prophesie, to saie that he should be bishop of Canturburie. After his childish yeares thus spent at schoole, he went to Paris, where he was made maister of arts, and then applied himselfe to diuinitie eight yeares, after which, by vniuersall consent he was made ruler of the vniuersitie of Paris. Then comming into England, vpon proofe of his learning at Oxford, he receiued the degree of a doctor, and at length by generall voice was aduanced to be chancellor of that vniuersitie; to which offices in following time, was also added the archdeaconrie of Essex, and a prebendarishp in Paules church of London. This Winchelsie not yet satisfied, he was in the end by the assent of all men, made archbishop of Canturburie (as some haue) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and twelue, who going to Rome to be consecrated, was there had in such great admiration for his learning and vertuous conditions, as the pope would then haue made him a cardinall, and still reteined him vnder his protection. But he alleging necessarie causes to remaine in England, had leaue to depart after his consecration. In the meane time, king Edward the first demanded of the cleargie of Westminster a great masse of monie towards the charges of the war: the bishops demand a daie for answere, which was giuen vnto them, being but a verie short time. During which time William Montfort, deane of Paules, being in perfect health, and comming to the king to intreat for mitigation of so great a summe as he demanded of the clergie; and beginning his tale before the king, did there suddenlie fall downe dead. But the king nothing troubled therwith, at the daie appointed, sent John de Hauering knight to the prelats assembled at Westminster, who with a lowd voice said; If any man will gainsaie the kings demand, let him come forth, that being knowne he maie be iudged guiltie, as a disturber of the kings peace. Wherewith the prelats being astonied, did in the end condescend to the kings request, the same grant being after great cause of dissention betweene the king and the clergie. About which time Winchelsie returning from Rome into England, went to the king into Wales, then occupied in the wars of those countries; where, after his fealtie made to the king for his temporalties, he did excommunicat Madocke Leoline that raised this war against the king: which sentence he commanded to be declared throughout all the parts of Wales. At length the same tumult being pacified, the archbishop returned home, and held a synod at London. The synod ended (in the fift of Nouember, in the presence of this archbishop, sitting in Bow church) he causing the lawes to be read openlie, which he had made for the iudges and officers of the court of the arches: which done, he came to Canturburie, and there was inthronized, consecrating on the same daie John of Monmouth professor of diuinitie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. These things thus passing, Edward the first being in the wars of the low countrie, did (when Roger bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was dead) procure one Walter of Langton to be chosen bishop, who was consecrated at the kings request beyond the seas, by the cardinall of Alba, saving all rights belonging to the bishoprike of Canturburie.

Florileg.

1295 In the three and twentith yeare of Edward the first. Walsingh. Florileg.

Ex archiuis.

Florileg.

The king after the subduing of his enimies, demanded releefe of the clergie, but they denied it, for that they could not grant anie thing to the king without the popes consent. For which this bishop with the rest, standing in contention with the king, he put him and them wholie out of his protection: whereupon the clergie well considering of the same, submitted themselues, and chose the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Durham, Elie, and Sarisburie, with others, to deale in those affaires, to whome they committed power to seeke remedie, both to satisfie the pope, and the king: who thereupon consulting togither, agreed to laie downe in the church the fift part of the ecclesiasticall goods, for the vrgent & necessarie defense of the church of England. But this archbishop vtterlie misliking the same, would not anie waie change his mind; for which cause being turned out of his house, no man would scarse giue him lodging: but he not esteeming thereof, vsed this protestation, that he would doo nothing the more for that; further affirming that all they were excommunicat which gaue anie thing against the popes will and authoritie. For which cause the bishops vncerteine what to doo in this extremitie, for doubt of both swords, brake off their councell, and that the rather, because that this archbishop Robert departing from the same councell, admonished euerie man to looke to his owne soule.

Chron. Ianæ Albani. W. Thorne.

1284 In the twelfe yeare of Edward the first.

1285 In the thirteenth yeare of Edward the first. Ex archiuis.

1286 In the fourteenth yeare of Edward the first. Ex archiuis fo. 142.

1294 In the two & twentith yeare of Edward the first.

Walsingh.

Floril. Walsingh.

Steph. Brich.

At length yet in the end, the clergie going to the king, offered him sometime the fourth part, and sometime the fift part of their goods, thereby hoping to receiue their temporalties, and to be againe vnder his protection. At what time the king (for that present, by reason of hast of warres in France, thinking it good to dissemble the dealing of the archbishop

Walter Gisb.

1296 In the foure and twentith yeare of Edward the first.

bishop) did in a parlement at Westminster receiue the archbishop into fauor, and restored to him all that he had taken from him. Wherevpon the king taking with him this Robert Winchelseie, his sonne prince Edward, & the erle of Warwike, came into Westminster hall, where he commanded the people to assemble, to the end to make a full pacification with them before his departure into France. Before whome the king made a lamentable speech, and excused himselfe of the taxes laid on his people, as a thing whereunto he was inforced by the necessitie of the warres; promising to repaie all such summes, if he returned in safetie from the present warres: and if he did not see England againe, he earnestlie desired them, that they would then crowne his sonne Edward in his fathers seat. With which words the archbishop pitifullie weeping did so pacifie the minds of the people, that they with one voice both held vp their hands, and promised their faith vnto the king to performe all his demands. But the earles and barons which were to go with him into Flanders, refused the same, vnlesse the king would confirme Magna Charta, & Charta de foresta, both which the king vnwillinglie granted to performe. Shortlie after this archbishop was accused by the king of treason, in aiding & counselling such as rebelled against him, whilest he was in the warres of Scotland, amongst whome was the earle Marshall, who for satisfaction thereof made the king his heire. This treason did the bishop confesse, and on his knees craued pardon therfore; but the king remitting the matter to the pope, the archbishop was by the pope suspended from his office, and then banished England: but after by Edward the second, comming to his crowne, restored, in the first yeare of his reigne, with all the commodities which were withheld from him during the time of his banishment, being so great a summe to him, that his calamitie was by that meanes vnto him great commoditie. For thereby he became the richest archbishop of all his predecessors, for which cause he would with this saieng comfort himselfe in his banishment, accompanied with other greefes:

Nihil nocebit aduersitas vbi nulla iniquitas dominatur.

But as he at this time seemeth to be in all prosperitie by reason of this exceeding wealth: so yet now and not before came the cause of this archbishops greefe and mourning, in that king Edward the second, against the minds of all men, did recall into England Piers de Gauestone the Gascoine, which hated all the cleargie and nobilitie, and was banished into Ireland by king Edward the first. For this Piers at his comming to the king, imprisoned Walter the bishop of Couentrie by the kings commandement. Wherevpon the archbishop would not in the parlement suffer anie thing to be done by the cleargie of his prouince, vntill the bishop of Couentrie were deliuered out of prison. After this (the king being offended with the archbishop) he kept a prouinciall councell in London, in which the order of the knights of the Temple were destroied. In which yeare also Henrie king of Almaine being created emperor, receiued three crownes in this order: one of siluer at Aquisgrane, an other of iron at Millane, and the third of gold at Rome. Besides which in the same yeare this archbishop required of the king to haue sir John Heron knight (prisoner in the Tower of London, for the murther of Robert Grace) to be iudged in the spirituall court as a clearke, whereunto the king did giue consent. After which the said knight being receiued by the deputie of the bishop of London, to purge the suspicion of the said murther, was quitted thereof by the sentence of that bishop: but vpon further examination, that act was reuoked by this archbishop, the sentence made void, he found guiltie of the murther, and inioined to doo penance therefore.

1305 1306 In the one & twentith and foure & twentith yeare of Edward the first. Walsing. Florilegus. 1307 1308 1309 Adam. Merim. Walsing. 1310 The fourth of Edward the second. Memoriale historiarum. Adam. Meri.

About the yeare following, there was contention betweene the couent and prior of Lewes, and the bishop of Norwich in the kings court (concerning the right of a patronage) by the space of seuen years, which at length obteined this end. The prior and the couent did present one Reginald Bedaling to the parish church of Feurell, whome the bishop did pronounce to be vnmeet therefore, and would not admit him. Wherevpon grew a suit at the common law, and the bishop pleaded that he could not admit a man vnmeet for that place: which answer caused the kings iudges to write vnto this archbishop, to certifie them of the validitie or vnworthinesse of the clearke. Wherevpon the archbishop approued the bishop of Norwichs fact, in writing thus to the iudges: *Inuenimus quòd R. B. in breui mentionatus, est inhabilis ad omne beneficium ecclesiasticum.* Which returne caused the iudges to giue sentence against the prior. This archbishop was so seuere in executing his archiepiscopall iurisdiction, that he would not spare anie of the nobilitie, for he banished John earle Warren (vpon his oth) from the companie and presence of an harlot (which he kept openlie in his house) after that he had rashlie turned awaie his wife: and when he perceiued that the same would not helpe, he by publike edict cited the earle and the children gotten in that adulterie to a synod, where the earle was againe interdicted, as well for periurie and for adulterie, as for ouermuch vnlawfull familiaritie with that strumpet. And as he was to some seuere in respect of vice, so to his prince he bare as faithfull dutie: for he dearelie in the beginning loued Edward the second, from whome by parlement he remoued the Spensers, and such other euill flatterers as were about him, procuring them to be banished; being moreouer a rare man, & of great almes. Wherfore I will set downe the words of that reuerend father and worthie antiquarie Matthew Parker touching him, for the example of the cleargie proportionablie as their liuings now will beare, to be so great almesmen as he was. Thus therefore archbishop Parker writeth of this Robert Winchelseie. 1311 The 4. of Edward the second. Walsingham. Meremouth.

Vitia, quæ in hoc archiepiscopo deprehensa sunt, non tam hominis quàm temporis propria fuerunt. Nam pro ecclesiæ libertatibus cum papa, & pro regni iuribus cum baronibus aduersus regē fuit, in quarū vtraque causa Salamonis dictum verum expertus est; Indignationem principis morti comparandam esse. Beneficia ecclesiastica nunquam nisi doctis contulit, precibus atque gratia nobilium fretos & ambientes semper repulit, iuuenibus literarum studiosis ad academias missis annua alimēta decreuit, in eleemosynis & largitione quotidiana omnes ante se & sequentes archiepiscopos anteire dicendus est, pauperibus ostiatim mendicantibus præter quotidianas ex fragmentis largitiones, quolibet die dominico & feria quinta pro eleemosyna habēda ad loca vbi degebat venientibus panes frumentarios quadrante valentes dari præcepit. Horum panum numerus tempore caritatis annonæ quatuor, tempore copiæ trium millium fuit, his in illis festis solennioribus 150 denarios, totidem pauperibus in pecunijs numerandos addidit. Infirmis præterea senióue confectis, puerperis, & eiusmodi egenis prodire ad eleemosynas petendas non valentibus, mitti singulos panes cum modica carnium aut piscium iuxta diei varietatem quantitate iussit. Subleuabat insuper eos qui à secunda fortuna casu ad inopiam detrusi, quosque pudor a mēdicitate prohibebat, quibus & vestes & pecunias misit. Memorial. hist. Step. Brichin.

misit. In mensa fuit inter cōuiuas, lætus, affabilis, iucundus. Detractatores, adulatores, & scurras à sua hilaritate & epulis seiunxit; à quibus & à cohortio cū in secretiora & interiora loca se abduxisset, precibus primùm deinde studijs incubuit.

After that this bishop was (as is before said) returned out of exile, he liued by the space of six yeares in great fauor with king Edward the second, who (when he perceiued that the king had againe admitted the Spensers hated of all men, and that he reiected the companie of good men) fell into a great sickenesse, and ended his daies at Otford (after that he had béene bishop much about nineteene yeares) the fift ides of Maie, from whense he was conueied to Canturburie, and buried nére vnto the altar of S. Gregorie at the south wall, whose tombe was cast downe because the people did frequent thereunto, and worship him as a saint: who at his death gaue the library with the vestments and other few goods of his (which were left) to the church of Canturburie.

1313 In the first yeare of Edward the second. Ste. Brichin.

Archiui.

Walter Reinolds.

Walter Reinolds, chapleine to Edward the first, parson of Wimberton, treasuror and chancellor of England, was made archbishop of Canturburie by the popes appointment, and that worthie person Thomas Cobham prebendarie of Pawle, and deane of Salisburie, elected by the monks of Canturburie was reiected; of the time of whose death finding no mention in Matthew Parker, I will set downe what is to be séene in his epitaph, written in the wall of the north side of the quier of the church of Canturburie, where he is buried, being couered with the image of a bishop carued out of marble stone, which writing is this: *Hic iacet Walterus Reinold prius episcopus Wigornensis & Angliæ cancellarius, tandem archiepiscopus istius ecclesiæ, qui obijt 16 die mensis Nouembris, anno Gratiæ 1327, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

1313 In the first yeare of Edward the second. Evesham. Wolmich m. Adam Merim.

Walsingham. Meirmouth.

Simon Mepham.

Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canturburie, touching whose election we must saie thus much. After the death of Walter Reinold, the archiepiscopall authoritie and chéefe gouernment of ecclesiasticall things remained with the prior and couent of Canturburie, who committed all the iurisdiction ouer the prouince of Canturburie, to their fellowmonke Gefferie de Eton. About the doing whereof there was much contention betwéene them and the bishop of London; but in the end, as I gather by the processe thereof, the monks obteined the better hand or at the least lost nothing in the cause. At which time one Henrie, prior of Canturburie, *Vir* (as saith Matthew Parker) *vt existimari conuenit, minùs rerū vsu quàm sano iure prudens*, did in the vacancie of the bishoprike administer all the iurisdiction whatsoeuer belonging to the said church, except the consecration of bishops. Which when he could not dow with his authoritie, he sent to the bishop of London, and inioined him, that he with the suffragans assembled at a certeine daie at Canturburie, should consecrate the elect bishops of Menenia and Bangor, whome he had confirmed by his authoritie, and to whom he had giuen his letter sealed with the couent seale, in witnesse and truth of that their consecration.

Archiui ex processu elect. Sim. Mepham.

Memorial. hist. Step. Brichin.

1320 In the 14 of Edward the second.

The authoritie of the couent thus acknowledged in the vacancie of the church of Canturburie, they writ letters to the king to demand licence to chuse a new bishop; which obteined, they elected to their father, and to the honor of a patriarch, Simon Mepham borne in Kent, professor of diuinitie, chanon of Chichester, prebendarie of the church of Landaffe, and parson of Dunkall, a man in that age knowen to be singularlie learned, according to the doctrine then professed: whose election being by the king approued, Henrie the prior of Canturburie sent messengers vnto Auinion, where the pope remained, to haue the same confirmed, at what time the pope consecrated the said Simon at Auinion; which being obteined, he presentlie returned home: and first of all by his charter (which I haue séene, and Matthew Parker hath set downe) appointed Richard de Solburie his procurator to receiue the commodities of his prebend in the church of Lions, and to bestow all nédfull charges vpon his manor of Quincracke in the diocse of Lions in France. After this he crowned Philip wife to Edward the third, then he kept a councell at London: *In quo iura quædam vt à seruilibus operibus in diebus parasceues animarum, & conceptionis cessaretur, & de iurisdictione & bannorum matrimonialium editione condidit. Inter quæ Oxoniense illud de appellationibus à definitiuis tantùm sententijs interponendis decretum tanquam iniquum sustulit.* Besides which, in this councell, by the consent of the clergie, all they were excommunicated which killed Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester and tresuror of England, or but once consented to his death. Which doth most vnskilfullie attribute to John Stratford the next archbishop, whilest also forgetting himselfe, he maketh this Simon Mepham to be a person ouermerie and plesant, as hath Matthew Parker. These things thus done, Roger bishop of Salisburie, and John bishop of Bath died. Whereupon the pope created John de Wimble, a man both vnlearned and vncomlie, bishop of Sarum, by pretext of his power of prouision for bishoprikes. But Simon the archbishop had confirmed & consecrated Rafe de Scrobsburie or Shrewsburie chosen bishop of Bath, before the pope had intelligence of the vacancie of that church, which Rafe being cited to Rome, and vexed with long delaies, at length returned home with full confirmation from the holie father. At length contention falling betwéene this archbishop and the monks of Canturburie about a visitation, the monks appealed to the pope, who sending Letherius de Concreto by the name of a nuncio or messenger (for before all legats were vtterlie forbidden to come into England) to determine this cause, he gaue sentence against the bishop, & condemned him in seauen hundred pounds. Whereupon the archbishop being conuicted, did more foolishlie attempt greater things, & being foiled by the weaker, would néedscontend with the stronger. For determining to visit the prouince of Canturburie after the manner of his predecessors, there was a parlement called by the king; in the beginning of which, his visitation being begun, there was a councell of the clergie celebrated at London vnder the archbishop, from which councell they departed, despising the archbishop, and yéelding to nothing the king required. The councell ended, the bishop did afresh begin his metropolitan visitation, from which John Grandison, then bishop of Excester did appeale to the pope at the least, by that meanes to delaie the visitation, which Grandison was borne in Kent and familiar with this archbishop Simon Mepham, whose iurisdiction he either feared or despised, and therefore resisted him, although not by right, yet by such power as he could, in appealing him to the pope. Wherefore, when Simon Mepham in that visitation had quietlie passed ouer the diocesse of Rochester, Chichester, Salisburie, Bath and Wels, he would also haue entred into the diocesse of Excester: but John the bishop of that citie did with strong heart resist him; & when the archbishop determined to cope with him also by strength, the matter was brought vnto the king; the bishop was called backe by the kings letters, & shamefullie departed out of that countrie, without setting end to his visitation. By which and other repulses, as he returned home he fell into a deadlie ague at Magfield, and yéelded his life the twelfe of October, after that he had sitten fiue yéers,

Murimuth. Walsing.

Polydor erreth.

Murimuth. Walsing.

1324 In the third yeare of Edward the third. Murimuth.

1331 In the fift of Edward the third.

1332 In the first of Edward the third. Contention betwéene the bishop of Canturburie and Excester, that the first would visit the diocesse of the second.

Ste. Brichint.

1333 In the 7 of Edward the third.

six moneths, and twelue daies in the chaire of the see of Canturburie. In setting end to which archbishop I must not forget (for the honor of my sweet countrie of Kent) a thing so rare, and perhaps neuer like to be seene againe; that this archbishop being himselfe a Kentishman, had at one time vnder him six of his suffragans to be of the same shire: so that Kent did at one time bring forth seauen bishops, whereof the one was this archbishop Simon, the other six were the foresaid John Grandison bishop of Excester, Stephan Graueseend bishop of London, Henrie Borwash or de Burgesse bishop of Lincolne, chancellor and tresuror of England, Thomas Cobham bishop of Worcester, Richard Swinefield bishop of Hereford, & Haimon bishop of Rochester. The bodie of this Simon Meepham was on the 7 kalends of November caried to Canturburie, & buried in a marble tome, on the north part of the chapell of S. Anselme somtime bishop of Canturburie.

Matth Parker.

John Stratford.

John Stratford, when he was yet but yong, gaue himselfe to the canon and ciuill law, after which he was made archdeacon of Lincolne, then deane of the arches, by Walter Reinolds archbishop of Canturburie, next of the priuie councell, and secretarie to Edward the second, and in following time made bishop of Winchester. He was chancellor to Edward the third, and then made bishop of the arch see of Canturburie, and protector of the realme in the absence of Edward the third. This John after that he had bin bishop 15 yeares, fell into a deadlie disease at Magfield and there died, being buried at Canturburie at the high altar in the south part, with an honorable tome of alabaster at the steps of the altar of saint Dunstan.

Ex epistola Rich. Dunel.

1348 In the 22 of Edward the third.

John Offord.

John Offord sonne of the earle of Suffolke, did studie the ciuill and canon law at Cambridge, who being after made deane of Lincolne was admitted to the kings councell, and inuested with the honor of chancellor of England, from whense in following time he was aduanced to the see of Canturburie, who waiting for the pall six moneths & six daies, died in the great pestilence in the moneth of Maie, or (as hath Matthew Parker) the seuenth of June one thousand three hundred and fiftie, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. The bodie of which archbishop was the next morning secretlie brought to Canturburie, and buried without anie archiepiscopall maiestie in the north wall of the wall of Thomas Becket.

1350 as some haue, but rather 1349 being the 23 of Edward the first, as others haue.

Thomas Bradwardine.

Thomas Bradwardine (chosen by the monks of Canturburie to succéd John Stratford, and being repelled to bring in the foresaid John Offord or Offord) was borne at Hatfield in Sussex, who studieng diuinitie, was by John Stratford bishop of Canturburie brought to be the kings confessor, in which office without anie reward or honor he remained with the king in all his warres. Which Bradwardine being of a zelous mind, would not feare to rebuke the king if he at anie time saw him depart from equitie: which the king did not take in euill part, but alwaies loued the man, who although he might obteine anie thing of the king, yet would hardlie be brought to this euill, that he would at one time kéepe both his canonrie in Lincolne, and his chancellorship of London. Wherbyit appeareth, that he was not onelie vertuouslie giuen from couetousnesse, but also so mild conditioned, that he was neuer offended because he was reiected at his first election from the see of Canturburie, & Offord placed in the same: for which cause after the death of Offord, the monks did rechose him to be their archbishop of Canturburie; whereunto the king did with much intretie agrée, being loth to lose the companie of so good a man. After which, this Bradwardine coming to Auinion to be consecrated, the same was celebrated by Bertrand the cardinall, in the companie of all the other cardinals. At the time of which feast of consecration, Hugo the cardinall of Tull: the popes kinsman, a person puffed vp with vaine pride, beholding the simple and mild countenance of this new archbishop, did in mockerie of him bring into the place an abiect & base wretch sitting on an asse, requiring to be made an archbishop. For which his foolish act being bitterlie rebuked & tawnted, he did with shame depart as a person noted of extreme follie. The solemnities of this consecration ended, & the pope & cardinals saluted, this Bradwardine returneth into England, first receiuing his temporaltie of the king: which being had, he goeth forthwith to Lambeth to rest himselfe after his long iornie, where remaining in the bishop of Rochesters house called the place, some certeine wéeks, he fell into an ague, whereof he shortlie after died, fiue wéeks and foure daies after his consecration, being before that he was inthronized at Canturburie. After which he was buried at Canturburie in the chapell of Anselme, by whose death the church of Canturburie was thrise vacant in one yéere. This man, amongst manie other works which he wrot, made one great and learned booke intituled, De causa Dei contra Pelagium, which booke is at this daie extant, and (as maister Lambert noteth in his perambulation of Kent) among the names of the archbishops of Canturburie; he built the Blacke friers in London.

Simon Islep was first made a canon of Paules, iudge of the arches vnder John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie, then chancellor, secretarie and kéeper of the priuie seale to king Edward the third, and lastlie by the monks of Canturburie chosen to the archbishoprike of that citie. But the pope admitted him as a person rather placed in that see by his owne collation, than by the monks election: whereof the buls were published in Bow church of London the fourth daie of October. After which, in December next, he was consecrated in Paules church by Rafe Stratford bishop of London, in the presence of William Edinton bishop of Winchester. treasuror, and John Thorlbie bishop of saint Dauies chancellor of England. This done, he sent Michaell Northburge a doctor of the law to Rome to bring his pall, and appointed Roger Dorking to be his procurator to receiue the commodities of his canonrie at Lions, which the archbishops of Canturburie held. The pall being brought into England, he receiued the same from the hands of the bishop of Winchester in the manor house of Esher, being (for auoiding of further charge) inthronized at Canturburie with a small feast. But as he was a verie sparing man in all things, so therewithall he was ouer seuere in most things; for he visited his dioceese of Canturburie with great animaduersion. Contrarie whereunto he slenderlie passed ouer the dioceese of Rochester and Chicester, which was ascribed to his moderation and lenitie. But after comming home to his seat, calling the offendors before him, they found no lenitie but all seueritie in him: which caused John Buckingham bishop of Lincolne to defend his dioceese from the visitation of this archbishop, by the bulles of pope Clement obteined at Auinion; but the same priuilege was after reuoked at Rome, by the instigation of this archbishop. For the scholers of the vniuersitie of Oxford chosing one William de Palmorine to be their chancellor, sent him to the bishop of Lincolne (in whose dioceese Oxford then was) to be confirmed. But he by manie delaies was by the bishop turned ouer to an other time: for which, this William complained to the archbishop, which appointed a daie to

Simon Islep.

1349 In the three and twentith yeare of Edward the third

Esher.

1350 In the 24 yeare of Edward the third

Palmorine.

Steph. Birch.

the bishop of Lincolne to confirme the chancellor or to appeare before him. During which time the archbishop committed the hearing of the cause to his chancellor John Caulton and to the deane of Wels, at which daie the elect chancellor of Oxford with the scholers appearing, and the bishop of Lincolne making default, the chancellor of Canturburie lawfullie proceeding in that matter, pronounced him to be lawfullie elected; upon which sentence the archbishop confirmed him and sent him to Oxford, writing to the vniuersitie to obeie him. Which greeuing the bishop of Lincolne, he forthwith appealed to the pope, but the archbishop reiecting his appeale, called him to his owne iudgement seat, as a contemner of the archiepiscopall authoritie: but the bishop of Lincolne not appearing, the archbishop interdicted all his churches and lands. In the end, manie things being in this controuersie alleaged before the pope, the priuilege of the bishop of Lincolne was reuoked, and he inforced to giue place to the archbishop. After which, this Simon called Andrew Ufford archdeacon of Middlesex, administrator of the goods of John Ufford the archbishop of Canturburie, into law for the buildings which the said John Ufford had left ruinous in the bishoprike of Canturburie, and recouered of him eleuen hundred pounds fiue & thirtie shillings two pence halfepenie farthing, which he bestowed in reparing of the palace of Canturburie: *Idémque* (as saith that worthie antiquarie Matthew Parker) *totum manerium de Wrotham demolitus, ædificia (quæ Iohannes Vfford Maidenstoniæ inchoauit) ex demolitis tignis, lapidibus, & cæmento traductis absoluit.*

Adam Murimuth.

1351 In the fiue & twentith yeare of Edward the third.

In this fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, there was a new contention betweene the two archbishops of Yorke and of Canturburie, for the bearing of their crosses, whereof we will speake more in another worke of the bishops of Yorke. These things thus passed, a heauie discord fell betweene the scholers and townesmen of the vniuersitie of Oxford, which of them should beare the chiefest rule in the towne, in which after that it was come to weapons and diuers slaine on both parts, the scholers were driuen to forsake the towne. The bishop of Lincolne, vnder whose iurisdiction Oxford was, determining to punish the townesmen, did both interdict them and the towne: but after somewhat abating the same, he onlie gaue commandement to all the priests of the parishes, that if anie of the townesmen did come in whilest they were at diuine seruice, or were present at the diuine seruice, they should cease from the same, so long as anie of the townesmen were in the church. Whereunto this archbishop added a further paine of excommunication. But the scholers being dispersed hither and thither, and the king sorrowing to heare of the death that happened therby, called the controuersie into his owne hands. Which being heard, and the townesmen punished, he released the offense to the scholers, with this condition, that they should returne to the vniuersitie, and there fall againe to their studie: the whole substance whereof, the king would haue this archbishop to declare vnto them. And to the end that the scholers might hereafter be free from all violence to be offered vnto them by the townesmen, he condemned them to paie two hundred & fiftie pounds for damages vnto the scholers: and further bound them vnder a great paine, neuer after to hurt anie of the same scholers. Whereupon the whole gouernment of the towne was committed by the king to the chancellor of the vniuersitie (vtterlie excluding anie of the townesmen therein) to whose determination the iudgement and knowledge of the assise and measure of bread, wine, drinke, & of all other measures & weights were granted. Besides which generall amends, euerie particular scholer was left to his priuate reuenge by action, for anie iniurie done vnto him by anie of the townesmen.

Sedition betweene the scholers and townesmen of Oxford.

1354 In the eight and twentith yeare of Edward the third.

Robert Auesb. Walsingh.

About this time, Edward prince of Wales, after the death of the bishop of saint Assaph, did chalenge to himselfe the liuings of the bishoprike during the vacancie of the said see: but this archbishop contending with the prince, & prouing by ancient custome and by the witnesse of the clergie, that the same of right belonged to Canturburie, in the end obteined the same. Much about which time Elisabeth a noble woman, after the death of John earle of Kent hir husband, became a nun, in which profession when she had remained certeine yeares she fell in loue with one Eustace Abricourts, a Henower, which earnest affection of hirs inforced hir to depart out of the monasterie, and to be married vnto him against hir vow, in the morning before daie light without anie banes asking. Whereof when this archbishop had knowledge, he punished and bound them yearelie to assigne a liuing vnto two chaplains: and besides, that they should a long time be inioined the penance of fasting & praier without dissoluing the bands of matrimonie. This archbishop did build a famous college in Oxford called Canturburie college, to which he appropriated the rectories of Magfeld and Pagham; further granting the churches of Monktowne and Estreie to the monks of Canturburie, and for two hundred and fortie markes did release to the earle of Arundell six and twentie bucks and does, which the same earle of Arundell should yerelie paie to the church of Canturburie, for which act he was euillie thought of by diuers of the couent. In his iorneie as he went to Magfeld, he fell with his horse into a poole, in which whilst his horse and he did strugle togither to get forth, and that the archbishop would haue recouered himselfe, he was all to tumbled and wet in the mire, and so came throughlie wet to Magfeld, where he fell into a heauie sleepe before that he had put off his apparell, whereby falling into a palsie, he died there at Magfeld, in the seuentæenth yeare of his bishoprike, after that he had sitten at Canturburie sixtæene yeares, foure moneths, and twelue daies, and was buried at Canturburie in the middle of the bodie of the church, with a tombe wheron is a faire marble stone yet standing, hauing this epitaph in brasse ingrauen about a mitred bishop of plate, placed in the same hard marble stone:

1362 In the six and thirtith yere of Edward the third.

Archiui.

John sonne of Edmund of Woodstoke erle of Kent, who after the said Edmund was earle of Kent, and died without issue, and the earledome came to Ione his sister.

Hospes sanctorum, decus & pie Christe tuorum,
Cœtibus ipsorū prece iungas hunc precor horum,
Simon Isleppe oriens, vir bina lege probatus,
Vt nascens moriens, sic nunc iacet ante locatus,
Arcem qui tenuit, hic quondam pontificatus,
Clero quique fuit, regno toti quoque gratus,
Mil. tricenteno sexageno quoque seno,
Eius septeno pastoratus quoque deno,
Hic kal. Maÿ seno rupto carnis nece fræno,
Flos cadit e feno, cœlo peto qui sit ameno,
Princeps pastorum fac Simon apostolorum,
Simon vt iste chorum per eos vt attingat eorum.

At his death he bequeathed one thousand shéepe to the monasterie of Canturburie, his golden garment with a rich cope and siluer vessell, which was six dozzen of siluer dishes, so manie salts, twelue siluer basons with his armes: commanding further that he should be buried without anie assemblie of the people, auoiding in all things much magnificence or great cost. Of whom there be onlie extant two prouinciall constitutions to be holden in his time.

1366 In the fortith yeare of Edward the third.

Simon Langham was archbishop of Canturburie, and chosen after this maner. When Simon Islep was dead, the monks of Canturburie required

Simon Langham.

red to haue William Edinton bishop of Winchester chancellor and treasuror of England to be their archbishop; but he denied their election. Whereupon at the kings request, pope Urban the fift did translate Simon Langham sometime abbat of Westminster, chancellor and treasuror of England, to the see of Canturburie by the waie and title of prouision. After which, he was made a cardinall also, who as he sat at his collation at after dinner, was suddenlie stricken with a palsie and lost his speach: and liuing foure or fiue daies after, died on the daie of Marie Magdalen: whose bodie was buried at Donezere nere Auinion amongst the Carthusians in a new church, which he builded from the foundation. After which, in processe of time as he had before ordeined, his bones were brought into England to Westminster, where is a statelie tombe made ouer him; he sat archbishop two yeares and somewhat more.

Steph. Brichinton. Catalo. episco. Elienſ.

Io. Maluerne. Monach. Wigorn. in continu. Randulph. 1376, or rather 1368.

William Witlesey, the kinsman of Simon Islep archbishop of Canturburie, by whome he was not onelie liberallie brought vp in learning, but also promoted to diuerse honors; who in his yong yeares followed the studie of the lawes by the persuasion of his vncle therein; proceeding doctor of both lawes, and being procurator for all his vncles affaires at Rome. After which, he was aduanced to be vicar generall, and officiall to the said Simon Islep, then likewise was he made deane of the arches, hauing thereunto also adioined the archdeaconrie of Huntington, & the rectories of Croidon & Cliffe. From these degrees he was raised to the bishoprike of Rochester, then to Worcester, next to London, and lastlie was translated by Urban the fift to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, the fift ides of October (when Simon Langham was made cardinall and went to the popes court) hauing in the Hilarie terme next following his temporalties restored to him at Westminster. At this time there were certeine Englishmen in Rome well seene in the ciuill and canon lawes, amongst which there were foure especiallie noted therefore, which were Thomas Paxton, Robert Stratton, John Shepdam, and Simon Sudburie, being afterward bishop of Canturburie: to these men which were of great authoritie in the church of Rome, did this archbishop giue authoritie procuratiue, to require of the pope and to send vnto him the pall, which was giuen him at Lambeth in the kalends of Aprill by William Wickham bishop of Winchester.

Steph. Brich. Ex archiuis.

1368 In the two & fortith yeare of Edward the third.

The sixteenth daie of June following, he was inthronised at Canturburie without anie shew or pompe, therein following the example of his predecessor Simon Islep. The next yeare he held a synod in Paules church of London the one and twentith of Januarie, in which he made an eloquent, learned, and Latine sermon. In which this synod, Robert Thorpe, John Kneuet, & Thomas Ludlo the kings iustices, did in the kings name demand a tenth for three yeares of the cleargie, towards his charges in warres. But after much talke thereabouts, they hardlie granted the tenth for two yeares. After which, the king not contented therewith, John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the kings son, the earle of Arundell, the erle of Warwike, and the lord Guy Brian entring into the synod, required instantlie that three yeares tenth might be granted, to answer the charge whereat the king had béene in his continuall warres for the glorie of his countrie. Which tenth the cleargie might well paie, and ought not to denie, because they were free and not troubled with anie personall labor of those warres: vpon the which (without contradiction of anie) the whole tenth was granted. In which yeare also, pope Urban the fift did sharplie command this William the archbishop, that he should dissolue all vnions of ecclesiasticall benefices, with their impropriations made to monasteries, and not permit anie to be made hereafter. But this precept was soone forgotten by the popes death, and neuer after renewed.

1369 In the three and fortith yeare of Edward the third Steph. Brich.

1370 In the foure and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

In the time of this archbishop, the monasterie of the Carthusians began in London, at the charges of Michaell Northburge bishop of that citie, and Walter Mannie or Mennie knight, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fiftie, being the foure and twentith yeare of Edward the third; and was in the yeare one thousand three hundred threescore and ten, being the foure and fortith yeare of the said Edward the third, finished by the said Walter Mennie. This done, the king remoueth all spirituall officers, placing temporall men in their roomes: but their gouernment being found far worse than that of the spiritualtie (as was by some, fauoring and following the cleargie, put into the kings mind) they were restored to their former offices. The king held a parlement, during which there was a synod of the cleargie kept at London in Pauls church the foure and twentith daie of Aprill, to which were sent by the king, Robert Thorp chancellor (perhaps the same Robert Thorp, which before is called the kings iustice) and sir Richard Scrope treasuror (whome a learned man somewhat miscalling, doth name Thomas Scrope) both succeeding after the cleargie was remoued. These men required a subsidie of fiftie thousand pounds, to be granted by the cleargie, to such the kings excessiue charges of the warres. But the cleargie shewed that the church was drawne drie by the infinit charge of those warres, and that therefore they were not able to giue anie more, for which cause the kings messenger went awaie that daie, who a few daies following, returned with a more prepared tale, but profited not anie whit the better thereby.

Charterhouse built in London.

1371 In the fiue & fortith yeare of Edward the third.

Polychro. continuat. Ex archiuis.

Whereupon this archbishop William, following the minds of the king and the nobilitie, did proroge the synod from Paules church to the chapell of the Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house, commanding euerie one to be there present. And although manie were absent at the time appointed, yet by the laboring of the duke of Lancaster and of the nobilitie, but especiallie by the speeches of Edward the kings sonne called the Blacke prince (who promised to procure of his father manie liberties to the cleargie) they which were present condescended to the paiment of fiftie thousand pounds. This done, the archbishop William increasing in yeares, was so weake and sickelie of bodie, that he did nothing for the space of two yeares, but rested sicke at home. But in the first yeare of his translation by the kings procurement, he called a synod in the church of Pauls in London, where going vp into the pulpit he made a Latine sermon vpon this theame: *Veritas liberauit nos*. Which when he had ended, he was throughinfirmitie inforced to depart the synod, and in his place to substitute the bishop of London. In which synod there was a subsidie required of the cleargie for the king: but they complained that they were so impouerished and weakened but few yeares past, by their charges to the king, and that the more also, because they were no lesse euerie yeare called vpon by the king than by the pope, that they were not able to succor them, vnlesse his intollerable yoke might be taken from their necks; and that they might with more ease relieue the kings necessitie: with which condition, a yearelie tenth was granted to the king. But William Courtneie then bishop of Hereford, being afterward archbishop of Canturburie, vsing the nobilitie of his kinred, for he was

1374 In the eight and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

soone

sonne to the earle of Deuonshire, did stoutlie offer himselfe in the middest of the senat, and said with a lowd voice, that neither he nor the cleargie of his diocesse would giue anie thing, before the king had remedied those calamities, which the cleargie had so long suffered. The synod thus passed ouer, there were ambassadors sent from the king to the pope, to deale with him, that he should not hereafter make anie prouision or reseruation of the void benefices, that such as were bishops, should fullie inioie the cathedrall and conuentuall churches after the old maner and custome, be confirmed of their metropolitan: and besides, that they should further open to the pope the greeues wherewith the church of England was ouercharged. To whome the pope gaue answer inclosed in writing; whereunto the king would haue written againe by the opinion of the cleargie and of the nobilitie, intreating the pope that he would determine of his requests, but they did not. Whereupon this answer receiued from the pope, it was decreed in parlement, that the cathedrall churches should freelie enioie their elections, and that the king should not by anie meanes hinder the same with his power or praier vnto the pope: but that he should to the vttermost further them with his helpe and authoritie. Which necessarie statute did after but little profit, nor was long kept, although at the first beginning it was receiued in the example of Thomas Arundell chosen bishop of Elie: whose election this William the archbishop did confirme the first kalends of Aprill in his chapell at Otford, consecrating him on the same daie. In which yeare, the fift ides of October, the archbishop being of great yeares and fallen into great sicknes died at Lambeth, when he had gouerned six yeares, eight moneths, and fourteene daies, and was buried in the bodie of the church of Canturburie betweene two pillers, against the tombe of Simon Islep, whereof at this daie I cannot perceiue anie monument of him. In whose life, and at whose request, the vniuersitie of Oxford was by pope Urban the fourth exempted from the iurisdiction of the bishop of Lincolne, and such free power giuen to the scholers to choose their chancellor, that the chancellor forthwith vpon his election, might & did execute his office, without the further admission or confirmation of anie other.

Charterhouse built in London.

1371 In the fiue & fortith yeare of Edward the third.

1375 Math. Parker. 1374 Hist. Elien. epis.

Polychro. continuat. Ex archiuis.

Oxford exempted from power of the Bishop of Lincolne.

Simon Sudburie made archbishop in this sort. After the death of William Witeslete the archbishop, the monks chose a certeine English cardinall at Rome, that had forsaken his countrie; which the king receiued with such displeasure, that he tooke aduise for the banishment of them, aswell out of the kingdome, as out of the monasterie. But pope Gregorie the 11, to reconcile the king and the monks, reiected that election; and by the kings consent gaue the archbishoprike to Simon Sudburie then bishop of London, who by proper name was called Tibold, receiuing that surname of his parents, and the other name of Sudburie from the place of his birth; his fathers name being Nigellus Tibold, of Sudburie in Suffolke, borne of gentlemanlie familie in the parish of saint George. This Simon Sudburie from his youth was brought vp in learning, by means whereof he receiued the degree to be doctor of the lawes, which he studied in France and Italie, being sometime domesticall chapleine to pope Innocent the sixt, and (as saith Matthew Parker) *Causarum in Romana rota auditor*. By which Innocent he was made chancellor of Salisburie by waie of prouision, but after the death of Michaell Norburgh, by like prouision of the pope, made bishop of London, and in the end attained to be bishop of Canturburie, receiuing (for that last translation to Canturburie) his bulls at London the first of June. This archbishop a worthie and liberall person, and a man of great fame, was most wickedlie vpon Tower hill, with manie other great estates, beheaded by those execrable Kentish rebels, Wat Tiler, and his wicked followers. This bishop doing manie good deeds, repared the wals (fallen downe for age) about Canturburie, and first built the west gate thereof, with a college of secular clearks at Sudburie, inriching the same with inheritances when he was bishop of London, and before that he was aduanced to the archbishops see of Canturburie.

Simon Sudburie.

Steph. Brichin. Walsingh.

1374 In the eight and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

1375 In the nine and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

1381 In the fourth yeare of Richard the second. Archiui. Ste. Brichinton.

William Courtneie, borne of a noble house of the Courtneies, being the sonne of Hugh Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, did in his youth aplie the ciuill & canon law, and so became a clerke, obteining three prebends in the three churches, of Bath, Excester, and Yorke. After this, in the reigne of Edward the third, and the rule of Simon Islep bishop of Canturburie, he was made bishop of Hereford, from whense he was translated to London, after that Simon Sudburie was remoued from that see to Canturburie, and from London, following the said Simon, he was after the death of that Simon Sudburie aduanced to the see of Canturburie, being translated thither by Urban the first, through the authoritie of his prouision, not knowing that the monks of Canturburie had chosen him thereunto: who being thus translated, the pope by like prouision gaue the bishoprike of London vnto Robert Braibrooke, the bull of translation of which Courtneie to Canturburie, being publikelie read the ninth of Januarie in Christs church of Canturburie. After which, receiuing his temporalties of the king, and doing his homage therefore, he went to Lambeth, whither came a monke vnto him, sent from the prior and couent of Canturburie, with the archbishops crosse, who the twelft of Januarie deliuered it vnto the archbishop, sitting in his chapell, with these words: *Pater reuerende, nuntius sum summi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, & præcipit, vt ecclesiam suam regendam suscipias, eámque diligas & protegas. In cuius signum nuntij, summi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum.* Which when the archbishop had receiued of the prior, he cast this doubt, whether it were lawfull for him to beare his crosse, before that he had receiued the pall from the pope or no: and vpon that question arose another doubt, which was about the coronation of the queene, belonging to the archbishop, whether he might also do it before he had the pall: of which wonderfull doubt he desired not to be resolued of the lawyers, but of the monks of Canturburie, who easilie dissolued the same, alleging custome therefore, and bringing forth example of others which had vsed the same. And although the archbishop thus persuaded, went with his crosse borne before him; yet he did it not but subtilie, with this caution, that the same was not borne in contempt of the church of Rome: and so on twelft daie after, he crowned the queene at Westminster. The next spring following, he dispatched Thomas Cheineie a worthie knight vnto the pope, to whom and to John Trefnault an Englishman, and maister of the popes palace, he gaue power as his procurators to demand the pall of pope Urban: which obteined, Thomas Cheineie returned, brought the pall, and first gaue it to the bishop of London; who the first of Maie in a great assemblie of people, did with accustomed pompe and solemnitie deliuer the same to the archbishop, sitting in the chapell of his manor of Croidon. These things thus solemnelie done, he first in the administration of his bishoprike did by ecclesiasticall censure appeale the bailiffes of Canturburie by laie power, chalenging the punishment of adulterie, and such like crimes belonging to the clergie;

1381 In the fourth yeare of Richard the second.

William Courtneie.

Verba archiui.

1382 In the fift yeare of Richard the second.

he held a synod in the Frier preachers of London, in which he damned manie of the assertions of Iohn Wickliffe as hereticall and full of errors; whose opinions had not onelie entered into the learneder sort, but also into manie of the common people, and compelled Robert Rig chancellor of Oxford, and Thomas Brigwell professor of diuinitie, being suspected of Wickliffes doctrine, to recant and abiure the same. At what time also by publike sentence, he condemned of heresie, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repinton, professors of diuinitie, and Iohn Ashton maister of arts, because they would not be remoued from Wickliffes opinions: but they appealed to the pope from that sentence, all which notwithstanding, the archbishop (reiecting their appeale) did then excommunicat them. At what time the doctrine of Wickliffe began here to be commanded to be denounced heretical, and the followers thereof to be called heretikes, by the appointment of this bishop at Oxford and at London: for the king ioining himselfe to this spirituall seueritie, gaue authoritie by his letters written to the archbishop, to his suffragans, and to the chancellor of Oxford, to apprehend and imprison all such as were suspected for those opinions: by which means there was great crueltie shewed to such as professed the euangelicall doctrine, and were followers of Wickliffe. Besides which there was also another synod of the cleargie held at Oxford, in which a subsidie was granted to the king by the demand of the lord Hugh Segraue the kings treasuror: at what time the said Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repinton, and Iohn Ashton by oth renounced the opinions of Wickliffe, and were absolued from the excommunication. But Iohn Wickliffe (as hath Matthew Parker, deseruing well for his great skill and trauell in furthering the renewing of antiquities for the benefit of his countrie) hiding himselfe here and there, and auoiding the persecutions, was at length on saint Thomas daie taken with the palsie; who continuing some long time in sickenesse, vntill the feast of saint Siluester, constantlie died in those opinions, which he had dispersed abroad. This archbishop did excommunicat one Richard Ilmonger of Ailesford in Kent, because he brake the liberties of the church (as they were then termed) in that he punished such offenses, as were of right to be corrected by the prelats. But he humblie requiring to be absolued, by oth promised neuer to breake the iurisdiction of the church, and to receiue what punishment so euer the archbishop would laie vpon him for his rashnesse. Whereupon he had penance inioined, first that he should at Westmalling on three market daies be beaten with cudgels in the assemblie of the people, & that done, receiue the like punishment at Maidstone, and at Canturburie, in which last punishment he should go barefot into the church, and offer a taper of wax of fiue pounds weight to the tome of S. Thomas, all which if he did not performe, that then he should run into the danger of his former excommunication. The archbishop which before had molested the Wickliffeans fell now at variance with the erle of Arundell, whose seruants had emptied a poole of the archbishops in his manor of Southmalling, in the diocesse of Chichester, taking awaie the fish thereof. With which the archbishop greatlie moued, commanded the bishop of Chichester to excommunicat the theeues, whom he termed sacrilegers and spoilers of the church of Canturburie, whereupon the earle went to the king, & required that he would take the matter into his hands, whereby he might auoid the execution of that excommunication. For which cause the archbishop wrote to the bishop of Chichester to reuoke the same sentence, when he vnderstood that the king had taken the matter to himselfe. Not long after there was a parlement held at Cambridge in the Carmelit friers, at what time also in the church of saint Maries, there was a synod celebrat by the procurement of the king, who had a tenth granted vnto him on this condition, that himselfe before the kalends of October next should passe with an armie into France. In this yeare sir Iohn Triuet the kings chiefe iustice fell from his horse, and brake his intrals. After this the archbishop determined to make a metropolitane visitation in his prouince: wherefore without contradiction he visited the diocesse of Rochester, Chichester, Bath and Wels. But when he came to Excester, and had begun his visitation, he prorogued the same from daie to daie, from place to place, suspending and hindering the iurisdiction aswell of the bishops as of all other prelats of the diocesse, by his metropolitane iurisdiction, as Simon Mepham his predecessor would haue done before. The bishop of Excester offended therewith, gaue commandement through all his diocesse, that they should not obeie the archbishop in his visitation, and that they should not demand anie ordinarie law or right in anie cause belonging to the clergie, to be ministred vnto them of him or his inferior prelats; further excommunicating all others that did the contrarie: which prohibition and excommunication the archbishop did vndoo by contrarie edict. Whereupon the bishop of Excester did foure times appeale vnto Rome, and fixed his appellations in writing vpon the church doores of Excester. But the archbishop after one sort reiecting them all, went forth in his visitation, citing the bishop by certeine edicts to answer to certeine articles laid against him. Whereupon one of the bishop of Excester his seruants did in the towne of Topsham, or Torsham, take Peter Hill the archbishops messenger, made him eat and swallow downe the parchment and sealed wax, wherein was comprehended the archbishops mandat to cite the bishop of Excester. For the apprehension of whom and punishment whereof (as though they had beene rebels) the king wrote to Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and others, that they should serch them out, and forthwith lead them to the archbishop. Which being so done, they were in this sort punished by the archbishops appointment; first, that they should in the churches of Canturburie, S. Paules of London, and of Excester (on certeine appointed festiuall daies therefore) go in their shirts before the crosse, in the time of procession, with burning tapers in their hands; then that they should sustein and nourish a preest dailie to saie masse at the tome of the earle of Deuonshire; and lastlie, that euerie one of them should paie twentie shillings to repare the wals of Excester; of the execution whereof the deans of Canturburie London, and Excester, should certifie the archbishop vnder their seales.

This done, the archbishop proceeded in the affairs of his bishoprike, and remoued both from his place and order William Bid doctor of law, aduocat of the arches: bicause he had counselled the bishop of Excester against the dignitie of the church of Canturburie. During which, the bishop of Excester did still pursue his appeale to the pope against the archbishop; but when he saw his cause both inferior and weaker, and that the king fauoured the archbishop, he left his appeale and submitted himselfe to his metropolitane; and acknowledging his rashnes against the archbishops, craued pardon and obteined it. At which time also the bishop of Salisburie did take the like courage vpon him, when he was to be visited, determining to resist the archbishop: but he as a man more temperat, thought to proceed more warilie

1388 In the three yeare of Richard the second.

Matt. Parker.

Of these articles and for all the proces, see Registr. Courtneie. fol. 25. Tho. Walsing. Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester.

1383 In the first yeare of Richard the second.

Ex archiuis.

Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell.

Registr. Courtneie. fol 80.

The bishop of Excester refuseth the archbishops visitation.

Archbishop of Canturburie visiteth the diocesse of Salisburie.

warelie therein according to law, than the bishop of Excester did. For when he supposed that the archbishop was onelie supported (for his strength of visitation) by the power of pope Urban: this bishop of Salisburie after the death of Urban, procured from his successor pope Boniface a priuilege for himselfe and his dioceses, that they should not be visited by the authoritie of Urban, supposing that the archiepiscopall and metropolitane dignitie had not beene of value, vnlesse it had beene vnderpropped by the buls of pope Urban. But the archbishop being more skilfull in the law, more grounded by vse and experience and more fauoured both in the English and Romane court, did (when the bishop of Salisburie came to him vnto Croidon, thinking to be exempted by the popes priuilege from visitation, by shewing pope Boniface his buls) by a decree gaue forth that he would visit the bishop of Salisburie by his metropolitane authoritie: further by edict commanding the bishop of Salisburie to obeie his visitation, and at a certeine daie to appeare in the church of his bishoprike of Salisburie. At which daie the bishop of Salisburie so trusting to the hornes of his weake bull, was absent, often appealing from the archbishop, and complaining of the iniurie that he did vnto him, and to his dioceſians. But the archbishop neither fearing nor forbearing the contumacie of this man (with such like moderation as he did the resistance of the bishop of Excester) forthwith excommunicated the bishop of Salisburie, and further accused him of periurie and contempt, bicause that he had departed by appellation and buls of priuileges, from that subiection which he sware to the see of Canturburie at the time of his consecration. Wherupon the bishop of Salisburie (feared with this continuall seueritie, and the example of his brother in function the bishop of Excester) was receiued againe into fauour, as appeareth by these words of Matthew Parker: *Cùm iure succumbendum sibi fuit* (which was the bishop of Salisburie) *appellationibus renunciauit, & clarissimo viro comite Sarisburiensi aliisque nonnullis exhortationibus cùm se subiecisset, archiepiscopi in gratiam receptus est.* Which done, the archbishop did quietlie performe the remnant of his visitation. This yeare after that the archbishop had kept the place fifteene yeares eleuen moneths & two daies, he died at Maidstone the daie before the kalends of August. In which towne (plucking downe the old worke) he founded and built a college of secular preests: besides which he renewed the church of Peham (fallen downe) to the vse of the sicke brethren, next vnto which he built foure new houses, bequeathing to the reparations of the church of Canturburie, with the cloister and wals thereof one thousand marks, and further gaue to that church an image of the Trinitie of siluer and guilt, and six apostles standing about it of the weight of an hundred and sixtie pounds, beside manie books which he left to the same house: he was buried in the church of Canturburie next to the shrine of Thomas Becket on the south side,

Thomas Arundell (the sonne of the earle of Arundell) when he was a yong man applied himselfe to diuinitie, became a spirituall man, and was made archdeacon of Canton. Who being then but a subdeacon, was made bishop of Elie, from thense remooued to Yorke, and at length by the popes prouision aduanced to Canturburie, hauing beene also chancellor of England, of whom it is written that he died for hunger: for being striken with death, he laie long and could neither speake nor swallow, whereby in the end he perished with famine. This man being bishop seauentéene yeares and one moneth, was buried in the north part of the church of Canturburie, who at his entring into the bishoprike, did build the steeple of Canturburie, and placed in the same fiue bels, consecrated *More pontificio*, with these names; the first was called the holie and vndiuided Trinitie; the second, the virgine Marie, the third the angell Gabriell, the fourth S. Blase, and the fift saint John the euangelist.

Bels consecrated.

Henrie Chicheleie bishop of saint Dauids, being chosen of the monks of Canturburie (by the kings licence) to the sée of Canturburie, would not yet accept the same, nor yet disagrée thereunto; but referred the whole matter to the popes determination. Wherevpon pope John the three and twentith, by waie of prouision made the said Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, vnder which title he entered into the bishoprike. This man was borne in Higham Feris in Northamptonshire, and was instructed in the ciuill and canon law in the new college of Oxenford built by William Wickham bishop of Winchester: after which being made doctor of both lawes, he was accepted into the archdeaconrie of Salisburie by the bishop of that sée. Which Henrie in processe of time wiselie dispatching manie affairs for the king, and performing manie ambassages, was by the kings precept aduanced to the bishoprikes first of saint Dauids, and then of Canturburie, receiuing the pall the nine and twentith of Julie by the hands of Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester, which done, he redeemed the halfe yeares reuenues of the sée of Canturburie due to the king during the vacancie of the bishoprike, for the summe of six hundred markes, and held a synod, in which the daie dedicated to S. John of Beuerleie was instituted to be holie or festiuall. After the synod he consecrated bishops, John Wakering to Norwich, Edmund Lacie to Hereford, and John Chandler to Salisburie.

Henrie Chicheleie.

1415

1416

S. John of Beuerleie his daie appointed holie daie.

This bishop shortlie following called another synod at London, in which there was order taken for the prouision and necessarie sustentation of scholers, as writeth the graue man Matthew Parker in these words: *In hac synodo Robertus Gilbert sacræ theologiæ professor Mertonensis collegij Oxonienſ. præses, longa & diserta oratione egit, vt scholaribus, quorum in literarum studijs industria viguit, attribuantur, & ad victum interim necessaria & proponantur maturis præmia: hunc sequutus Thomas Kingston legum doctor, & aduocatus curiæ de arcubus pari facundia pro Cantabrigiensibus interceſit. Quibus suadentibus decretum est, vt ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum patroni, ea vacantia, his qui graduum dignitatibus ab academicis donata sunt, deinceps conferant, gradus & possessionis ratione iuxta beneficiorum census & valores habita. Hoc saluberrimum decretum ab artium magistris atque professoribus, qui sua multitudine reliquos in vniuersitatibus regentes superabant, cùm in scholarium congregatione de eo approbando ageretur, temerè tanquam iuuenili multitudine reiectum & repudiatum est, non alia sanè ratione quàm quòd doctoribus, aliisque, quibus ordine & loco essent inferiores, in adipiscendis beneficijs pares esse non poterant.* Thus much Matthew Parker, after which in the first yeere of his consecration, this Chicheleie did hold an other synod at London, wherein amongst other things Richard Walker a priest of Worcester being giltie of witchcraft, did publikelie at Paules crosse in London doo penance therefore, and abiure the same, openlie burning his books and instruments of such arts. Then in the eight yeare of his consecration he assembled another synod at Paules in London; in which the clergie granted to the king a tenth, in consideration whereof the king bestowed on them this priuilege, that no purueior of his house should touch the goods, or enter the possessions of the clergie, with manie other things set downe by Matthew Parker, which were: *Vt clerici in foro regio capitalium criminum postulati datis fideiussoribus iudicio sisti carceribus liberentur: tertiò ut*

1417

Prouision for the scholers of Oxford and Cambridge.

1419

1421

Contention betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the bishop of Salisburie, about the visitation of the archbishop.

Regist. Courtnele. fol 86.

The bishop of Excester disobeieth the archbishops visitation.

Regist. Court. fol. 146.

1395.

A college of preists founded in Maidstone.

Thomas Arundell.

1396

Thom. Gascoi. in dictionario theologico.

Archbishop of Canturburie visiteth the Diocese of Salisburie.

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presbyteri castrati felonum id est homicidarum pœna afficerentur. Tum in eadem synodo Gulielmus Tailor liberalium artium professor, qui in Wigornien. diœcesi neque sanctos neque Christum Iesum ratione humanitatis esse pro salute christiana inuocandos docuit, quoniam eadem & similia dogmata ante coram Thoma Arundel Cantuarien. archiepisc. confessus & detestatus est, tanquam in hæresim relapsus, clericali ordine atque gradu priuatus, & laicali potestati traditus est. Ad hanc autem synodum Iohannes Rikinghal Cantabrigien. vniuersitatis cancellarius quoniam abfuit, ab archiepiscopo citatus venit, qui se cum Iohanne Castel Oxonien. cancellario coniunxit, illúdque de conferendis beneficijs Cantabrigiæ vel Oxonij studentibus decretum, quod ab artium (vt diximus) professoribus ante receptum & admissum non fuit, renouari impetrauerunt. Hinc autem doctis viris concesso à synodo præmio, impuri indoctique fratres diu restiterunt. Sed Henricus quintus rex literarum studio ductus, contra petulantem fratrum instantiam, ad synodum de eo interponendo decreto scripsit, idque in parlamento postea confirmauit. So farre Matthew Parker in the life of this Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie. Another synod was holden by this archbishop, wherein it was decreed, that none should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, vnlesse he had taken some degree of the ciuill or canon law in the vniuersities of Oxford or Cambridge. Beside which, in a synod after holden, it was enacted, that the feast of S. Frideswid should be kept holie daie. Whereunto we will adde an other like synod held at London by this archbishop, being the last except one which he kept. In this synod was question touching bearing of the charge of the bishops going to the councell of Basill by all the clergie; but the inferior prelats would not impart anie thing thereunto, for it was no charge to be laid vpon them, because that bishops and abbats had onelie places in generall councels; wherefore there was foure pence of the pound onelie leuied of all bishops and abbats to defraie the expense of such as went vnto that generall councell. To which synod thus held at London did Eugenius the pope direct his letters, wherein he declared, that he had giuen the bishopzike of Elie by waie of prouision to Lodouike archbishop of Rone. For (as saith a writer) *Fuit tum Philippus Morgan senex egregiè cordatus Elien. ordine 23, qui vitam in senectute tam diuturnam produxit, vt papæ commendationem, quam tota tunc synodus execrata est, morte Lodouici qui ante eum obijt irritam frustraret.* But truelie sauing correction (which I speake in reuerence to that learned booke) I suppose it was not so: for in the catalog of the bishops of Elie, Lodouike Lisburne archbishop of Rone succeeded Philip Morgan in the said bishopzike, and held the same after the death of Morgan six yeares, and so manie moneths, if the records be true which I haue seene of that see. To this archbishop did William Lindwood dedicat the archiepiscopall constitutions which he did gather togither, digest in good order, and expound with learned comments; this William Lindwood being first officiall of the court of the arches, after lord keeper of the priue seale, and at length aduanced to the bishopzike of saint Dauids.

1430 1434 1438

William Lindwood made the archiepiscopall constitutions.

Chicheleie built a college and hospitall where he was borne.

This archbishop Chicheleie, desirous to leaue some memories of charitable works, did in Higham ferries, where (as is before said) he was borne, build a statelie college, in which he placed secular clerks and prebends, indued with benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities. Beside which also in the same towne, he erected an hospitall for poore men, and procured much land and reliefe to be giuen thereunto, which after was augmented by his brethren Robert and William Chicheleie citizens of London. With the finishing of which building, the bishop did not yet rest as one satisfied therewith, for he did also in Oxford erect a famous college for learning called Allsoules college, and an other college there also called saint Barnard, which was afterward increased and augmented with liuings and lands by sir Thomas White knight citizen and maior of London, and S. Johns college. Moreouer, he repared the librarie at Canturburie, and furnished the same with books of all sorts, who during his life builded his owne towne wherein he would be buried in the church of Canturburie by the consent of the monks; and first commanded the procurators of the court of the arches to be apparelled (whilest the iudge did sit) in that attire which the bachellors of art do vse in the vniuersitie. This worthie archbishop died the twelfe daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and three, being the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, after that he gouerned the same see nine and twentie yeares and one moneth, being buried in the north part of the presbyterie or chaire of Canturburie in that towne which he had made in his life time, with this epitaph, which is there yet to be seene:

Chicheleie builded Allsoules college and saint Barnard college, now saint Johns college in Oxford.

Chicheleie repared the librarie of Canturburie, and builded his towne.

Hic iacet Henricus Chichelee legum doctor, quondam cancellarius Sarum, qui anno octauo Henrici quarti regis Anglorum ambasiator transmissus, in ciuitate Senense per manus eiusdem papæ in Meneuensem episcopum consecratus est: hic etiam Henricus anno secundo Henrici quinti in hac sancta ecclesia in archiepiscopum pastoraliter à Iohanne papa 23 ad eandem translatus est, qui obijt An. Dom. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo tertio, mensis Aprilis die 12.

Cœtus sanctorum concorditer iste precetur,
Vt Deus ipsorum meritis sibi propitietur.

John Stafford, sonne of the earle Stafford, was borne at Abbatsburie in Dorsetshire, did follow the studie of the lawes, who being in the end made doctor thereof, did vse the office of an aduocat in the court of the arches, whom Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie did substitute to be his vicar generall in spirituall causes, and hearer of matters perteining to the ecclesiasticall court: adding further to these publike functions, the deanrie of saint Martins in London, and the prebend of Merton belonging to the church of Lincolne. Whereupon this Stafford being knowne vnto king Henrie the fift, was called to the priuie councell, and had the keeping of the priuie seale. Then was he made tresuror of England, deane of Wels, and canon of the church of Salisburie, being after the death of king Henrie the fift aduanced to the bishopzike of Bath (by waie of prouision) by Martine the pope. Which done, he was chancellor of England, and by Eugenius the pope translated from Bath to the archbishopzike of Canturburie. Who receiuing the buls of his translation in the bishops house of Bath, went the next daie to the king at Eltham, where he did his homage for his temporalties, and receiued the pall the three and twentith of August sent from the said Eugenius, and deliuered vnto him by the bishop of Rochester. But because I will speake more of this man in another large booke of the liues of the chancellors of England, as I will also all other archbishops of Canturburie, which haue possessed that place, I will saie no more of him in this discourse; but that being taken with an ague in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and two, at Lambeth, he went to Maidstone, where (after that he had beene bishop eight yeares, ten moneths, and fiftene daies) he departed the world. Two daies after whose death his bodie was caried to Canturburie by the monks clothed in white, being after laid in the ground, neere to the place on which happened the martyrdome of Thomas Becket before the new chapell of the virgine Marie, about whose image and vnder whose feete are written these verses in manie

1443

John Stafford.

places

places defaced, the brasse being stollen awaie, as is yet to be seene in the church of Canturburie: which epitaph although it be vnperfect, yet I will not refuse to set it downe to perpetuate the same, least in following time it might be all spoiled, as some part thereof alredie is. About the tombe are these verses:

Aurea lux modico præsul iam conditur isto,
Ecclesiæ splendor, gloria, lumen, apex,
Stafford vt fidus Anglos sua lumina sparsit,
Regni dum celsis fungitur officijs,
Nam cancellarius fuit ac thesaurarius æquus,
Heu nequeo———

Linea dulce indicant nonulla obliterari.

———dolet,
M. quingenteno quater hunc dempto duodeno,
Hic anno Domini morte ruit celeri,
Vrbani festo, sibi Christe quies precor esto,
Defunctus mundo viuit & ille polo.
Nosce te ipsum.

Under whose feet also are these following verses placed, being a dialog betweene the grauestone and the passenger, expressing his person and honor:

Cuius fuit nunties, quem celas saxea moles?
Stafford antistes fuerat dictúsque Iohannes,
Qua sedit sede marmor quæso simul ede,
Pridem Bathoniæ regni totius, & inde
Primas egregius, pro præsule funde precatus,
Aureolam gratus hunc det de virgine natus.

John Kempe. John Kempe borne at Wie in Kent, being doctor of the law, was made archdeacon of Durham, after which, in the second yeare of Henrie Chichleie archbishop of Canturburie, he was made deane of the arches: then, as saith Matthew Parker in the life of this Kempe, *Normaniæ ducatus præfectus prætorio fuit.* From thense he was chosen bishop of Rochester, who sitting there three yeares, was translated to Chichester; which he casting behind also, was in the yeare following remooued to London, where when he had remained foure yeares, he was made archbishop of Yorke; and lastlie by the popes prouision and the monks election aduanced to the see of Canturburie; being also made cardinall first of the 1452 title of saint Balbine, and then of the title of saint Rufine, by which he had as manie ecclesiasticall honors and promotions as might be, vnlesse that he had beene pope. He died at Lambeth, after that he had beene bishop of Canturburie one yeare and fiue and twentie weeks, the eleuenth kalends of Aprill. 1453 1454 as saith Onuphrius. See the cardinals, pag. 1167. After which in the kalends of Aprill his bodie was caried to Canturburie, where his funerals were performed by the bishops of London and Rochester and the monks of Canturburie, and was buried betweene the archbishops seat and the tombe of John Stratford, at the south doore of the chaire. In whose funerall almes, euerie one of the church of Canturburie that was in holie orders, had thirteene shillings & foure pence giuen vnto him, and the others but six shillings and eight pence. Which his benignitie and liberalitie is recorded to none other end, but to shew that he did in these manie yeres and manie remoues to so manie honors, gather great riches, wherewith he aduanced his kinred, preferring some in Kent to the order of knighthood, and others to other dignities. Of this man shall be more spoken in my large booke of the chancellors of England, at this time concluding this discourse of him with this epitaph, being yet extant on his tombe in Canturburie: *Hic iacet reuerendissimus in Christo pater & dominus Iohannes Kemp, tituli sancti Rufini sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyter cardinalis, qui obijt* 20 *die mensis Martij anno Domini* 1453, *cuius animæ, &c.*

Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie, vpon licence for that cause obteined of the king, was chosen archbishop of Canturburie by the monks the ninth kalends of Maie in the feast of saint George; the same being knowne to the pope in the kalends of June, who forthwith by his buls confirmed him in the same: of whom I haue spoken in my treatise of the cardinals, pag. 1167, who died in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and six, after 1454 that he had béene bishop of Canturburie two and thirtie yeres, and was buried in a sumptuous tombe of marble and alabaster, situat on the north side of the high altar of the church of Canturburie, with this epitaph: *Hic iacet reuerendus in Christo pater Thomas Bourchier sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, tituli sancti Ciriaci in Thermis, presbyter cardinalis, archiepiscopus huius ecclesiæ, qui obijt* 30 *die mensis Martij, anno Dom.* 1486, *cuius animæ, &c.* He gaue to the vniuersitie of Cambridge one hundred and twentie pounds. Thomas Bourchier.

John Worton borne at Bere in Dorsetshire, did applie his studie at Oxford, who increasing in the ciuill and canon law, was after an aduocat in the arches: then he was by Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie endowed with manie spirituall liuings, and commended to king Henrie the first, who made him of his councell. After the death of which king, he was also in like sort preferred to the councell of Edward the fourth, who made him bishop of Elie, and one of his executors. But after, being committed to the tower by Richard the third, and then deliuered to the custodie of the duke of Buckingham, from whom he fled beyond the sea, he returned to England in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, and was made chancellor of England, & then archbishop of Canturburie, being translated thither from Elie by pope Innocent, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure 1486 hundred foure score & six. In whose first yeare of the archbishoprike he held a synod at London. Then (after that he had ruled the same archsee of Canturburie thirteene years) he died, and was buried in the place which he had builded therefore in his life time. 1499 After the death of this Worton the monks of Canturburie (by licence therefore obteined of the king) required Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, to be their archbishop of Canturburie: but he was consumed with the pestilence (which in one yere deuoured thirtie thousand in England, amongst which 1500 was Thomas Rotheram archbishop of Yorke) before he had receiued his confirmation from the pope. After whose death, Richard Fox was aduanced to Winchester, Thomas Sauage bishop of London was translated to Yorke, and William Warham obteined the see of London. John Worton.

Henrie Deane, being a monke and ruler of the monasterie of Langton, was (when Perkin Warbecke the counterfet king & rebell, supported by the Irishmen, did seeke to inuade England, & to displace Henrie the seuenth) by especial choise therefore sent into Ireland by the said Henrie the seuenth, and made chancellor of that Iland. Who going thither with sir Edward Poinings then lord deputie, did driue Perkin Warbecke into the boggie & inaccessible parts of Ireland amongst the wild Irish, and speedilie brought the other part of the Iland to obedience. During the time of which his office in that realme, he was in his absence created bishop of Bangor for the nerenesse of that place vnto Ireland: which bishoprike he did almost restore to his full perfection, and to all such lands as manie by force and other waies had taken from it, which see being by such meanes but poore & maimed of hir liuings, caused the kings of England alwaies to endow the bishops thereof with some wealthie abbeie for the better Henrie Deane. The decaie of the bishoprike of Bangor.

better maintenance of his estate. Whereupon when the bishops of that see for more profit were absent from the bishoprike, and remained alwaies at such abbeie, neglecting the bishoprike, the gentlemen neere vnto it did by little and little chalenge & hold part of those lands to themselues, whereby in time this bishoprike became verie small, and so continued when this Henrie Deane came vnto it. But this bishop being verie wise and carefull, and one that looked further into matters than his negligent predecessors were accustomed, did find out what lands were so deteined, who held them, by what right, and how long they had so done. Whereupon in conclusion he got almost all the same lands to the see againe, by the helpe of the common people which supported him therein, for the declaration whereof I thinke it not vnfit to set downe the maner thereof, somewhat after this sort.

He restoreth the bishoprike of Bangor to the lands lost.

There is on the north part of the Ile of Mona or Mon (now called Angleseie, but falslie in Polydor made to be the Ile of Man) an Iland placed betweene the promontories of Cornetí, and that head which is called *Caput sanctum*, or Holie head: this Iland is in the old Brittish tong termed ynys i. Moyls Honnicit, that is, The Iland of porpasses or other beasts and sea foules, and obteining that name because of the great plentie of sea beasts and birds that were taken there. Now this Iland being sometime, and that anciently belonging to the bishoprike of Bangor, this Henrie Deane found possessed with vnrightfull owners. Whereupon, when the inhabitants would not restore the same, but did with force resist him: he setting vpon them by sea and land, did with strength recouer the same, and redeliuer it to the bishoprike of Bangor. Besides which, he bestowed great charge in that place, in reparing the church and bishops palace there: both which long before in the time of Henrie the fourth were destroied with fire by the rebell Owen Glendor. After which, this Henrie Deane was remoued from Bangor to Salisburie, who departing from that bishoprike of Bangor, did yet leaue there the miter, and the pastorall crosier to his successor Peneus, with this condition, that he should proceed in the reparing and restitution of the church of Bangor as he had alreadie begun, which was accordinglie performed by the successor.

Matt. Parker *in vita Henrici Dener. pag.* 346.

After that this Henrie was translated to Salisburie, he remained not long there, but was after the death of Morton aduanced to the see of Canturburie, in which yeare, pope Alexander did at Rome celebrat the yeare of iubile; which iubile and the yeare ended, the same pope sent the pall to the archbishop of Canturburie by Adrian of Castilia his secretarie, which the bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie (hauing power therefore from the pope) did deliuer vnto the bishop at Lambeth. Besides these things, there happened nothing worthie the remembrance in the time of this archbishop: who after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie two yeares, died at Lambeth the fiftéenth daie of Februarie, from whense his bodie was brought along by the riuer of Thames (with three and thirtie mariners all clothed in blacke) vnto Feuersham in a barge, adorned after the mourning fashion, with burning torches and wax lights: which bodie was from Feuersham also by the same men with like funerall manner caried in a coffin to Canturburie, where he was buried by the same place on which Thomas Becket was killed, as the said Henrie had before appointed by his testament; in which he bequeathed a siluer image of saint John the euangelist, of one hundred fiftie and one ounces, which at this daie after fiue shillings the ounce amounteth to the summe of two and thirtie pounds fiftéene shillings: further bequeathing fiue hundred pounds towards the charges of his funerall. In the performance whereof, Thomas Wolseie (who was then his chaplen) with Richard Gardiner (another of his chaplens) both were by his executors appointed ouersées for his said buriall, which they executed verie sumptuouslie, setting this epitaph vpon him.

1500
1501
1502

Sub hoc marmore iacet corpus reuerendissimi in Christo patris & domini, domini Henrici Deane, quondam prior prioratus de Langhtona, deinde Banchorensis, ac successiue Sarum episcopi, postremò verò huius almæ ecclesiæ metropolitanus archiepiscopalis, qui diem suum clausit extremum apud Lambith, 15 die mensis Februarij, anno 1502, & suæ translationis ad hanc sedem anno secundo, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

William Warham borne of a gentlemanlie familie in Hampshire, was brought vp in Winchester schoole, who being after sent to Oxford to a college of Wickhams foundation, did there in his adolescencie applie the ciuill law, and atteining to the degree of doctor therein, was after maister of the rolles, chancellor to Henrie the seauenth, and ambassador into Burgundie to Margaret duchesse of that countrie, about the remouing of hir from the defense of Perkine Warbecke. Next he was made bishop of London, chosen to that place (as saith a record of that see) in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three, and after remoued to Canturburie in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and fiue, as a booke belonging to that bishoprike of London doth affirme. But Matthew Parker saith, that after the death of Deane he was remoued to Canturburie in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three, who receiuing his pall of the pope, was the ninth of March, which fell in Lent, inthronised in Canturburie, after the most statelie and pompious maner that might be, the whole order whereof was in a roll set out and printed by Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie. william warham.

1503
1504
1532

This bishop going to Canturburie, tooke vp his lodging in the personage house of S. Stephans, belonging to Warham archdeacon of Canturburie, and brother to this archbishop: vpon which the archdeacon Warham had before bestowed great cost, which house comming afterward to sir Christopher Hales knight, who added somewhat thervnto, is now in the yere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore & six, in the possession of sir Roger Manwod knight, chiefe baron of the exchéker, who hath not onelie there built certeine almesrouses, but also greatlie augmented the said house with statelie buildings, aswell of places of necessarie offices, as also of state, and interteinement of strangers. At this house (I saie) did this archbishop rest himselfe, where he was taken with a deadlie disease, and being now verie old, did there (after he had gouerned the church of Canturburie eight and twentie years) depart this life, leauing his bodie to be caried to Canturburie, and there to be buried in a small chapell which he had built in his life time, besides that place where Thomas Becket was slaine in the church of Canturburie.

Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, of an ancient & worshipfull familie of the Cranmers, was by licence obteined from king Henrie the eight (whose chaplen he was) chosen archbishop of Canturburie. But Clement the seuenth then pope of Rome (who much doubted the kings mind and fauor towards that see) was vncerteine what to do, either to receiue or reiect Cranmer for archbishop of Canturburie. At length, writing more mildlie to the king than he was accustomed, he besought him to defend Cranmer chosen to the see of Canturburie: but this labor succeeded with no good effect. For the Thomas Cranmer. Regist. Cranm. fol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

the king minding to abolish the authoritie of the pope, did determine to nobilitat the church of Canturburie, and to restore the rights of the English prouinces without anie subiection to Rome. But yet the pope carefull of Cranmers obedience, and of the kings fidelitie to that see, easilie granted vnto Cranmer, that he should be consecrated of what three bishops he would; in which grant he inserted the old oth that the bishops made to the pope: which if he did not performe, he both excommunicated Cranmer then to be consecrated, and the bishop which should consecrat him. But he in his consecration before faithfull witnesses (as saith Matthew Parker) and publike notaries, did protest that the same oth onelie grew by a custome of Rome, and not of christian necessitie, and that he would not fall from the faith of a subiect due to his king by force of that oth; for which cause the oth being slightlie read ouer, he receiued his pall and consecration of the bishops of Lincolne, Excester, & Assaph; which done, taking an oth of due obedience to the king, he receiued his temporalities, paieng nine hundred duckets for his buls.

1533

This Cranmer thus made archbishop, did (beyond the opinion of manie) men by his authoritie enter the synod begun in the time of his predecessor Warham, and continued after his death by the monks of Canturburie, which had appointed Stokeslie bishop of London to be president thereof, during the vacancie of the bishoprike of Canturburie. At whose comming thither, the kings mariage with the ladie Katharine was againe called in question, which was, whether it be a prohibition of the diuine law vndispensable by the pope, that the brother shall not marie the wife of his brother carnallie knowne, he dieng without issue. Which matter was caried to the lower assemblie of the synod to debat: in the which, fourtéene did affirme, and seuen did denie the same conclusion. One doubted of it, and another said it was not a thing ordeined by the diuine law, yet dispensable by the pope. Amongst the superior part of the synod (in which the iudgements of the vniuersities of Bononia, Pauia, and Paris, touching that matter were recited) that controuersie moued (betweene the bishops Stokeslie of London and Fisher of Rochester) touching the same, did win all the fathers (which were two hundred and sixtéene, either personallie, or else by their procurator) ninetéene onelie excepted, to agrée to the iudgement of the vniuersities, as hath Matthew Parker.

But to the end this matter might be void of all controuersie, aswell of right as of fact: an other question did arise, whether the carnall copulation betweene prince Arthur and quéene Katharine were sufficientlie proued: but that was referred to such as were skilfull in the lawes and the canons: who all (except fiue or six) did allow the copulation, being after embraced by all the synod, except by the bishop of Bath and Wels: which done, both the parlement and the synod were for a time prorogued. After which, the king sent messengers to the ladie Katharine, to persuade hir willinglie to depart from the king, considering the determination of the vniuersities, and the opinions of the diuines and lawiers of England, and to be contented with the dower of prince Arthur. But she continuing stedfast in hir determination, answered that she would not be dissolued from that band, which was knit by the pope through the procurement of hir father Ferdinand. Which message inforced the king, considering the league betweene the pope & the emperor, more speedilie and vehementlie to abrogat the popes authoritie out of England; least they two ioining against him, the one in taking the part of his aunt, and the other in defending the dispensation granted from the see of Rome, might take occasion to molest the king of England therefore. Whereupon king Henrie the eight, to ioine in strength with some one great estat, that they two might equall the pope and the emperor, made a new league with the French king; and that the rather, because he heard that the pope and the king would méete the next summer at Marselles.

For which cause more fullie to vnderstand the mind of the French king, it was concluded betweene the legats of both nations, that the kings shuld talke together on the borders of both their realms, betweene Calis & Bullongne, for so a stronger amitie might be ioined betweene them. Which done accordinglie, K. Henrie after that he had declared some detracting dooings, & the popes delaies, would haue persuaded the French king to haue abolished the popes authoritie out of the dominions of France; and that if he could not safelie do it (being hindred by the iniurie of the time) that then he would faithfullie obserue this begun and continued league betweene them, and not ioine with the pope and emperor against him. Whereunto the French agreed, in respect of the obseruation of the league, shewing also a desire in himselfe to banish the popes authoritie, which he would performe as soone as he might, considering that the power of the confederat pope and emperor was not to be feared, so long as they two continued in this amitie. For if the pope (said he) be banished England, France, and Germanie, we shall driue him to that streict, that he must of necessitie serue as the chapleine of the emperor; which speech ended, they went to Bullongne, where they were banketted; from whense the French king brought the king of England to Calis, where the next daie the league was againe confirmed, and the French returned to Paris, and the English to London. At whose returne the parlement and synod did againe begin, in which quéene Katharine was by the law of the land separated from the king, and after by the bishops of Canturburie, London, Winchester, and Lincolne diuorsed from him at Dunstable. Whereupon the king maried the ladie Anne Bullen, mother to the most worthie quéene Elisabeth. In which yeare also, both by decree of parlement & synod, the popes authoritie was wholie banished out of England, and a question moued in the same synod, whether the bishop of Rome hath greater iurisdiction ouer England giuen to him in the scripture than anie other strange bishop hath. At what time it was agreed vpon by all the fathers in the higher synod, that the pope had not by the word of God anie authoritie in England: whereunto all the inferior synod consented in like maner, except one which doubted thereof, and foure which did attribute to the pope vniuersall power in the ecclesiasticall administration. After which, it was by the same synod decreed, that the archbishop of Canturburie should not be called the legat of the apostolike see, but in place therof should be named the primat and metropolitan of all England: of all which dooings the archbishop did certifie the king by publike instrument, written by a notarie. Whereupon it was decreed in the parlement, that no appellations should be from thenceforth made to Rome: after which, the parlement and synod were prorogued vntill the next yeare.

whether the bishop of Rome hath greater iurisdiction ouer England than any other strange bishop.

And because manie bookes were by the pontificall authoritie (being banished) printed and dispersed abroad, the synod first censured them, and determined to request the king that the bible might be turned into English, whereby it might easilie be discerned what was consonant to the word of God. Against

1535

The bible turned into English.

gainst which Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, being of the kings priuie councell, did secretlie labor as much as in him did lie. But by the fauor and intreatie of queene Anne, it was obteined that the English bible should be printed, and placed in euerie church in some conuenient roome, whither the people might come to read it at their pleasure: which bible was the first time printed in Paris, at what time Edmund Boner bishop of London was then in France for the king: to which Boner the charge and ouersight thereof was committed. But these proceedings of the king tooke not such effect then, as they did in the following time of king Edward, because that the ladie Anne Bullen, who mightilie fauored these causes, was shortlie after beheaded. Upon which putting the bible in English, the higher synod of England decreed (to the end that all strife and contention might be auoided which should rise in disputation vpon diuine matters) that none of the vnlearned multitude should dispute of the catholike faith, the like whereof was by parlement established with these lawes, that the king ought to be supreame head of the church of England, that the clergie of England should be subiect to the king, that nothing hereafter vnder anie pretense should be paied out of England to the pope or to the court of Rome, that bishops should be consecrated within the realme, that all other things should be done here which were vsed to be done at Rome, and that the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiasticall benefices should for euer after be paied to the prince. At which time the popes authoritie, which had before continued in England nine hundred yeares and more, being thought inuincible, was easilie reiected and ouerthrowne. But yet all the relikes of the Romane lawes were not fullie taken awaie, vntill the time of king Edward the first, who being borne about this time, had to his godfathers, and godmother, this Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Northfolke, and the princesse Marie his sister the kings daughter. Now vpon these things thus by parlement established, there arose a great iar amongst the members of the Romane church, and the professors of the kings supremasie touching the same. Wherfore was assigned Thomas Cromwell, a man of great wit through much experience, to be his vicar generall, who with Thomas Cranmer, gouerned the church of England, then tossed with so doubtfull doctrine, that the Romane power could not in his time take hold thereof. At what time Cromwell was placed by the king, to sit in the conuocation house, because he suspected the fidelitie of the bishops, least they would call backe their minds, concerning the supremasie, whereto they were so hardlie drawen to consent. But afterwards, some willing to cleare themselues of that slacknesse in admitting the kings supreame power, there stepped forth Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, which set forth a booke of true obedience, wherein he was most far from the pope; and attributed the chiefest power to the prince, to gouerne the church of England next vnder God. Also Tunstall, Stokesleie, and Longland, bishops of Durham, London, and Lincolne did stronglie defend the same in their publike sermons before the king. And Edmund Boner after bishop of London, but then archdeacon of Leicester, that made the preface to that booke of Gardiner, was sent to Rome as the kings ambassador, to renounce the popes authoritie, for which cause he was deare vnto the lord Cromwell, vntill that he was after made bishop of London.

That none of the vnlearned multitude should dispute of the catholike faith.

1536

Thomas Cromwell vicar generall of the king.

Boner sent to Rome to renounce the popes authoritie.

The chiefe disposing of all ecclesiasticall causes thus committed to these two, the archbishop Cranmer, and the lord Cromwell, there was one other synod called in the nones of June, in which the lord Cromwell as the kings vicar generall required to haue a place assigned vnto him, to whome the archbishop gaue the roome next vnto himselfe. In which synod also there was a booke composed by the clergie, assigning manie causes wherefore the king should not be present in generall councels of the clergie, which booke subscribed by all them, the lord Cromwell did approue by the sentence of the king. And because the abolishing of the popes authoritie grew in the time of this archbishop, it shall not be vnfit in this place to shew where this Cranmer (before he entered into the gouernement of the church, and of the common wealth) was borne, and how he was bred vp. This Thomas Cranmer therefore was borne at Arlecton, a towne in Nottinghamshire in the prouince of Yorke, of a gentlemanlie familie, for there is yet in Lincolneshire a place called at this daie of his name, Cranmer hall, which belonged to his ancestors, the ensigne and armes of which familie do shew (as saith Matthew Parker) that he came out of Normandie with the conqueror, which was proued in the reigne of king Henrie the eight by a certeine noble man of France, called also Cranmer, being with others sent ambassador hither into England, bearing the same armes, whom Thomas Cranmer the archbishop of Canturburie did inuite to a statelie banket, to the end that he might of him inquire out the originall of his gentilitie and armes: and vpon inquisition made by the heralds, it was found that they both had one root and originall of gentilitie, and that their armes were not different in anie point.

The king not to be present in the generall councels of the clergie.

The birth of Cranmer.

The armes, antiquitie, and pedegree of Cranmer.

This Thomas Cranmer the archbishop, being the sonne of Thomas Cranmer of Arlecton, and of Agnes his wife, daughter to Laurence Hatfield of Willoughbie esquier (this second Thomas being son of John Cranmer of Arlecton, and of Jane his wife, the daughter of John Marshall of Mulleham esquier; that John being the sonne of one other John Cranmer, which maried Isabell the daughter and heire of William Allenton or Arlecton, the sonne of Simon the sonne of Reginold Allenton knight) was by the especiall care of his father diligentlie brought vp in his yong yeares in learning. Whose schoole maister (by his ouer much seueritie) did in his childish age so feare and daunt his flexible and gentle mind, that all his life after he felt his memorie and readinesse of wit to be much weakened. But his father, to the end that he should not vtterlie cast awaie studie (as one that lothed not learning) did permit him to mingle hunting, hawking, shooting, riding, and other exercises of pastimes with his learning. With which when he being archbishop would recreat his mind from grauer matters, he so vsed the same, that none of his familie could manage his horsse, or hunt or hawke more cunninglie, who (although he were weake eied) would yet in bending his bow artificiallie strike a wild beast. From this his information in his yong yeares, he came to Cambridge to Jesus college, where he was made master of arts. Now because he had maried a wife, he was inforced to leaue the college, in respect that the statutes of the house did alow none to be maried. But he not yet forsaking his studie, did frequent the publick schooles, disputations and lectures in an other house of Cambridge called Buckingham college, and for that cause considering his learning and life, he had the salarie of a reader appointed him, whereby he taught for publike reward, and releeued his wiues necessitie. All which notwithstanding, because wealth did not sufficientlie abound, he was constreined to prouide food and lodging for his wife in an inne there in Cambridge called the Dolphine, for

Cranmer maried his first wife.

Cranmer hath the salarie of a reader in the vniuersitie of Cambridge.

for the mistresse of that house was of kindred vnto him, to which place he did often resort for his wiues sake, which was the cause whie his enimies reported that he was vnlearned, and brought vp in an inne and not in the schooles. But the next yeare after the mariage, his wife died in childbed, after whose death he was restored to his old place in Jesus college, being then accounted so learned, as writeth Matthew Parker, that when cardinall Woolseie began to build that goodlie college at Oxford called Christes church, and determined to furnish the same with lerned men gathered out of all the realme, he required Cranmer to make one of the societie of his college. But Cranmer when he was now vpon his iorneie towards Oxford, was admonished by some of his frends that met him, that sith he had giuen ouer all other sciences, and onelie bent himselfe to diuinitie, that he ought in the same rather to follow humilitie than magnificence, and for that cause should not depart from Jesus college, as a more commodious place for his purpose. Wherefore turning backe, he was shortlie after made diuinitie lecturer, then doctor of diuinitie, and appointed one of the three, which had the examination of all such as were to take degree in the studie of diuinitie.

The king not to be present in the generall councels of the cleargie.

The birth of Cranmer.

The armes, antiquitie, and pedegree of Cranmer.

Cranmer made diuinitie lecturer in Cambridge.

These things thus passing forward, he was brought to king Henrie the eight, about the matter of the kings marriage (before spoken of) with queene Katharine. And being the kings ambassador to pope Clement the seauenth, and to the emperour Charles the fift, he was made by the pope generall penitentiarie of England, & by the king archdeacon of Canton. But when (as we said before) the affaires about the validitie of the said marriage of the king was laid vpon him, he taried at Norimberg (where he fell in companie with Osiander, and there he married his second wife) so long as the emperour was in the warres against the Turke besieging Vienna. After which, when the emperour had put the Turke to flight, and that Cranmer was to follow Cesar into Spaine, he left his wife with hir kindred in Germanie, vntill he returned into England. When he was come into England, he was vpon the death of Warham (as is before said) made archbishop of Canturburie. Then Cromwell, who was the kings vicegerent, wrote to Cranmer to call a synod, into which when Cromwell had entred, he declared that it was the kings pleasure, that all matters should be reduced to the rule of the scripture, and that all things should be taken out of the church, which were not supported by the authoritie of the word of God. Whereupon they began with the sacraments, touching which Cromwell demanded of Alexander Alesius a Scot, whome he had brought into the councell to speake his mind, what his opinion was: who concluded, that by the appointment of God there were but two sacraments, baptisme and the supper, against whome Stokesleie bishop of London did earnestlie contend, approuing seauen sacraments. Whereupon the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Lincolne, Bath, Chester, and Norwich did follow the opinion of Stokesleie. To answer whom Cranmer had a speech of the sacraments of humane traditions, of solelife, and other things, affirming that nothing ought to be determined in synods, but things proued by scriptures, and that such hunting after words and mens opinions, was to be left to sophisters in the schooles. To whome Fox bishop of Hereford, who was late come out of Germanie (being sent thither ambassador by the king) did ioine himselfe with the bishops of Salisburie, Elie, and Worcester. By which discourse of this synod, Cranmer and Cromwell found out who were bent to the Roman religion, & who would imbrace the contrarie.

Cranmer sent ambassador to the pope and to the emperour.

Cranmer married his second wife at Norimberg.

1537

Controuersie in the synod about the sacraments.

Cranmer married his first wife.

Cranmer hath the salarie of a reader in the vniuersitie of Cambridge.

Whereupon the king by the councell of this prelat Cranmer, tooke awaie all pilgrimages, and ouerthrew their chapels. And because authoritie was giuen to him both by synod of the cleargie, and parlement of the temporaltie for visitation and correction of the church of England, he appointed visitors throughout the realme, which should search out the state, condition, and maner of the monks and monasteries, who in the next yeare certified the effect of their inquisition. In the meane time the pope appointed a generall councell at Mantua, which occasioned the king to set forth a booke, that not the pope but the emperor and kings had authoritie to summon generall councels, and that the place was not conuenient for such as would obiect anie thing to the pope, and lastlie that it was verie dangerous for the king of England to come thither, especiallie sith the emperor and the French king were in wars, into one of whose hands he must needs fall by the popes deceits, who being cast out of England had excommunicated the king, and for reuenge had stirred vp other kings against him.

Visitors appointed throughout England.

The king setteth out a booke, that not the pope but princes ought to summon councells.

The next yeare Reginald Poole, a little before by pope Paulus the third made cardinall, was (because that he being ambassadour to the emperour, the French king, and other princes had persuaded them against king Henrie the eight) condemned of treason, and for euer banished England. After which, in the yeare following, the whole companie of professed votaries, monks, nuns, and friers, were vtterlie ouerthrowne; which so long as it indured, the pope did not despaire of recouering himselfe in England, and yet was not wholie hopelesse thereof, because that he perceiued certeine of his ceremonies to be yet obserued. For although in the next parlement Cromwell was created earle of Esser for ouerthrowing the pope and the monks; yet was the masse and ceremonies thereof, with sole life, confession, and such things made treason and banishment, the same law being called the six Articles. Against which though Cranmer and Cromwell did resist all they could, whilest the matter was handled in the parlement, yet Gardiner bishop of Winchester (of late returned from the dispatch of two weightie ambassages, the one to the emperor, the other to the French king) by fauour, policie, and power, obteined of the king to grant vnto it, against the kings mind, as saith Matthew Parker. Which might appeare by this, that when the law was made touching prects mariages, he called Cranmer vnto him, then sorrowful for himselfe, his wife, and his children; who praising his doctrine and grauitie, and declaring the causes of his consent to that law, he willed him to go home and liberallie to receiue such gelte as he would send vnto him. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie departing, the king called vnto him the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the earle of Esser and other councellors, and spake to them verie honourablie of Cranmer. Who though he yelded to that law, yet he seemed in learning and in the thing it selfe to go beyond them all. Wherefore the king would that they should go to that reuerend father and his metropolitan, to comfort him, and bid him be of good chere. But in the meane time Cranmer fearing this law, had sent his wife into Germanie.

1538

1539

Monasteries dissolued.

The law of the six articles established.

Cranmer sendeth his wife into Germanie.

These noble men comming accordinglie to the bishop, and being by him interteined with great bankets, did according to the kings mind (to the end that they might deliuer him from all feare and care) laie before him the fauor which the king bare vnto him, the eloquence, grauitie, and learning that were in him: all which they commended, with all such words and deeds as he vsed in the parlement, shewing vnto him, that there was no cause whie he

should

should feare those that were against his opinion, so godlie, learnedlie, and eloquentlie vttered, though it did not preuaile, sith by that dissention and contrarietie in opinion he had woone them to him. For although cardinall Wolsey by his obstinat mind did withdraw the minds of his frends; yet he in diuine matters did with his pietie, clemencie, and gentlenesse ioine his verie aduersaries vnto him. And further, that he should not mislike the king, the nobilitie, or anie other of that law, or for his owne opinion, although it were contrarie. This message being thus appointed for the comfort of Cranmer, was in the end turned to the reproch of Cromwell. For when Cromwell had said, that Cranmer was a happie man in this, that the king would neuer admit anie complaint against Cranmer were it iust or vniust; but if anie matter were against himselfe, or anie other councellor, the king would then diligentlie inquire out the matter: one of the two dukes said; No man knew better what difference was betweene Wolsey & Cranmer than Cromwell did, sith he knew them both, & was the seruant of Wolsey. With which Cromwell being touched as if it had beene some disgrace to him, answered, he neuer alowed or fauored Wolseies conditions, although he sometime were one of his familie. For when Wolsey sought the popedome, and had determined to make Cromwell his admerall, if he were chosen, he did refuse the same, and would not forsake his countrie. Which answer of Cromwell the duke affirmed by oth to be false, obiecting other reproches against Cromwell. So that this speech, which at the first began for comforts cause, did at length end in braules and deadlie enmities. But this iarring being for the present wiselie pacified by Cranmer, they arose from the table with outward faire words, but with inward fierie and grieued harts. Upon which beginnings of these small euils greater did after follow; sith those things fell out (to the destruction of Cromwell) which he onelie did by sound aduise, which was, that he procured Bonner, whome he falslie beleeued to haue abhorred the Romane ceremonies, to be promoted to the see of London. Wherfore, when by that law of the six articles manie that went vnder suerties were committed to prison and burned; the kings councell was diuided into factions, not vnknowne to the king. The chiefe of the gospellers were Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, and Thomas Cromwell earle of Essex, which did as much as in them laie to mitigat the seueritie of that law. On the other side, the duke of Norffolke and Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester did vehementlie incense the king against all the gospellers. Wherevpon Bonner (when he saw the cause of the euangelicals begin to stagger) both by the said law, the kings favor, Gardiners frendship, and the dukes power, he (thinking to take the surer side) fell from Cranmer and Cromwell, and ioined himselfe with the other part euen vntill his last gaspe. Now by force of this law of the six articles, manie were touched in the dioceses of the bishops, yea in the kings court, where the nobilitie was not spared; all which the pontificals or catholikes (as they termed themselues) turned against Cranmer and Cromwell, by whose death the monks which were nourished with pensions allowed to them, did hope to returne to their cloisters. Wherevpon Cromwel was shortlie accused of treson by the other side, and was the first (sith there was no other president thereof) that was condemned without anie answer, and that iustlie, according to the saieng of Dauid, speaking, that he falleth into the pit which he made. For this Cromwell had before procured a law, that a noble man, vpon the euidence of the kings learned councell and some others, might be condemned without comming to his answer.

Wolsey seeketh the popedome.

1540

The councell diuided into factions for religion.

For the death of which Cromwell, Cranmer being in great griefe, did not thinke himselfe anie time free from his aduersaries; notwithstanding which he neuer changed countenance, or was the more abashed, because with his constancie and grauitie he alwaies conteined the king (almost caried awaie by the Romanists) in the defense of the gospell; in such sort, that the king would not consent to anie euill against him, but would preserue him safe when his life seemed in most danger. For when as Gardiner vged Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie, in which he affirmed by certeine paralogisms, that the constitutions of the apostles were of equall authoritie with the scripture, Cranmer disproued the same before the king (as hath Matthew Parker) that the king said in the presence of manie, that Cranmer being a beaten soldior therein was not to be wearied by nouices. Yet Gardiner the bishop of Winchester not so leauing, stirred euerie one that he could against Cranmer; because the Romane religion might be restored, if he were taken awaie. Wherfore at Canturburie in Kent manie were appointed by Gardiners procurement which should accuse Cranmer of other quarels than of heresie. At what time also in the parlement sir Iohn Gostwike a knight of Bedfordshire affirmed, that all the seed of hereticall sedition came from Cranmer.

The constancie of Cranmer.

Gardiner vrgeth Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie.

Cranmer accused of other things than of heresie.

Wherevpon some of the nobilitie and councell dealt with the king, that Cranmer might be excluded from the councell, and committed vnto the Tower, vntill further inquisition of the truth might be made of such things as were obiected against him. For so long as he sat present in the councell, euerie one there would be afraid to speake what they knew against him. Wherevpon rumors were spread, that Cranmer by the secret iudgement of the king should be condemned, & lose his hed, as Cromwell had done: which was so thought by all men as well frends as enimies, wherfore Cranmer secretlie with teares bewailed the times, though outwardlie he shewed a merie countenance. The king perceiuing whereunto tended this drift of the pontificals, (which fauored the Roman religion) after supper, for recreations cause toke barge to row vp and downe the Thames, and so commanded the stiersman to bend his course to Lambeth. Which being perceiued by some of the archbishops men which stood on the bridge, they hastened and told the archbishop thereof; who spedilie came to the bridge to salute the king either passing by, or else to receiue him on shore, and to lead him to his house. But the king commanded him to come into his bote and to sit downe by him, with whome he had long and secret talke, the watermen still houering with the bote on the riuer; amongst which talke the king complained that England was greatlie troubled with hereticall factions and diuisions since the death of Cromwell: and that it was greatlie to be feared, that if these contentions were long fostered vnder the pretense of religion, there would more inward euils grow, and ciuill warres arise. Wherfore the dissentions in religion were spedilie to be appesed. For performance wherof the nobilitie and the councell had aduised to search him out, who was the cheefe heretike and author of all these euils, who being found, should be punished and burned for the example of the residue of the multitude. At the length the king asked of Cranmer what he thought of this aduise, and of the principall heretike. Wherevnto Cranmer (although he was in great feare) answered with a good countenance

The king secretlie talketh with Cranmer in his barge.

nance, that the same councell pleased him well, being verie glad to heare thereof, because by the punishment of that archheretike the rest of the flocke of heretikes would be bridled. But with this speech he did yet with a certein fatherlie reuerence toward the king modestlie admonish the king, that he should not iudge them to be heretikes, who with the word of God striued against mens traditions. Whereunto the king said; It is rightlie spoken by you, for you are declared to vs by manie to be that archheretike of all our kingdome, who in Kent and in all your prouince dow so withstand vs, that the beleefe of the six articles established in parlement be not receiued of the common people; wherefore openlie declare vnto vs what you thinke, and what you haue done of and in the same. Cranmer replied, that he was still of the same mind which he openlie professed himselfe to be at the making of that law, and that yet he had not offended anie thing since the same was made. Then the king somewhat leauing this graue talke, merilie asked of him, whether his inner and priuie bed were free from those articles. To which Cranmer (although he knew it dangerous by that law for priests to haue wiues, and that he certeinlie vnderstood that the king knew that he was maried) answered, that he contracted that marriage before he was archbishop, when he was ambassador to the emperor & the pope in Germanie: but now because he would not offend so rigorous a law, he had not touched his wife since the making thereof, because he had presentlie sent hir vnto hir frends in Germanie. By which plaine answer he wan such fauor with the king, that the king incouraged him to be of good comfort, & that the same articles were made for his cause, & so declared to him who were his cheefe accusors. Which when Cranmer knew to be false, & deuised by the *pontificals enuie, he required that there might be inquisitors & iudges for the matter, sith he feared not the danger of the law. Whereupon the king appointed himselfe to be inquisitor for the searching out of his owne cause. But Cranmer said the same would seeme verie vniust vnto his aduersaries, that he should be appointed the censurer and examiner of his owne actions, & so required an other iudge. All which not withstanding, the king carieng that mind of Cranmer, that he would speake the truth, were it good or euill, he would appoint no other to haue the examination and determination thereof but himselfe, and so suffered him to depart home.

Whereupon Cranmer sent doctor Cooke his vicar generall in spirituall matters, and Anthonie Husseie notarie his publike scribe and messenger, to inquire out these things at Canturburie; who detracting time in the same (about some two moneths, after that they had begun) were suspected to fauor the *pontificalles. In the meane time the enimies of Cranmer requested that he might be committed to the Tower, to answer those matters of heresie laid against him. To which importunitie the king in the end granted, if it should plainlie appeare that he had offended the church or the common wealth; for now the duke of Northfolke (Cromwell being dead) and all the others being the followers of Gardener, did seeke to haue him committed to the Tower. Whereupon they determined to send him to prison the next daie. All which the king suffered, meaning yet in the end to protect him: for much about midnight the king sent from the court sir Anthonie Denie (one of the priuie chamber, an enimie to the *pontificals, & a frend to Cranmer) to Lambeth, to will Cranmer to come to the king; at what time Cranmer came accordinglie, to whome the king declared his mind in these words; All the councell are earnest with me, that sith the prouince of Canturburie and almost all England is defiled with hereticall sects, the originall whereof was come from him, and certeine learned strangers which he reteined amongst his familie, that he might be committed to publike prison during the time of the inquisition therof; which if it be not done, they cannot enter into the ground thereof with sufficient witnesses and proofes, which their desire we haue granted, but whether well or no dow you iudge, and to morrow is the daie appointed therefore. Whereupon Cranmer first gaue the king thanks, because he would giue him warning of that seuere decree; affirming further, that he did not refuse the prison, or flee the iudgment; for hauing a cleere conscience he had rather to trie the effect of iudgement than the euent of vniust suspicions: onlie he required this, that sith his doctrine and faith in matters were brought in question, that he might haue vpright & learned iudges in diuinitie appointed vnto him. Which said, the king called him foole, that he would so easilie enter prison, and giue himselfe to the iniurie of his enimies. For (said the K.) if you shall not onelie be taken from your dignitie, but also from the sight of men, and clapt in prison, manie false and periured persons may be brought forth, which will not shew themselues in your presence, or dare to speake one euill word against you. Wherefore, sith you neither prouide for your safetie or dignitie, I will prouide you shall not be ouercome by your enimies. To morrow they will call you before them, and obiect certeine heresies vnto you, and meane to send you to prison; but then you shall require, that sith you be one of the councell, that they deale with you in that sort as they themselues would be dealt withall if they were in the like danger; that is, that they would bring forth your accusors; and if you can not disproue them, that you will willinglie suffer imprisonment. And if they will not grant you this, but proceed to the execution of their determination, you shall appeale to me to haue the hearing of the matter; and then deliuer to them this token, to surcease to deale anie further with you. Wherewithall the king tooke a well known ring from his finger, gaue it to Cranmer, and sent him awaie.

The next daie in the morning messengers were sent from the councell to bring the archbishop, who brought him, but could not be admitted as then to come into the councell chamber, but staied without doores amongst the pages and others. Which being declared to doctor Buts the kings physician, he moued therewith, came to the archbishop to keepe him companie, whereby his disgrace might seeme the lesse. After which, Buts being called vnto the king, he left the bishop, and told all the order thereof to the king. What (quoth the king) is it so? Dow they so contemptuouslie handle the cheefe person of the councell? Wherewithall the king being moued, sent a messenger, to will them to let Cranmer into the councell chamber. Which being done, the councell declared vnto him, that the king and councell vnderstood by fame, that all England was infected with heresie, and drawne from the catholike faith, which euill came from him and his familie; wherefore they would commit him to the Tower, & without delaie make inquisition of the report and truth thereof. Whereunto the archbishop answering, he required the witnesses and accusors to be produced openlie, to defend himselfe: because it was sounding to iniustice, that the primat of England, and one of the councell, whose credit was neuer doubted or called in question, should be slandered by reprochfull reports, and committed to prison, to the preiudice of his cause; adding further manie reasons where-

The constancie of Cranmer.

Gardiner procureth Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie.

Cranmer accused of other things than of heresie.

The king ouerth vnto Cranmer who hee his accusers.

*Papists.

Cranmer appointed by the king to be inquisitor in his owne cause.

The king secretlie talketh with Cranmer in his barge.

*Papists.

The king protecteth Cranmer from going vnto the Tower.

*Papists.

The kings speeches to Cranmer.

Cranmer waiteth at the doore of the councell chamber.

The words of the councell to Cranmer.

Cranmers answer to the councell.

wherefore they should deale more favorablie with him. But when they could neither be woone by intretie, nor persuaded by reason, Cranmer said that he greatlie sorrowed, because he was inforced to appeale to the king from them, with whome he had so long lived in fellowship and societie of the councell, and whose equitie he alwaies hoped to find in anie danger. Wherevpon delivering to them the kings ring, he brought the matter to be determined before the king. Which done, the lord Russel, which was after created earle of Bedford, said: Did I not tell you before, that the king would never suffer Cranmer to be committed to prison, vnlesse that he were grievouslie accused of treason against his maiestie? In the end, they with Cranmer do come before the king, at what time the king did sharplie rebuke the councell, desiring greater wisedome and grauitie amongst them, in that they would permit Cranmer to be excluded from his place of the councell, and that he stood at the dore amongst a companie of seruingmen; asking moreover, if anie of them would have permitted such an iniurie: and therevpon striking his hand vpon his breast, he affirmed with an oth, that he was so much bound to Cranmer as he was not to anie other; & had made such triall of his truth and integritie, as more could not be in anie prelat towards his king; adding further, that whosoever loved him, should esteeme & loue Cranmer. Which being said, all his aduersaries were for feare silent, except the duke of Northfolke, which answered; It was not our purpose anie waie to hurt the archbishop, but that hanging the same inquisition, he should be kept in publike prison, to the end that his innocencie and the falsenesse of his accusations being knowne, he might come forth with greater credit. To which the king said; I will not have Cranmer or anie such as be deare vnto me, to be handled with this danger, or with such kind of credit: but I perceive there is certeine priuie and old hatred amongst you, stirring these tragedies, which vnlesse they be well suppressed, I will be an vmpier betweene you, and appease the same my selfe: and with those speeches the king departed angerlie. Wherevpon the councell sought favour at Cranmers hands, and so to returne vnto his friendship, whereof he was never squeimish, but remitted all displeasures.

Cranmer appealeth to the king.

Cranmer commeth for the triall of his cause before the king.

The councell seeke the favor of Cranmer.

Now, as is before touched, when doctor Cox the vicar generall in spirituall causes for Cranmer, with Anthonie Hussie his register, remained long at Canturburie about the inquirie of the archbishops behaviour; the king did priuilie send a doctor of the law, to know what they had found either for or against Cranmer. Which doctor speedilie comming to Canturburie, inquired of certeine reformed men (which Cox and Hussey did not call before them) from what fountaine all this infamie grew to Cranmer. At what time they laid all the matter vpon the priests, whose houses he caused to be searched at midnight, where were found certeine letters written by one Gardiner, as hath Matthew Parker, secretarie to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, which secretarie was after hanged for treason: in which letters was conteined all the conspiracie against Cranmer. Which when the king saw, he began more and more to leave the companie of the * pontificals, warning Cranmer of their intent, and commanded those letters of Gardiners to be read in the parlement house, but Cranmer persuaded the king to the contrarie. These things done, the * euangelicals (for so I terme them after Matthew Parker, which professed the reformed religion) began now more and more liberallie to shew themselues, being before oppressed by the Romanists or pontificals, for so in like sort after the same author I name them that defended the Roman religion and the popes doctrine. For in the parlement latlie called, Cranmer did persuade, that the law of the six articles should either be vtterlie taken awaie or mitigated. In which matter although he was promised to have bin supported by the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Rochester; yet by the importunat labor of Stephan Gardiner, he was forsaken & left alone, whereby his intent did not sort to his desired effect, to have it wholie taken awaie. But yet he alone standing in the matter, was for his faithfulnesse therin both commended and furthered by the king and the nobilitie, whereby he obteined some moderation thereof, and therewith notwithstanding anie thing the pontificals could do, the archbishop grew daily more & more into the kings favour. Whereby Cranmer gathering stomach, did (as he had often before) persuade that the bible might be turned into English, and distributed vnto euerie church, which Gardiner and the other catholike bishops did withstand a long time. But when the king had granted to Cranmer all moderation and determination of ecclesiasticall matters in that synod, which (as before said) began with the parlement, Cranmer afresh did vse persuasions for translating of the bible, the Lords praier, the apostles creed, and the ten commandements, into the vulgar tong or English: and further, to have portasses of the Romane vse to be abolished, that mariage should be permitted to the vicars generall of bishops, that lawes should be made for the state of the church of England, and for the granting of a subsidie to the king: wherevnto the pontificals knowing the kings mind, durst not openlie resist, but secretlie laboured what they could against it: in such sort that it was a long time doubted who should have the translating of the bible. For some would have it committed to the vniversities of Oxford and Cambridge, and others would have certeine lerned men chosen out of the synod to take the same vpon them. Then it was disputed about the maner of translating and signification of certeine words: as *Dominus*, whether it should be Englished the Lord or our Lord: *Ecclesia*, whether church or congregation: and *Charitas*, whether it were to be called charitie or loue. And at the end of the second commandement (Thou shalt not make anie grauen image) Gardiner and the pontificals would have added vnto it this sentence, To the intent to worship it. All which notwithstanding, the intent of Cranmer was brought to effect; for the English bible was placed in euerie church, the people had licence to read it, and power was giuen to two and thirtie of the parlement house to be named by the king, to make ecclesiasticall lawes for the church of England: where it was also decreed, that ecclesiasticall iurisdiction might be exercised by such married persons as had knowledge in the ciuill law, and had received the degree of doctor in anie of the vniversities. And the better to strengthen the euangelicals, as hath Matthew Parker, a mariage was contracted betweene king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine Par (a woman much favoring the gospell) the sister of William Par marquesse of Northampton and the widow of the lord Latimer.

Cranmer increaseth in the kings favour.

The bible translated into English.

How certeine words of the bible should be Englished.

1542 High commissioners appointed for ecclesiasticall causes.

King Henrie the eight marrieth the Ladie Katharine Par.

After this, warres being had against the king of England both by the French & Scots, the king laboured the emperor, that ioining their power, they might set vpon the French. The issue of which warres (although they were both beneficiall and honorable to the king & kingdome, because Bullogne was then overthrowne and taken) yet by the emperors authoritie, Gardiner and the other pontificals did afresh creepe againe into the kings favour, who prevailing,

Letters in which is conteined a conspiracie against Cranmer.

* Papists.

* Protestants or gospellers.

1543 1544 1545 prevailing, there was persecution vsed against the euangelicals. In which perhaps (as saith Matthew Parker) if they had kept a meane, they might haue made their cause to haue seemed better with the king; but they went so farre, that they spared not the kings bed, neither could the kings mariage be clere from danger of the six Articles. For Gardiner did not onlie accuse those of the kings chamber, but also the kings wife of heresie: which deed so offended the king, that he could neuer after well awaie with Gardiner, and did commit the duke of Northfolke, with his sonne the earle of Surrie prisoners to the Tower for suspicion of treason, whereof the one which was the sonne was after beheaded, and the other remained in prison for seuen yeares, vntill the reigne of queene Marie, who deliuered him. King Henrie the eight hauing now banisht the popes authoritie, and dissolued the religious houses, died the third kalends of Februarie, and was buried at Windsor: at

1546 what time appointing sixteene persons, to whom he committed the yong king Edward, onelie two bishops, this Cranmer and Cuthert Tunstall were of that number, Gardiner at that time being out of fauour, & therefore excluded from the priuitie of the kings will. After this, on the fourth kalends of March, was king Edward the first crowned by this archbishop, at what time doctor Cox before named, and sir John Cheke, were appointed his schoolemaisters, to instruct him in the euangelicall doctrine. But in the end, to auoid further inconuenience, which might grow by reason of the multitude of gouernors appointed by king Henrie the eight to gouerne the yong king, one man by the aduise of the lord Paget was chosen in place of the rest, to take the office of protectorship vpon him, which was Edward Seimor erle of Hertford, after duke of Somerset. Who altering the forme of religion, as it was left in the time of king Henrie the eight, did take from it such ceremonies of the Romane church as king Henrie had yet left within England.

1547 At what time a parlement being called, and a synod also, Cranmer in that synod made an oration to abolish such rites as king Henrie the eight had left; and therewith found meanes in the parlement to abolish the law of the six articles. Besides which, in that parlement, the cleargie exhibited an other petition: for they considered that all the force and authoritie of the synod was not onelie diminished, but wholie broken and ouerthrowne, after that the cleargie in the word of priesthood, had promised to king Henrie the eight, that they would not decree anie thing in their synod without the kings authoritie: which power of ecclesiasticall lawes being banished, the burgesses in the parlement began to establish lawes for diuine matters, without consent or knowledge of the cleargie, and by little and little, to take awaie the immunities of the absent cleargie, and to make harder lawes wherewith to tie the spiritualtie, the which to suffer, seemed hard vnto the cleargie, sith the parlement was accustomed onelie to treat of matters touching the common-wealth, and not of the church.

Wherefore they required, that as the prelats in the higher house of parlement were ioined with the nobilitie; so in the lower house, that the prelats and procurators of the cleargie might be ioined with the burgesses togither, with them to consult of the state of the church. But the determination of that request was turned ouer vntill an other time. A little after which, all the ceremonies of the Romane church, masse, dirge, inuocation of saints and other things, with the seruice in an vnknowne tong, and the multitude of worshipped saints were taken awaie and abolished. In place whereof, the seruice in the English tong, and the most holie sacraments by Christ onelie instituted, were then set vp through England. And for the better establishing thereof visitors were sent through the realme, which so set forth the matter, that they left no relikes or suspicion of the contrarie religion: against which, yet manie of the pontificals did resist with such feruencie as they could. For Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Boner bishop of London, Tunstall bishop of Durham, and Heath bishop of Rochester toke it grieuouslie, that all relikes of Rome in generall should be so abolished, pretending that no alteration in religion ought to haue beene had during the kings minoritie. Wherevnto they did stand the faster, because the ladie Marie king Edwards sister had masse, with the appurtinances in hir house: whose example (because she was after the death of king Edward next heire to the crowne by hir fathers testament) did conteine and hold manie in the same religion.

But Gardiner, Boner, Tunstall, and Heath, persisting in their opinions, they were remooued from their bishoprikes & committed to the Tower, at what time the emperors ambassador intreated for the ladie Marie (the emperors neere kinswoman) that she might still vse the Romane seruice in hir house; which king Edward would not allow: but but burst out in teares (when Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and Ridleie now bishop of London in the place of Boner did require the same) and said that she should be by law restreined thereof, whereat the bishops were greatly ashamed of their request. This done, Cranmer called out of forren nations certeine diuines to read in the vniuersities of England, and to inlarge the euangelicall doctrine, which persons were Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer: whereof the first was placed at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge, with whome in that vniuersitie Paulus Fagius another stranger did at Cambridge vse and teach the Hebrue tong. Moreouer, this archbishop did nourish beyond the seas, Tremelius, Ochinus, Alexander, and Valerand, with their wiues and children, and sent for Melancthon, and Musculus: who not permitted by their countrie to come into England, excused themselues by letters.

Cranmer thus succoring learned men, wrote a booke for the supper of the Lord. Against which, Stephan Gardiner being in the Tower, wrote another booke intituled *Marcus Constantius*, refuted by Peter Martyr, as hath Matthew Parker. Few yeares after, died king Edward of the ptisicke (as saith the same Matthew Parker) though Osorius (by what reason or authoritie I know not) obiecteth to doctor Haddon that he was poisoned: against which (if my memorie faile not) maister Foxe hath written in answering to Osorius after the death of the same Haddon. King Edward the first being thus dead, his sister Marie obteined the crowne, made alteration of religion, set the before imprisoned bishops at libertie, restored them vnto their see, & displaced others appointed therevnto in hir brothers time. Which bishops hauing now the sword in their hand, and full authoritie, stretched the same to the execution of their lawes, burning some, banishing others, and imprisoning the third sort: whereof, some were in life reserued vntill the gouernement of queene Elisabeth, & after aduanced to places of great honor. Amongst which that were so pursued by the pontificals Cranmer was one, who being persuaded to flie the realme, would not: affirming that if he were guiltie of treason or murther, he would imbrace and follow their counsell: but being otherwise, he would not: who being verie stout in matters of religion, did challenge a noble man to fight with him in king

1548 Visitors sent through the realme.

1549 Bishops defending the Romane religion.

Cranmer called diuerse out of forren nations.

1551 Cranmer writeth against Stephan Gardiner.

1553 Cranmer would not flie the realme.

Cranmer offereth the combat to a nobleman.

Queene Katharine Par accused of heresie.

Cranmer increaseth in the kings fauour.

The bible translated into English.

Cranmer and Cuthall appointed by king Henrie the eight to gouerne king Edward the first.

The duke of Somerset altereth religion.

How certeine words of the bible should be Englished.

1542 High commissioners appointed for ecclesiasticall causes.

King Henrie the eight marieth the Ladie Katharine Par.

Mat. Parker. pag. 398.

The inferior cleargie desire to be admitted partaker of the lower house of the parlement.

Edwards daies, because he did oppugne the ecclesiasticall ceremonies reformed by Cranmer his counsell, who had abolished the Romane sacraments.

Now when Cranmer was thus persuaded by others to flie, a certeine kind of prophesie (as it may be termed) came to his mind, in which king Henrie the eight did foreshew his death. For when Cranmer did beare the ensignes and armes of his ancestors, quartered with three cranes, the king taking awaie the cranes, placed in lieu thereof three pellicans to be borne in his armes, as a signe that he should after shed his bloud for his children: but to leaue that, let vs go forwards with the historie.

The armes of Cranmer altered.

Quæne Marie was the daie before the kalends of October crowned at Westminster by Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, against all law and example (as some haue) because the same doth onelie belong vnto the metropolitane, as most ancient histories affirme: but we find manie examples to the contrarie, both in ancient & moderne times: whereof these few come to my mind. That Alredus bishop of Yorke crowned William Conqueror, Maurice bishop of London crowned Henrie the first, Peter bishop of Winchester and Joseline bishop of Bath crowned Henrie the third, and Oglethorpe bishop of Carlill crowned quæne Elisabeth. Which I speake not to impeach the priuilege and honor of that see: for it is most reason that the best should be serued with the best; and that the best subiect should doo the best honor to the best and cheefe gouernor: but I haue onelie brought in this, because that some saie, that Winchester (not hauing example therefore) did crowne quæne Marie. And yet notwithstanding (to saie the truth) these bishops did alwaies crowne the princes vpon some reasonable cause; as when the metropolitan was vnlawfullie gotten into that see, as Stigandus, who intruded himselfe thereunto; or was beyond the seas, as was Anselmus, when Mauricius bishop of London crowned Henrie the first; or as Stephan Langton was, when Peter bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Bath crowned Henrie the third; or else in the vacancie of the archbishoprike, as when Oglethorpe crowned the worthie quæne Elisabeth.

The metropolitane onelie to crowne the prince.

But to leaue this, let vs returne to Cranmer, who was after accused, and by the iudges condemned of treason: which Cranmer tooke to be an vnkind recompense for all the kindnesse which he had bestowed vpon quæne Marie. For when hir father would haue committed hir to prison for standing in hir religion, this Cranmer pacified the king; and when she should haue bæne disherited by the testament of king Edward, he did with a long oration persuade the contrarie, although it tooke not effect. But the remembrance of hir mothers diuorce, Cranmers religion, and the subscribing of his name to the proclaming of quæne Jane, put those things out of mind. Whereupon being condemned, he with Nicholas Ridleie, and Hugh Latimer, bishops of London and Worcester, were sent to Oxford to prison. After this, quæne Marie maried king Philip at Winchester the seuenth kalends of August, and cardinall Poole (of whom we will speake more hereafter) being called hither by quæne Marie, came into England with power legantine from pope Julie the third, and in parlement released the interdict and excommunication of the land, which had continued almost twentie yeares.

Cranmer condemned of treason.

A disputation about religion in the time of quæne Marie.

In the meane time, Weston the prolocutor with manie other professors of diuinitie, came from the synod to Oxford, publikelie to dispute with Cranmer, Ridleie, and Latimer, about the carnall presence of Christ in the sacrament. But in the end the matter was so handled, that Cranmer and the others were condemned for heretikes; first by the vniuersitie, and by the synod of London: the long declaration whereof we leaue to others, who haue of purpose treated thereof, amongst whome is John Fox in his booke of the Acts and monuments of the church: for it is beside my purpose, to treat of the substance of religion, sith I am onelie political, and not ecclesiasticall; a naked writer of histories, and not a learned diuine to treat of mysteries of religion. Wherefore leauing that, let vs hasten to the hastened death of Cranmer. Cardinall Poole being the popes legat, was in honor and fauor preferred before all men, who although he sought the archbishoprike of Canturburie, and did by his legantine power take the fruits thereof from Cranmer, conuerted them to his vse by colour of sequestration, and dwelled at Lambeth: yet he would not beare himselfe as archbishop so long as Cranmer liued.

John Fox.

But Stephan Gardiner (after the fashion of court prelats) desirous to be equall in honor with cardinall Woolsey (whom he sometimes serued) priuilie labored with the pope to be cardinalated, and to haue power legantine bestowed vpon him; for the obteining whereof he conceiued a certeine hope, because pope Julie the third being dead, John Peter Caraffa, which was called the cardinall Theatin, was aduanced to the popedome: betweene whome (being now called Paule the fourth) and cardinall Poole, there was old & capitall enimitie which could not be pacified by anie meanes. Wherefore Gardiners request to be cardinall, to take awaie Pooles authoritie, and to call him to Rome, was acceptable to the pope. For which cause it was supposed, that Gardiner prolonged the life of Cranmer, to the end that Poole might not haue the bishoprike of Canturburie. In the meane time, Gardiner falling sicke of the gout, or paines of his ioints; the same grew so much, that his physicians affirmed that he could not liue. At length lieng in his bed, his bodie yelded such a lothsome sauor (as saith Matthew Parker, and John Fox) that none could scarse abide it; who dieng in that sort, did in the verie instance of death saie: I haue erred with Peter, but not wept with Peter.

Matt. Parker.

The pope and cardinall Poole enimies.

1555

When he was dead, the legat Poole appointed Bzwkes bishop of Bzistow to be the popes delegat to giue sentence vpon Cranmer, who comming to Oxford (togither with John Storie, after executed at Tiburne, and with Thomas Martin doctor of the law now liuing, associats to the said bishop by the quænes authoritie) called forth Cranmer, at what time with a long oration Bzwkes labored to bring home Cranmer to the Romane religion. But he not remoued from his maner of christian profession, & persisting in his former doctrine, was summoned to be at Rome within fourescore daies to answere before the pope; which Cranmer promised to doo if he might haue licence therefore of the quæne. But the pope, before the twentith daie was past, sent letters to king Philip and quæne Marie, to condemne Cranmer, and to commit him to the secular power. Whervpon, a little after, new authoritie was by the pope granted to Thomas Thurlebie bishop of Elie, and to Edmund Boner bishop of London, to depriue Cranmer from all præstlie and archiepiscopall dignitie, and to commit him to the secular power to be burned, which was doone the foureteenth daie of Februarie. But Cranmer yeelding to the frailtie of the flesh, lacking the comfortable letters which one was wont to write to another at the going to their death, there entered him by the persuasion of one frier John, and of the pontificals, a certeine temptation, in that they laied before him hope of life, thereby

Bzwkes bishop of Bzistow appointed to giue sentence vpon Cranmer.

The pope giueth authoritie to the bishops of London and Elie to degrade Cranmer.

to

Cranmer subscribed to the Romane religion.

to auoid the terror of death, if he would by writing recant what he had before said and written touching religion. Whervnto Cranmer yelding, and they obteining the same, yet they were not contented: for when Cranmer hoped most for life, then by the decree of cardinall Poole was his death hastened. For doctor Cole came to Oxford, and preaching in S. Maries church, he there affirmed that God could not be pacified (being offended with the death of sir Thomas Moore sometime chancellor of England, and of John Fisher bishop of Rochester, who were beheaded in the time of king Henrie the eight, for mainteining the popes supremasie) but with the death and sacrifice of this Cranmer: who being brought forth of prison betweene two friers in an old gowne, was exhorted by Cole in his sermon that he should with liuelie voice confirme that recantation which he had made by writing. But he denieng that, terming the pope antichrist, and hating the bishops, was after burned in that towne; first burning his hand which made the recantation, and then standing vpright in the flame, and crauing mercie of God, to whome he committed his soule, he was consumed to ashes: a death not read before to haue happened to anie archbishop, who as he was the first that publikelie impugned by established lawes the popes authoritie in England, so was he the first metropolitane that was burned for the same.

God cannot be pacified but with the death of Cranmer.

Cranmer burned at Oxford.

After his death the see of Canturburie being now void, there was a synod called by the commandement of the king and queene; in which it was decreed that the daie wherein England was by cardinall Poole reconciled to the church of Rome, should euerie yeare be kept holie daie, and called the daie of the reconciliation of the church of Rome. But that lasted not long, sith the death and end of queene Marie set end vnto the same: besides which, because queene Marie had remitted vnto the clergie the first fruits and tenths before granted to king Henrie the eight, they granted hir a large subsidie. In which synod also manie other things were required, but not obteined. Besides which, queene Marie was of that mind (as not being satisfied in giuing those tenths to the clergie) that she also thought vpon the restitution of the houses of religion, and to bring to them the lands taken awaie in the time of king Henrie the eight: for manie supposed that they could not keepe the same with a safe conscience. Wherefore calling togither the marquesse of Winchester treasuror of England, and others of the councell, she declared vnto them how that she was daie and night troubled with the lands of those monasteries; whose restitution although it be hurtfull to the crowne, as weakening the reuenues thereof, yet she would not keepe anie other bodies goods, no not the kingdome it selfe with a troubled conscience. Wherfore she willed that cardinall Poole the popes legat, to whome this matter was by the pope committed, should be consulted therevpon, to the end that hir vexed conscience might safelie be deliuered from all care thereof. But king Henrie the eight, when he did dissolue the monasteries, by the exchange of those lands, and by other grants thereof, did so diuide the same into seuerall mens hands (a deuise proceeding from Cromwell earle of Esser, who first also sought the dissolution of those monasteries) that he had nothing so much left in his possession, as he had distributed to the noble men and others, who feeling the sweet that came thereby, would not so easilie depart with the same againe; insomuch that when the pope (as hath Matthew Parker) by the queene and cardinals procurement had thundered sentence of excommunication against all those which possessed lands belonging to monasteries, and that the same bull (as it was said) should haue beene declared in England; there was such sudden hurliburlie raised here amongst vs of all sorts, as well noble men, gentlemen, and others, yea of such as most fauored the pope, as vnlesse that bull had beene sent backe to Rome, and the sentence reuoked, it was thought the popes authoritie would haue beene againe banished England; for they plainelie said, that they would not obeie him if he touched their freholds. By reason whereof the clergie vtterlie despaired of generall restitution of the religious houses, although in some few places, monasteries and such other houses began againe to be builded, and religious persons to be brought into them; as at Westminster, great S. Bartholomews besides Smithfield in London, Greenewich, and Dartford in Kent, and others more.

Ex archiuis. The daie of the reconciliation of England to the pope kept holidaie.

Queene Marie willing to set by the houses of religion.

Noble men loth to depart with religious lands.

Reginald Poles life being with such high praise written by manie learned and eloquent Italians, and manie declamers of the vniuersitie of Venice, is set forth with such beautie, and eloquence of stile, as nothing can be more desired therein. But therwithall (as saith Matthew Parker) they fauoring him ouer much, did in their praises of him not spare the dispraise of king Henrie the eight: so that they rather seemed flattering and rhethoricall schole declamations than true commendations, worthilie deserued for vertue and vpright actions. The which is not therefore spoken by vs, because we doo enuie his commendation. For what can be more glorious vnto our kingdome, than that the Italians, who after a certeine sort glorie of the inheritance of learning and eloquence, should so highlie commend a man of our nation? But because we are chieflie to set down such things as he did being archbishop of Canturburie, we will omit whatsoeuer might else be said of him, and briefflie passe ouer his life, crauing pardon although we omit or somewhat dissent from that immoderat commendation, which other haue throwne vpon him; for mine intent is onelie plainelie to set downe things as they were done, without aggrauating, diminishing, praising, misliking, or anie waie else inferring vpon the outward action.

Reginald Poole cardinall archbishop of Canturburie.

This man (as saith Matthew Parker) *Patre quidem Richardo equestris ordinis viro, Henrici septimi regis fratre consobrino, matre verò Margareta Eduardi quarti Anglorum quondam regis nepte, Georgij Clarentij ducis filia atque comitissa Sarisburiæ natus est.* Of which his descent I haue alreadie spoken in my former discourse of the cardinals, pag. 1168. who by the care of his parents, perceiuing him of a deintie wit, and of a gentle behauior, was brought vp in learning in Magdalen college in Oxford, whome king Henrie the eight in his youthfull yeares did greatlie fauor, not onelie because he was kin vnto him by the father and mothers side, but also because that he hoped that his learning should beautifie the kinglie race, and might be a great helpe vnto him in the gouernement of the kingdome. Wherefore he augmented the stipends of this Poole with the deanerie of Exceter, and with other large allowances, to the end that following the studies of good letters beyond the seas, he might there learne both the depth of the sciences, and the maners and languages of those outward nations. Whervpon he goeth to Pauie a citie belonging to the dominion of Venice, where he found learned men in all sciences. In which place Poole gaue his mind to the studie of eloquence and philosophie, where he profited so much, that he was no more knowen to those strangers for the nobilitie of his birth than he was for the fame and report of his learning. Wherefore, when he was thus had in admiration in Italie, as well for his parentage as his excellencie of learning, he ioined himselfe with the magnificos and noble men of Venice, wherby vnthanke-

Poole brought vp in Oxford.

Poole trauelleth the parts beyond the seas.

fullie he departed from the loue of his countrie, and the dutie of so liberall a prince as king Henrie the eight was to him. For (as we said) when the same king determined to abolish the popes authoritie in England, he louinglie sought to call this Poole home into his countrie. But he refusing to returne, making manie delaies and excuses, the king caused Stokes bishop of London, and Tunstall bishop of Durham to write vnto him against the popes authoritie, whose works are yet extant. But Poole not mooued thereby, ioined with the Italians, famous as well for their birth as for their learning and eloquence, amongst which were Aloisius Priolus, Gaspar Contarenus, Peter Bembus, and Peter Carafa, archbishop Theatin, borne at Naples, but then for feare of the emperor fled vnto Venice, where he remained in a monasterie. To these were also ioined in one knot of amitie for likenesse of studies and maners, James Sadolet bishop of Carpentoract in France, & Cosmus Gherius bishop of Fauens; and of the commoner sort in the vniuersities of Padie & Bononia, M. Antonius Flaminius, surnamed Genua, Lampridius Cremonensis, Lazarus Bonamicus, Basilianus, & manie of that sort which seemed to excell in philosophie, Greeke, and all kind of learning: and therefore not onelie famous in Italie but through out all the other parts of Europe. All which for eloquence and flowing in the Latine tong gaue place to this Poole, as by the letters often times sent betweene them, and of late by the witnesse of the most eloquent Paulus Manutius is well proued. But if those their praises had neuer beene giuen of him, yet Poole himselfe may be a most plentifull witnesse in that matter, being importunatlie laboured by Sadolet (who had then written a learned and eloquent booke of philosophie) to deliuer his iudgement thereof. Whereunto Poole with long letters did answer, that he greatlie allowed all that he had written in philosophie: but on the other side, he did as much maruell, that a cardinall of the church of Rome would place the end and cheefe of all his studies in philosophie, which although it sometime held the price aboue all other studies and arts, yet now (as he writeth) that is cast downe by the comming of the word of God, for the which cause he compared it with these verses of Virgil:

Insula diues opum Priami dum regna manebant,
Est in conspectu Tenedos notissima fama,
Nunc tantùm sinus statio & malefida carinis.

Wherefore sith the ethnike superstition is now ouerthrowne, diuinitie and not philosophie ought to be set before a christian man, as the cheefest hauen whervnto he should with all his sailes hasten to direct his course & rest. Which epistle of Poole if it be diligentlie compared with the answer of Sadolet, he shall find Poole (as saith Matthew Parker) to go beyond Sadolet both in argument and sweetnesse of stile. In which place the said Matthew in his booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, hath also set downe these words of this Poole; *Sed iuuenis ingenij facunditate cum rerũ verborúmque frequens copia ei fiue dicenti sibi scribenti succederet, Asiaticam redundantiam sequi visus est. Quam vt ex libris eius iam cernimus siue studio siue flacceſſente oratione sic tandem decoxit, vt senex in dicendo scribendóque redundantiam omnẽ & affluentiam a stilo resecuit, sæpe etiam sine vbertate, neque succo ieiunus existimetur.* But leauing the commendation of his learning and eloquence, let vs returne to those things which this Poole did.

Poole refuseth to returne into England.

The liuings which Poole had in England taken from him.

When Henrie the eight had expelled the pope, and would not suffer Poole to returne into England, first this Poole was bereaued of his deanrie of Exceter, and of all other stipends which he had by the king. But he greatlie esteemed not thereof, because he was honorablie and plentifullie interteined by the clergie of Italie, with whome he liued so much the more honourablie, and with greater frendship, bicause he was banished England. For pope Paule the third being dead, Clement the seauenth succeeding, and Peter Bembus, a most familiar frend to Poole, being secretarie vnto Clement, brought Poole in continuall and great fauour of the pope, who after made him cardinall; at that time also aduancing to the purple hat Bembus, Contarenus, Sadolet, and Peter Carafa, archbishop Theatin, of which number Theatin tooke part with the French, and Poole fauoured the emperour and his imperials; a thing (as after shall appere) that brought forth vnquenchable enimitie betweene Poole and Carafa. Which choise of these cardinals was made the eleauenth kalends of Ianuarie, at what time Poole was intituled cardinall of S. Maries in Cosmeden. Now, when it was secretlie consulted at Rome to support the falling authoritie of the pope, to restreine the Lutherans in Germanie, and to banish the gospell out of England; these delegates were appointed therefore: Theatinus, this Poole, Cortesius, abbat of S. George, & Matthæus Gibertus bishop of Verona, who taking aduise among themselues, committed those things to writing which might be profitable to the common cause of the pontificals, whose said aduise and counsell touching the same, is yet extant and published in Italie. 1536

Poole protected by the pope.

But vpon the setting forth thereof, onelie Poole was admitted into the popes palace and familiaritie, bicause he stood in doubt of himselfe, and suspected some laieng of wait for him by the English. Poole being thus in the popes fauour, and framing himselfe to all the popes determinations, was after sent to the king of France, and to the low countries of Germanie, in two dangerous ambassages. In which though other causes were outwardlie pretended, yet (as hath Matthew Parker) he had giuen him in charge by the pope, that he should in the name of the church of Rome solicit the emperor & the French king to warre vpon the king of England. But king Henrie the eight wiselie auoided the same, for neither the emperor nor the French king (then in sharpe wars for the limits of their dominions) durst stir the king of England, least that he inclining to anie one part, might ouerthrow the other. At which time Poole did write to his frends and kindred in England, that they should stand fast in the Romane faith, and expect the end of his ambassage.

Poole perswadeth princes to warre vpon the king of England.

The king of England hauing knowledge of all this deuise, did (when he vnderstood of Poole his coming into France) deale with the French king by his legats, that he should send Poole into England to receiue punishment, as guiltie of treason to the king of England. But the French king denieng it, and affirming the same to be against the law of armes, to yeld the ambassador of anie man (especiallie of the pope) to receiue punishment, would not do it. And yet, bicause he would not offend the king, he did not admit the ambassage of Poole; but speedilie commanded him to depart out of his kingdome. Wherewith Poole being sore perplexed, speedilie spead himselfe into the low countries to the emperour, where he was also by the emperor repelled; bicause the king of England had a little before sentenced Poole, his mother the countesse of Salisburie, his other confederats and frends to perpetuall banishment. Wherefore this cardinall Poole hasteth to *Leige, being inuited thither by Erardus à Marchia, cardinall and bishop of that citie, where he for a time remained, but not long, for the king of England vnderstanding by his espies of his abode there, sent his ambassadors, and required of the Belgians in respect

Poole hasteth out of France to the emperor.

*Leodium.

respect of the ancient leagues betweene him and the duke of Burgundie, that they would deliuer to his ambassadors his enimie, and one condemned of treason, and not suffer him to wander vp and downe amongst them. Which being opened in a publike councell, holden in the low countries, where the said Erard was present, it was declared to Pole that he should presentlie hasten himselfe to Rome through Germanie, whereby Pole departed without bringing anie of his ambassages to effect. Yet notwithstanding, after this they obtrude vnto him an other most dangerous ambassage: for when the emperour had ordered all his affaires in the low countries and in Germanie, he went into Spaine, whither by the popes commandement Pole was sent vnto them, and from thense to the French king to deale with them, to breake the league with the king of England, that they should both set vpon him, and that Pole should remaine in the low countries or on the borders of France, to expect the end thereof, in the meane time assertening the pope of all things which happened.

Pole sent by the pope into Spaine.

With this commandement cardinall Pole changing his habit, did with a few persons hasten his iorneie, and with a spedie and readie course came to the emperor then remaining at Toleto in Spaine. But the emperor which meant to keepe the king of England in league with him, gaue such audience to this cardinall Pole, that he answered, there was no time now to execute his request. And to rid him of that matter, he willed Pole to go into France, to consult thereabouts with the French king. With which answer Pole perceiuing how the emperor had shifted him awaie, obteining leane, departed from Spaine, and came to Auinion; from whense he went to his familiar James Sadolet archbishop of Carpentoract and cardinall, where for a while he rested himselfe in great safetie, vntill he might vnderstand the popes pleasure. But in the end, being called home by the pope, although his ambassage had not the desired effect: yet for that he had much trauelled in the same, the pope made him legat of Viterbo, as a reward for his paines. Wherevpon finding no better successe in such things as he attempted, he gaue them ouer, and wholie applied himselfe vnto diuinitie; wherein it seemeth he had no setled iudgement (as saith Matthew Parker) but sometime fauored the * pontificals, and sometime the * euangelicals, as may be gathered by their often comming vnto him, but especiallie by the continuall companie of Antonius Flaminius (the most excellent orator and poet that translated the psalmes of Dauid into Illyricall verses) and of Tremelius, a most learned person which turned the bible into Latine, and was conuerted from the Iewes doctrine to christianitie when he was in the house with Pole, and baptised by the said Pole and Flaminius within the walles of the house of this cardinall Pole. Besides which, his house was a receptacle of friers and monks falling from the pope and fleeing out of Italie into Germanie. Againe, when manie were accused vnto him in Viterbo, that they were Lutherans, he neuer punished them either by the inquisition or other seuere paine, but remained there certeine yeares, as a man wholie buried in studie, and one vtterlie separated from worldlie matters, of whome the same Parker writeth thus:

Verum nescio quomodo Poli castitas, in qua una virtute omnes Romæ cardinales facilè superabat, dum Viterbij contemplaretur diffamata est. Nam papæ castello vbi Polus habitabat adiunctum est monialium cœnobium sanctæ Clarę dicatum. His monialibus suis vicinis vt in castitate retinerentur, sedulò dicitur prospexisse Polus, earúmque abbatissam quæ nobilis Perusina fuit ad se vocasse sæpius. Ex quorum frequenti congressu Pasquillus Romanus qui nullius famę aut dignitati parcit, sæpiúsque vera quàm falsa narrat, Latinis Italicísque carminibus Romæ diuulgauit eam à Polo peperisse bis, primò masculinam deinde fœminam prolem. But touching that matter, this Poole heard more thereof when he was in election to be pope, as after shall appeare, when he cleered himselfe. In the meane time, whilest the warres were hot betweene Cesar and the French, Paule the third summoned a generall councell at Trent, to which he sent the cardinals Poole, Moronus, and a third to be his legats there. But the same councell did shortlie after cease, being interrupted by the heat of the warres (betweene the emperor and the French) in Heluetia, Germanie, France, and Spaine. At length those warres being intermitted for a time, the councell at Trent was againe renewed, and this Poole with the cardinals de monte and of the holie crosse were appointed the popes legats, at what time Poole did write and publish a booke of the same councell. In the end the councell being turned ouer to Bononia, the emperor found himselfe greeued therewith, & complaining thereof by Hurtaldus his orator in a little booke published to all men, he further described a forme of religion in that booke which he called the Interim: both which Poole being placed in the popes presence did with publike answer rebuke.

Poole appointed one of the popes legats in the councell of Trent.

Now when pope Paule the third was dead, the cardinals (after the maner) came into the conclaue to chuse a new pope. In which there was great contention amongest them being diuided into two parts, the one taking the part of Cesar and the other of the French king. Poole himselfe being imperiall drew vnto him all such as were on that side, & those also that were neuters, amongst whom was Alexander Farnesius, nephue of the deceased pope, whose authoritie aboue the rest was verie great, and led the chiefest part of the other cardinals to chuse Poole to the popedome. But they which followed the French causes obiected that they should beware, lest Poole hauing atteined the triple crowne, would ouermuch fauour the emperor: wherefore there was consideration to be had of the voices of the other French cardinals, which were not then come. But notwithstanding all that the French could doo, the next daie when the voices were taken out of the scrutinie, such and so great number of them was found to incline to Poole, that the French could not resist it. But Poole without cause found an other delaie, while he would not then take it vpon him; which being perceiued by the cardinall Theatin, hoping to obteine the papasie if Poole were reiected, obiected against Poole the note of ambition, heresie, and incontinencie: of ambition, in that he ouer hastilie sought the papasie; of heresie, because that in Germanie, and in the councell of Trent, he did ouer familiarlie vse the companie of the Lutherans, that he kept Flaminius in his house, and inriched him with manie prebends and ecclesiasticall dignities, and thirdlie, that being legat at Viterbo, he spared many guiltie of heresie, & punished a few with small paine, but none with death; of incontinencie, in that he had placed his daughter to be brought vp with the nuns of Rome. All which defamations, this cardinall Theatin did spred amongst the people, to the end that Poole being defamed, might not receiue the popedome. Wherevnto Poole did answer grauelie and aptlie, as he could well doo, for he alwaies caried such grauitie in his countenance, that he neuer changed the same for anie iniurie or reproch, or for anie aduerse or prosperous successe. In which his answer he declared, first that he did esteeme the charge of the popedome to be so great, that it rather moued a feare than a desire to possesse it: secondlie, that he

Pole refuseth the popedome.

Pole accused of heresie, ambition, and incontinencie.

Pole cleereth himselfe of all things obiected against him.

was to be iudged free from all note or suspicion of heresie, which for the Romane religions cause had run into the hatred and offense of his king and countrie. And lastlie touching the little one which he norished in Rome, he procured hir to be daughter of an English woman which died in Rome, whom he had presented to the nuns to nourish and instruct vertuouslie, to the end that she might not aplie hir selfe to euill trades; hauing further prouided for hir a dowrie of one hundred crownes, in the publike banke of Rome, which they call *Fidei montem*, lest in hir age she might for need be constreined to be cast out to vncerteine mishaps. Which kind of liberalitie being knowne to be vsed by Poole to manie others, ought (as saith Matthew Parker) to be of all good men esteemed rather offices of charitie and pietie, than tokens of incontinencie. Which slanders when Poole had thus washed awaie, he was the next night chosen pope. Wherefore cardinall Farnesius, and the rest which were of that mind, spedilie run to Poole, intreating him that he will take it vpon him, and permit himselfe to be honored as the maner is, with the same honor that is due to the pope, and to be saluted by the name of the most holie father. But he excused the matter in that it was done in the night; for saith he, God doth hate darkenesse, and things well done ought to be performed in the daie: wherefore he would deferre the matter till the morrow. Which words greeuing those cardinals, they did call it most foolish delaie.

Poole the second time chosen pope.

Poole the second time refuseth the popedome.

Wherefore the next daie all things being changed, and the minds of the cardinals turned from Poole, they inclined an other waie. For when Poole was gone out of the conclaue (or place where the pope is elected) because he felt himselfe sicke, it was contumeliouslie answered by cardinall Theatin, called Caraka, to such as demanded Poole to be pope, and complained of his slacknesse, that nothing could happen more vnprofitable to that see, than to declare him pope; because that he had now shewed himselfe a blocke to all men, in that he would not accept the papasie offered, nor yet could aptlie refuse it, but suffer it so to hang in suspense. During which delaies, came the cardinall of Guise out of France, whose authoritie was greatest amongst the French cardinals. With whom Farnesius forsaking cardinall Poole did ioine himselfe, to the end to win fauour of the French. Whervpō when these two vsed the helps and voices of the other cardinals at their pleasure, the cardinall de Monte, the associate of cardinall Poole in the councell of Trent, was declared pope, and called Julius the third. After which, Poole (although of some he was accused of dastardinesse, and faint hart) did not yet laie aside the tranquillitie of his mind, or the constancie of his cōng; but set forth a booke of that delaie of chosing the pope in the conclaue, and in a most eloquent epistle did write to one Paceus a Spaniard and bishop, touching his refusall of the papasie. This new pope Julius did the more courteouslie intreat Poole, because by his delaie he obteined the popedome. Wherefore he inforced cardinall Theatin (who, as is before touched, had slandered Poole) before the open assemblie in the conclaue, to call backe that which he had said, and to aske Poole forgiuenesse. The hatred whereof conceiued by Theatin, was manifestlie shewed against Poole, when the same cardinall Theatin came to be inthronised pope. This done, Poole (growing in some mislike with the Italians, because that he would not be pope) obteining leaue of the see of Rome to depart, went to Verona to a house of Benedictine monks, of which order he was patrone at Rome, in which he determined to haue passed ouer his whole life in silence. But all Italie ringing of the death of Edward the first king of England, and of the succession of quéene Marie, the same did greatlie comfort the mind of Poole before abased, and called him againe to shew himselfe in the world. For he now hoped to haue an honorable returne into his countrie, for that he certeinlie knew that the quéene would banish the religion of hir brother, and induce the Romane ceremonies; for which cause he was fed with double hope when he was returned into England, either to obteine a most rich and honorable ecclesiasticall liuing, which in truth he did; or else to haue married the quéene, which he neuer did. To which second hope he was erected, because that quéene Marie (when he was a child vnder his mother Margaret countesse of Salisburie, sometimes daughter of George duke of Clarence) was committed to his mother (by quéene Katharine, mother to quéene Marie) to be brought vp & instructed. At what time it was supposed, as saith Matthew Parker, that quéene Katharine had in hir mind a determination to marrie them two together, to the end that the right of the kingdome might be more stronglier knit in one line of hir children, if king Henrie the eight had died without heire male. For this ladie Margaret was then the onlie liuing heire which might pretend anie title to the crowne, by reason of the house of Yorke. Wherefore being now onlie a deacon (from whense by the popes licence he might easilie be disgraded) he conceiued a hope in his mind to marrie the quéene, and obteine the kingdome. But sauing correction of that author, which I speake with all reuerence, vnto so learned an antiquarie and graue person, I suppose that cardinall Poole did, or at least might thinke himselfe hopeles to marrie the one, or to be lord of the other. For although the pope might disgrade him, and that there might be some such meaning in quéene Katharine and the countesse of Salisburie, when quéene Marie and cardinall Poole were verie yong, and that for the reason before rehearsed; yet me thinketh it somewhat strange that a man so spent in yeares, being continent all his life, giuen to contemplation, a spare and leane bodie withered to nothing, more like a ghost than a man, should in his old age, heat failing, nature decaieng, his lims weake, & his mind studious, should plaie the wanton, or follow the delights of loue and mariage. Besides which, vnderstanding that king Philip should marrie quéene Marie, and that the onelie drift of the emperor, as after shall appeare, was to staie the cardinals comming into England, vntill the mariage was done, he would not haue staid his iorneie to hurt himselfe, but would haue found meanes to haue stopped the emperors deuise & authoritie by the popes excommunication, and so to haue proceeded on his iorneie into England, if he had meant to marrie quéene Marie. And is it likelie that he was so ambitious of honor, in atteining of a kingdome, for which a man would violate all lawes, as that he would for obteining thereof marrie quéene Marie, when he had refused a greater honor in earth, as the world stood at that time, than the wearing of a kings crowne, that is the wearing of a triple diademe, and obteining of the popes authoritie, by which he might haue kept his spirituall function, & haue ruled the quéene of England, and all the other princes of Europe? Or would he for honors sake go against his profession, enter into mariage, returne to the world as a laie man, and submit himselfe to the cares of a kingdome, which might haue had the greatest honor on earth without doing anie of these things? Or can not princes or great persons be brought vp together, but that their childish loue must end in doting mariage? But admit that this hot humor should so contrarie to my reason

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Poole hoped to marrie quéene Marie.

Poole by publike booke defendeth his refusall of the popedome.

The slanderers of Poole aske him forgiuenesse.

reason haue taken place in him, how might he hope that quæne Marie, a woman of great zeale in hir kind (and desiring mariage for hope of issue) would seeke to marrie with so weake an old man, and a man of the church: whereof I doo not remember that I haue read anie example.

But leauing my yoong iudgement and lesse experience in the affaires and policies of obteining and keeping of kingdooms; let vs allow that determination and hope to be in cardinall Poole, and follow on the historie as it is in some part set downe by others. Cardinall Poole harbouring this double hope, either of the kingdome, or of some great ecclesiasticall liuing; and being called home by quæne Maries letters, and receiuing legantine power from the pope, set forth to come into England. But the emperor did greatlie withstand those conceipts of Poole, whilest he both vnderstood his deuise, and further determined to marie his sonne and heire Philip to quæne Marie, thereby to make his part stronger against the Frenchmen. Whereupon the emperor consulted with cardinall Dandine the popes ambassador, sent to compound a peace betweene the emperor Charles the fift, and Francis the first the French king. At what time the emperor earnestlie desired the cardinall to staie Poole from comming out of Italie: with which persuasion, Dandine spædilie sent one Francis Commendune with letters vnto Poole, in which he persuaded him not yet to take his iourneie into England: because that legacie was taken in hand without the emperors knowledge: and the Englishmen, especiallie the Londoners, did as yet in some part hate the name of the pope and his legats; adding further, that they were not yet to haue anie legantine power amongst them, vntill by persuasions they were made apt therefore.

When cardinall Poole had receiued these letters in the monasterie before said, he determined not to go anie further before he knew the popes pleasure. But the bishop of Rome, because he would not haue the emperors part against the French increased by that mariage, called home Dandine (in that respect that he was by his letters the staie of Poole) to the end that Poole might be legat into England, to the emperor and to the French king, for to establish the peace betweene them. Wherefore Poole armed with double legantine power, taketh his iourneie; and when he came to Trent, sent his messengers to the emperor, and to the French king, to let them vnderstand of this legation of his departure out of Italie, and of his comming vnto them. The which message was so vnfortunat to Cesars attempts, that he sent the lord John Mendoza (being a little entered into another iourneie) with all spæd to meet cardinall Poole with letters. In which the emperor declared that it would be verie acceptable vnto him, if he did staie there, and come no further, vntill the emperor had dispatched some weightie affaires, which might be hindered by that legation; and then (if need were) the emperor would accept of him: but if he would neds come forward, the emperor was willing that he should go to Liege; but there (of necessitie) he must remaine, vntill he were sent for by the emperor.

Poole hauing receiued these letters, returned to Dilinga a towne not far from Trent, where he aduertiseth the pope of all that was done, and sendeth expostulating letters to the emperor, shewing what a heinous thing it was to haue the popes ambassador (comming for peace and religions cause) to be staied in the middest of Germanie (with great shame and contempt of the pope) in the eies of all heretikes, and that especiallie by the emperors commandement. Notwithstanding which letter, Poole could not obteine anie leaue to passe further into the low countries, before the mariage was ended, and by parlement ratified betweene king Philip & quæne Marie. For the emperor knew how much the quæne had made of cardinall Poole from his youth, and for which cause he thought that he would be a hinderance to that mariage, and therefore must seeke to haue that impediment auoided.

But because king Philip (whose comming was earnestlie looked for in England) was not yet alanded in that nation out of Spaine, and so that mariage not consummated: cardinall Poole did verie hardlie obteine licence to come to the emperor to Buruels: where yet there was a condition of abode limited him, vntill king Philip was arriued and maried in England. During which time, he dealt (but all in vaine) for establishing of a peace betweene the emperor and the French king, for the long and inueterat hatred betweene them could not be so suddenlie appeased. This done, Matthew Parker goeth forward with the historie thus, writing: *Itaque Philippi & Mariæ congressu, omnibus cæremonijs peractis, & absolutis nuptijs, cùm Polus iam nihil impedire suam in Angliam profectionem amplius posse existimaret, cúmque spe regni frustratus, tamen in sacerdotalis culminis possessione sibi esse videretur, occultis invidijs apud reginam & Philippum, necnon Cæsarem atque papam, pene subplantatus, & à legatione reuocatus est.*

Whereupon Poole being thus maimed of authoritie, had no cause now to come into England, but onelie to see the quæne; who was offended that Poole was so long kept backe. Wherefore when she vnderstood the cause of his staie, she sent ambassadors to the emperor, to giue him leaue to come into England, and wrote also to Poole to hasten him hither; which he did by the emperors licence, but he was first admonished by such as fauored the gospell, to haue care of the church of England. Well, at length he commeth into this realme, more accompanied and attended on by Italians than English, where he admitted few into his societie, but such as did earnestlie defend the church of Rome. Now this cardinall hauing legantine power, and so admitted by the king and quæne, the crosse and other ensignes of the popes authoritie were borne before him: at what time there was a parlement held at Westminster, whither Poole being most honorablie brought, Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England made an oration to the people of his acceptable comming.

This done, cardinall Poole made a long oration in his mother tong; wherein these things were conteined, being the substance and order thereof: which is, That he gaue great thanks to the noble men & the people, because by their great benefit (after the abrogation of all the lawes which tended to his banishment) he was restored home vnto his countrie. Wherfore he thought it his part, both in respect of his dutie and thankfulnes, so to recompense this desert, that where of late they had by schisme fallen from the apostolicall see, and by that means from the vnitie of the church, and so banished themselues from the kingdome of God; that he through the authoritie giuen to him by the pope the vicar of Christ, had reduced them to the see of Rome as to their celestiall inheritance. That the chiefest cause why he was made legat, was to restore the nobilitie and glorie of this Ile, whereof (before all other prouinces) the church of Rome had principall care and consideration, because that this was the peculiar and proper praise thereof, that it first of all other nations did wholie embrace the faith of Christ. That the Britains although they were subiect to strangers and to

the

Pole hoped to marrie quæne Marie.

The emperor withstandeth cardinall Pole.

Cardinall Pole staied in the low countries.

Cardinall Pole commeth into England.

Cardinall Pole maketh an oration in the parlement house.

the Romane emperors, yet when they had receiued the christian faith, they did spread it ouer all the Iland, not as other nations did, by little and little, but almost at one and the selfe same moment. That although the Saxons had banished the faith of Christ, with the inhabitants of those parts of the Iland which professed it: yet God so loued this place and the Ile, that the light of the gospell did also at length lighten their minds blinded with superstition. That the glorie and nobilitie of this Iland ought to be imputed to the glorie, prouidence, and benefit of and from God: but yet the meane and waie whereby this nobilitie and glorie was gotten, was first and alwaies shewed & opened vnto vs from the church of Rome. That we haue alwaies since that time remained in the vnitie of the Romane faith, that our subiection to the church of Rome hath bene most ancient, and that the same hath with great reuerence and dutie bene obserued by the kings of this realme, as appeareth by the examples of king Offa and Adulphus, who with great charges thought Rome (although by long iourneies) to be visited, because they had first receiued the seeds of truth from them. That Charles the great, when he ordeined the vniuersitie of Paris, called out of England Alcuine the great and eloquent diuine to laie the foundation of all learning at Paris. That pope Adrian the fourth was an Englishman, who first conuerted Norwaie to the christian faith; and that he, led with the loue of his countrie, gaue the gouernement of Ireland which belonged to the pope, to Henrie the second, king of England. That he would ouerpasse not onelie the infinit multitude of benefits, which the English had receiued before other nations from the church of Rome, but also the calamities and reproches which it hath receiued from the time wherein it fell from that see. And therefore that he would onelie laie before their eies Asia, Greece, and Germanie, latelie dispersed into so manie factions, and diuers religions, with the ruins and afflictions which had happened vnto them since they fell from the Romane faith. That the cause of falling from that see in them, was auarice the root of all euill; but in England onelie the cause was the lust and riot of one man, who although he obteined great riches by that change, yet he not onelie consumed them to nothing; but was also brought far in debt. That the church of Rome might with extreame force and the helpe of other nations haue subdued England; but she had rather wait the daie and time from God, which suddenlie happened, and was at hand, after that churches were spoiled, altars ouerthrowne, all holie things prophaned, and vtter despaire of recouerie thereof. For religion, which laie buried in the queenes breff, as it were fire quenched, or a sparke raked vp in the ashes, did now become a great flame, and lighten all England. That she being disherited, reiected, weake, and beset with most strong enimies for the right of the crowne, yet being a virgin, did from heauen obteine victorie beyond mans expectation, and got power to gouerne, thereby to vnite England to the Romane vnitie. That strength did grow for the confirmation of that matter, by the mariage with the catholike prince the emperors sonne with the queene of England; which emperor of all the princes christian, had bestowed most trauell in ioining togither the dispersed church; in which though it had not his happie and wished successe, by means of the turmoiles of the wars: yet that remained to be performed by his peacefull sonne king Philip, which his father had begun for the vnitie of that church, in building the house of God, after the example of Dauid and Salomon. To the ioining and establishing of which vnitie, there was two powers giuen by God, which were like vnto two swords, that is the ciuill or temporall, and the ecclesiasticall, whereof the one belongeth to kings to vse against rebels and stubburne persons, in punishing them by death, banishment, and other temporall paines; the other sword is the celestiall keies, which conteineth the binding or absoluing to and from eternall paines, which onelie belongeth to the pope and court of Rome, the vicar of Christ in earth. In the end he concluded with the authoritie granted vnto him by the pope, to reconcile England to the Romane faith: and therefore it was his dutie to impart it vnto such as might receiue it. But they were such as were not capable thereof, by reason of the established lawes made in their schisme from the court of Rome, which were impediments thereunto; wherefore the same were first to be abrogated, and that done, the blessing of the church of Rome (which neuer shutteth hir lap against such as returne vnto hir) was there at hand as it were of a dere mother to be bestowed vpon hir children.

Two swords, ciuill & ecclesiasticall.

Pope Adrian an Englishman.

This oration did Poole vtter with such eloquence and art, that it wrapt all such as were dedicate to the Romane ceremonies into such an admiration of him, as that they openlie said they were new borne that daie, although there were some in the same parlement (as saith Matthew Parker) which spake against the receiuing of the popes authoritie. But by the kings and queenes furtherance and power ioined with the multitude of voices, the authoritie of the pope was by speciall law established: a thing neuer done before in England. Which done, the cardinall absolued the queene and realme, and united them to the church of Rome: which absolution Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, did declare at Paules crosse the next sundaie in a sermon there made. Of which returne of England to the church of Rome there was great reioising in the citie of Rome; and (as hath Matthew Parker) *Amplissimus annus Iubileus à Iulio tertio papa promulgatus.* Whereupon the king and queene of England sent Thomas Thurlbie bishop of Elie, Anthonie Browne knight, Vicount Montague, and Edward Kernen or Kerne knight, ambassadors to Rome, to declare the same subiection of the church of England. But when these ambassadors were on their waie, they receiued intelligence of the death of pope Julie, to whom Marcellus did succeed, who died the twentith daie after that he had receiued the popedome. Wherfore these ambassadors did make some delaie in their iournie, vntill their ambassage were renewed in the name of the new pope, which was Peter the cardinall Theatin (of whom we spake before) called Paule the fourth, being a great enimie both to the emperor & Poole, and so studious of the French causes, that when fiue yeres truce was taken betweene the emperor and the French king, he procured (by the helpe of the cardinall of Lorraine) that the same should be vndone.

To this pope therefore did the legats of England offer obedience in the name of the kingdome. But Poole which vnderstood the old displeasure, which this pope did beare vnto him, and doubting some danger that might thereby happen vnto him, did diligentlie labor with the king and queene, when the ambassadors were returned home, that he might obteine the bishoprike of Canturburie, after that Cranmer were executed for heresie, least that his legantine power being taken from him, he should be called backe to Rome, and be euillie intreated of the pope, who had fined and imprisoned manie of the cardinals which were imperialists. Now we said before, that Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, knowing the dislike that was betweene this

Poole laboreth to be archbishop of Canturburie.

pope

Two swords, ciuill & ecclesiasticall.

pope and cardinall Poole, did seeke to obteine the honour of a cardinall, and the legantine power by secret drifts, & therfore laboured that Poole should not burne Cranmer, so long as Gardiner liued. But in this seeking for these honours, Gardiner died, and Cranmer was burnt. After which the king & quæne did earnestlie desire of the pope, that Poole might be inuested with the archbishoprike of Canturburie, for the common consideration of the cause of England, (latelie by the comming of Poole conuerted to the Romane faith) did somwhat mitigate the displeasure which the pope conceiued against this cardinall Poole. Wherfore the pope in the assemblie of the cardinals did (by cardinall Moronus, who was then called the protector of England in the Romane court) not onelie nominat Poole to be archbishop of Canturburie, but did highlie praise the man. And

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bicause Poole had not as yet receiued the order of priesthod, but was onelie a deacon, he receiued of pope Paule vnder the pretext of prouision, this generall title of the generall administrator of the bishoprike and prouince of Canturburie, vntill that he were made preest, which being had, the pope determined that the same title should cease and passe into the name of archbishop, and in the meane time gaue in the same bull of prouision, full authoritie, that Poole should lawfullie reteine with the archbishoprike, all benefices, dignities, and all pensions whatsoeuer, issuing out of ecclesiasticall liuings, for the maintenance of his honour of archbishop, cardinall, and legat.

After this, he being made preest in the conuent church of the Franciscane friers of Grænewich the two and twentith daie of March, he was by the popes authoritie consecrated archbishop of Canturburie by Nicholas Heath archbishop of Yorke, in the presence of the bishops of London, Elie, Worcester, Lincolne, Rochester, and saint Assaph; Poole swearing obedience to the pope, as other his predecessors had done: which oth he tooke during the time of the masse, in the sight of the king, the quæne, and manie other councellors. Three daies after, which was the daie of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie, being accompanied with Edmund Boner bishop of London, the earle of Penbroke, and sir Edward Hastings knight of the garter, he went most honourablie vnto the parish church of the arches or Bow in London (*Vbi primò* as saith Matthew Parker *pontificia sacra fecit*) with the ensignes of his cardinalship and legantine power, manie generall aduocats and procurators going before him. After whose comming into the said church, he placed himselfe attired in his cardinals weed, in a gilden seat, set about with golden carpets and cushins, at what time masse was celebrated by the bishop of Worcester, with vnaccustomed pompe. During which, Thurlebie bishop of Elie was present, to whom a certeine papall writing with the pall was giuen by Dauid Powell archdeacon of Derbie, which being receiued the bishops all mitred and clad in their pontificalibus, did put the pall vpon the shoulders of Poole with the accustomed speech and ceremonies: which done, the cardinall goeth into the pulpit, where he discoursed of the signification, vse, originall, and matter of the same pall, but verie slenderlie, as was by manie supposed. These things thus done, the archbishop tooke possession of his see, and was installed (without the accustomed shew and magnificence by his procurator Robert Collins his commissarie of Canturburie, the fift kalends of Aprill. After this to

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put in vre the authoritie giuen him by the pope for the maintenance of his estate, he taketh the profits of the bishoprike of Winchester, during the vacancie of that see; which when White bishop of Lincolne did desire, bicause that he was borne in that diocesse and was sometime maister of Wickham college in Winchester, he promised to giue to the cardinall a thousand pounds English during his life, & one yere after; and so obteined the bishoprike of Winchester as hath Matthew Paris, for which couenants bicause they sauoured of simonie, both they were to be absolued by the pope. Now when quæne Marie (as we said before in Cranmer) had remitted vnto the clergie the first fruits and tenths, which were before granted to king Henrie the eight, his heires and successors of the kingdome, she committed all that matter to Poole: to whome the cleargie (thinking themselues discharged of the burthen of these first fruits and tenths) did notwithstanding the quænes grant, wholie paie the same. The cause whereof was pretended to be this. King Henrie the eight vpon the dissolution of the religious houses, did grant yærelie stipends to manie of the monks and other persons; all which Poole would haue to be paid out of the first fruits and tenths, least the quæne might feele the hurt of this liberall grant, when hir treasure being greatlie weakened therewith, should not suffice to beare the charges of those grants of king Henrie the eight. Whereby it followed, that this grant of the quæne did more hinder than profit the cleargie: for manie with the hope of this release of their first fruits, did put in no suerties to paie the same, which they ought to haue done vnder a great paine set downe by that law, which gaue them to king Henrie the eight; for want of which suerties they were after called into the law, as writeth Matthew Parker in these words: *Illi in ius de stipulatione ac fidei iussione de primitijs danda vocati, dum in iure contenderènt, fisci procuratoribus ac ministris, cum consueta sportula essent pendenda, miserè plectebantur, soluendáque tum dilationibus factis earum residua, quæ arreragia dicuntur, mortuis paulo post tam regina Maria quàm Polo cardinale, maximo ministerij detrimento regina Elisabetha regnante iterum repetita sunt, postquam pontificius clerus amotus & abdicatus fuisset.*

Ex archiuis.

That same yeare Poole deseruing well of the see of Canturburie, obteined of the quæne that the patronage of ninetæne ecclesiasticall benefices placed in Kent within his diocesse were giuen vnto that see. Besides which he procured not anie great profit vnto that chaire, but onelie in building the long gallerie of Lambeth on the east side, with the inferior buildings and parlor ioined to the same: for the charge which he ment to haue bestowed vpon the palace of Canturburie was neuer done, by reason that he was preuented by death. This archbishop held a synod at London in S. Paules church, wherein he established all things which might strengthen the subiection of England to the church of Rome: all which he publisht in a booke intituled, The reformation of the church of England, conteining twelue chapters, amongst which this was one, for frugalitie and moderat diet in England, as worthie remembrance, & to be followed by our now clergie, his words be these: *Quia exemplum vitæ magnam authoritatem verbo adfert, ésique velut quoddam prædicandi genus, ob id curandum est ijs, qui alijs præsunt, vt cæteris cùm morum probitate, vitæque sanctitate tum ea propriam domum rectè gubernandi laude, quàm in episcopis apostolus requirit, antecellant. Nullo igitur prælati fastu, nulla pompa vtantur, non vestibus fericis, non pretiosa suppelectile, sed eorum mensa frugalis & parca, non plus quàm tria, aut ad summum quatuor (quod etiam magis pro huius temporis ratione, indulgendo quàm probando concedimus) ciborum genera præter fructus & bellaria, qualescunque hospites aut conuiuas habeant apponantur. Reliqua mensæ cõdimenta sint charitas,*

A law made for frugalitie and moderat diet, to be kept of the cleargie.

Poole laboreth to be archbishop of Canturburie.

tas, ſanctorum librorũ lectio, & ſermones pij. Domeſticorum & equorum numeroſa & ſuperflua multitudine abſtineant, ac tot miniſtris contenti ſint, quot ad curæ ſibi commiſſæ adminiſtrationem, ac domus regimen, & quotidianos vitæ vſus erunt neceſſarij. Thus much Poole.

Touching which ſparing and frugalitie of diet, Cranmer before him, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and one, did make ſomwhat a more large decree. For he appointed ſix diſhes of fiſh and fleſh to an archbiſhop, fiue to a biſhop, to deanes and archdeanes foure, & to inferior perſons three; with foure diſhes of fruit, or ſuch like, for an archbiſhop, three for a biſhop, & two for the reſt. But neither Cranmer nor Poole with all their lawes (the greater is the pitie) could reſtreine the inordinat and needles ſuperfluitie of fare in England. For though theſe orders were for ſome ſmall time obſerued; yet within one month after they returned to their accuſtomed diet and banketing. But to returne to the courſe of the hiſtorie for this archbiſhop, we ſaie, that quæne Marie to ſuccor hir huſband now entred into the warres of France, ſent defiance vnto the French king, which did ſo much incenſe pope Paule the fourth, who fauored the Frenchmen, that his dailie miſlike of cardinall Poole grew more great againſt him, and that the rather, becauſe Poole had directed letters vnto the pope, and ſent meſſengers, by whome he did with great reuerence and vehemence deale with the pope, that the ſame warres might be appeaſed, through the mediation of his holineſſe, which Poole did know to haue furthered the ſame. Wherefore the pope taking awaie his legantine power from this cardinall Poole, did call him backe to Rome, and in that office did place William Peter (as hath Matthew Parker) one of the order of the Franciſcans to be both cardinall and legat, if this name of William Peter in the printed booke be not miſtaken for Peter Peto the frier Minor, being made legat & cardinall at this inſtant 1557. as appereth in my diſcourſe* of cardinals. When the pope had called Poole to Rome, he was not ſatiſfied therwith, but committed to priſon cardinall Moronus the familiar frend of cardinall Poole. All which being knowen to quæne Marie before they came vnto the eares of Poole, ſhe (vnknowledging to this archbiſhop) commanded, that they which ſhould come into England from the pope, ſhould not land at any hauen by the helpe of the Engliſh: adding moreouer, that if anie letters were brought, that they ſhould be intercepted and deliuered to the quæne, & not to Poole. For which cauſe ſhe further ſent vnto hir ambaſſador at Rome, to declare vnto the pope, that if this legantine power were taken from Poole and giuen vnto Peter, that the Romane religion new ſet vp in England would be in greter danger. Wherefore the pope with great heed ought to beware, that if he went forth in this determination, that it would breed ſuch turmoile in England, as would not eaſilie be againe appeaſed. Whereunto the pope anſwered, that Poole by probable reaſons of the court of Rome, was fallen into the ſuſpicion of hereſie, and for that cauſe was commanded to come to Rome: *Vt* (ſaith Matthew Parker) *ſuum cum Moroni cardinalis ac familaris ſui confeßione iuncta habeatur de præſenti inquiſitio, ne cui tanti momenti negotio abſenti præiudicaretur.* Which thing, although quæne Marie meant to haue had kept from Poole, yet he vnderſtood the ſame by other meſſengers, and therefore omitted to beare the ſiluer croſſe, leſt the adminiſtration of the legantine power, and by poſt horſſes ſent to Rome to the pope one Nicholas Dzmanet (called the popes datarie, whoſe diligence in that legantine power cardinall Poole did chefelie vſe) to defend Poole in all things, to render account of his orderlie vſing of the legantine power, & to open the ſtate of religion in England. The pope gladlie receiued Dzmanet, & gaue him hearing in the behalfe of Poole, but ſaid, he greatlie maruelled by whoſe perſuaſion the quæne of England made warres with the French, wherby a great ſlaughter & captiuitie of the French men was had at ſaint Quintins, from which warre he ſaid that his legat Poole ought and might haue diſſuaded the quæne, wherefore he deemed his negligence or permiſſion therein, and thereof vnworthie of legantine power. For as touching the other ſuſpicions of hereſie laid againſt him, ſaid they, were wholie vniuſt and malicious, from which the holieſt man that euer was, no not Chriſt himſelfe could be free. Which ſaid, the pope permitted Poole to kæpe his legantine authoritie, vntill he ſhould ſend cardinall Carafa his brothers ſon to ſet a peace betwæn king Philip and the French, and ſo gaue leaue vnto Dzmanet to returne into England vnto cardinall Poole, who was somewhat reuiued by the comming of Dzmanet. But becauſe he vnderſtood through the talke betwæne the pope & him that Carafa the new cardinall, *Qui* (as ſaith Parker) *ex gregaria Galli militia ad id muneris nuper ab auunculo ſuo papa aſſumptus eſt.* ſhould come vnto the emperor, he expected that Carafa would be a ſharpe cenſuror of all his deeds, in the adminiſtration of his legantine power. Wherfore this cardinall Poole proceeded verie ſtreictlie againſt the euangelicals, and not onelie purſued the liuing, but alſo ſtretched his power vpon the bones of the dead. For firſt, viſiting his dioceſſe of Canturburie, he after ſent John Chriſtopherſon biſhop of Chicheſter, and Cutbert Scot biſhop of Cheſter, with doctor Cole and Dzmanet (whome he preferred in all things) to be his delegat iudges to viſit the vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to reduce them vnto the rule of the Romane religion. Which commiſſioners amongſt other things did at Oxford burne the buried bones of the wife of Peter Martyr, and at Cambridge the bones of Martine Bucer and Paulus Phagius, after that they were ſolemnlie condemned of hereſie; at which time they ſcarſe refreined their hands from the dead carcaſes of the kings, Henrie the eight & Edward the ſixt.

All things thus done, and (as it ſeemed) in quiet, Calis was loſt to the French, which thing greatlie greeued the people, and the quæne ſo vehementlie, that ſhe tooke it at the hart, and neuer after recouered it; being in ſuch agonie, as that ſhe neither could nor would be comforted by anie, ſith king Philip hir huſband was then alſo abſent, whereby in the end ſhe died. But before the quæns death there was a parlement & a ſynod holden, in which ſynod Poole declared vnto the clergie how heauilie the quæne did take the loſſe of Calis; wherfore, to comfort hir, he perſuaded the clergie, that they ſhould willinglie promiſe to giue liberallie of their owne ſubſtance towards the maintenance of continuall warres againſt the French. Whereunto the clergie was led vpon condition, that they might be free from all other manner of charges of armor, horſſe, and men, and other warlike expenſes, the which was after obteined by the interceſſion of Poole; and yet the prelats entred into a priuat conference amongſt themſelues, to prouide all armor neceſſarie for their own defenſe (as they ſaid in that ſynod) againſt the force of the enimies. This done, the quæne did ſhortlie after depart this life (during this parlement and ſynod) vpon thurſdaie, which that yeare was the ſeuententh daie of Nouember, in hir manor of ſaint James betwæne the houres of fiue and ſix of the clocke in morning. Upon whoſe death on that daie this

The pope incenſed againſt England.

* Pag. 1168.

Poole a ſuſpected heretike.

The loſſe of Calis the death of quæne Marie.

this is not to be ouerpassed in silence, that thursdaie was a fatall and funerall daie to three princes succeeding one after an other, being of one blood and line, which were Henrie the eight the father, king Edward the first the sonne, and this queene Marie daughter to the first, and sister to the last, but not by one woman.

A fatall daie to three princes.

In which yere a feuer quartane deuoured manie persons, and namelie of the clergie; which feuer at this time, and on the daie of the death of queene Marie, did twise giue two fits to cardinall Poole, which troubled him so greatlie, that he shortlie died on the same daie, or (as others haue) the next morning, when he heard of the death of queene Marie. Wherein seemeth to be no lesse sympathie and consent of minds, and influences of the heauens in them at that time of their death; than there was by birth, nighnesse of blood and consanguinitie, and by education and societie in their young yeares a consent in maners and religion in the time of their liues. The death of which cardinall occasioned manie then to saie, that he poisoned himselfe, as one that hated to liue to see the change of religion, and doubting the mercie of the noble succeeding queene, whom he had secretlie offended. Which procuring of his owne death I cannot be led to beleeue for manie reasons, but speciallie for that Matthew Parker speaketh not thereof, who of purpose hath largelie set downe his life, and to the vttermost recited whatsoeuer touched him, either for dispraise, or opening of his euill actions. Which I leaue to the iudgement of others, not hauing at this present sufficient time to set downe euerie thing, which the same reuerend father and worthie author hath spoken or aggrauated with or against him. He died (as I saie) the same daie wherin the queene died, the third houre of the night, after that he had liued seuen and sixtie yeares and six moneths, had ruled in the archbishops chaire two yeares seuen moneths three weekes and fiue daies, and had exercised his legantine power foure yeares and six daies; whose bodie was first conueied from Lambeth to Rochester, where it rested one night, being brought into the church of Rochester at the west dore, not opened manie yeres before. At what time my selfe then a young scholer beheld the funerall pompe thereof, which trulie was great and answerable both to his birth and calling, with store of burning torches and mourning weedes. At what time his coffin being brought into the church was couered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten ouer all the length and breadth of the same, in the middest of which crosse his cardinals hat was placed. From Rochester he was conueied to Canturburie, where the same bodie (being first before it came to Rochester inclosed in lead) was (after three daies spent in his commendations, set forth in Latine and English) committed to the earth in the chapell of Thomas Becket. The tome of which Poole is yet to be seene so plaine and base as maie be, the same being onelie a heape of bricke mortised together, with the top like to the ridge or couer of a house onelie plastered ouer with lime, besides which is set his armes and this deuise of his: A globe, round about which a snake did spirallie wind hir selfe, vpon whose head did stand a white dowe, and besides the same this posie written, *Prudens simplicitas*: which bearing manie, and those both wise and learned expositions, I leaue to euerie man to iudge as his humor pleaseth, especiallie sith he maie see the same deuise at this daie ouer the entrance into the defaced church of the knights of S. Johns of Jerusalem nere Smithfield besides London. Which deuise standing there, proueth that this cardinall had begun to repare that church, and thought fullie to haue brought thither the knights of Malta, sometime knowne by the name of the knights of the Rhodes, and knights of S. Johns of Jerusalem, in as ample number as that order possessed that house before the same was dissolued in the time of king Henrie the eight, which was not done so fullie as he ment; for but fewe were gathered thither vnder their lord and prior sir Thomas Tresham knight. At the time of the death of this cardinall he greatlie fauoured and trusted strangers, to whom he principallie gaue all that he had, making Aloisius Priolus a senator of Venice, the heire of all his substance, to whose trust he committed the disposition of his will, and the performance of his legacies, who did it accordinglie, giuing liberallie to all men, but speciallie to such as came out Italie, or from other far countries with him into England. Which gratitude the Italians affirme that Poole vsed to them because he found honorable support amongst them when he remained there, and was banished his countrie. At what time of *disposing of his goods, Priolus himselfe seemed so modest and temperate in taking or withholding anie of the riches of the cardinall, that he gaue to euerie man his due, and further reteined nothing thereof to his owne vse but two prair bookes, which were a breuiarie and a diurnall.

Restitution of the knights of the Rhodes.

Poole supposed to haue poisoned himselfe.

*See pa. 1165.

Matthew Parker was made archbishop of Canturburie in this sort. After the death of queene Marie, and that the noble princesse Elisabeth obteined the crowne, who abolished all Romane ceremonies and altered the state of religion; shee had care first to place a most graue and wise person in the principall see of hir kingdome, to the end that he sitting at the sterne of the ship of ecclesiasticall gouernment, might direct the same according as the gospell required: wherefore she nominated to that place doctor Nicholas Wotton, a man of no lesse wisedome and experience than he was of great seruice imploied for the benefit of his countrie. But he refusing the same, as one who in his old yeares would not accept so heuie a charge, Matthew Parker was most worthilie aduanced to that place, of whose birth, education, desert and learning, which brought him to that see, we will intreat as followeth, in some part taken out of a booke written of his life.

Matthew Parker.

This Matthew was borne at Norwich on the first of August, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and foure, being about the twentith yeare of Henrie the seuenth, of honest parents being citizens of Norwich, whereof his fathers name was William Parker, and his mother called Alois or Alice; of which two, the first died the tenth of Januarie one thousand fiue hundred and sixteene, being about the eight yere of king Henrie the eight; and the second departed the world the twentith of September, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and three, falling in the first yeare of the reigne of queene Marie. These parents of this Matthew procured him to be brought vp in grammar & such learning at home with them, vntill he came to seuenteene or eighteene yeares of age; but when his father was dead, and he left in the custodie of his mother, he was sent to Cambridge, where he was maintained by hir charge, and nourished in Corpus Christi college. But shortlie after his comming thither, when his good increase of learning was perceiued, he had (as one hath written of him) appointed to him *Stipendium è collegij vectigalibus, vt sacra bibliam socijs legeret, cuius generis scholares bibliotistæ dicuntur*. Wherevpon he thus made one of that number, and abating his mothers charge, did in saint Marie hall (belonging to Corpus Christi college) diligentlie aplie his time in the studie of logike and philosophie, by meanes of which studies (after

Matthew Parker a Bibleclarke.

The losse of Calis the death of queene Marie.

The pompe at Poles funerall.

ker that he had consumed three yeares and somewhat more in the same) he was made bachellor of arts in the fourth yeare after his comming to Cambridge, and within three yeares following, a professor or master of art, and fellow of the foresaid college. After which his first training vp in these humane arts, he did (as he grew in yeares and riper iudgment) applie himselfe to higher studies, giuing himselfe to diuinitie, the onlie knowledge wherein the most excellent part of man receiueth chéefest comfort in this life. In which kind of studie he bestowed such diligent and painfull trauell, that he red ouer the doctors & councels in the space of fiue yeares; which being so spent, he then began to come forth into the world to shew what he was, and to labour in the vineyard of Christ his church.

The first sermon that Matthew Parker made.

Wherefore hauing obteined the kings grant, and the licence of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie to preach, he made his first sermon in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, preaching afterward in manie other famous places of England, to his singular commendation; and at length by degrées, was admitted in the Lent time amongst other learned persons, to preach before king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and quéene Elisabeth. Whose fame thereby growing great, and king Henrie the eight liking of him, this Matthew was called into the court; and by the king made the chapline of quéene Anne, mother to the now liuing renowmed princesse Elisabeth, to whome God grant a long, happie, and peacefull life and gouernement, making hir enimies hir footstoole. When he was thus the quénes chapline, the king and she bestowed manie great gifts vpon him. For first he was made deane of Stoke, which is not far from Clare in Suffolke. Then after (being made bachellor of diuinitie) he obteined of king Henrie the eight to haue a prebend in the church of Elie, and by the intercession of the same king (for his learning sake) he shortlie after obteined to haue the degrée of doctor of diuinitie, and to be chosen (by the fellows of that house) to be maister or ruler of Corpus Christi college, in which he had béene first brought vp, and which he did after increase with large gifts: besides the furnishing of the librarie there with manie rare and notable monuments and ancient histories of this realme.

See before pag. 1261.

After the death of king Henrie the eight, he was aduanced to be chapline to king Edward the first, by whose benefit he was made deane of Lincolne, and obteined the prebendarie of Coldingham in the same church, with the rectorie of Landbéech in the diocesse of Elie, foure miles from Cambridge, which was bestowed vpon him by the gift and patronage of the fellowes of his college. With which reuenues & dignities this bishop being thus indowed, he did not miserablie spend the same; but imploied it for the benefit of the common-welth, and kept the college of Stoke (desired & obteined of the king by the laitie) vntill in the first yeare of king Edward the first it was prouided by parlement, that the same college should come to the kings hand, by reason whereof he was inforced to depart therewith, hauing yearelie fortie pounds allowed him out of the exchéker for the same. The losse of which college he tooke the more grieuouslie, because he had there built a schoole, and appointed a yearelie stipend for the maintenance of a schoole maister there; which schoole he yet left, notwithstanding the taking awaie of the college, in such a state as he could by all means procure to haue it remaine.

1553 After this, when king Edward was dead, and his sister quéene Marie succéeded, and that in the second yeare of hir reigne all the maried clergie were remoued from their ecclesiasticall liuings: this Matthew was also depriued of all his promotions, and so liued contented without them, during all the time of quéene Marie. After the death of the same quéene, when the noble and heroicall woman 1558 the quéene Elisabeth obteined the crowne (remouing all such Romane ceremonies as were renewed by hir sister Marie) manie such persons as were exiled in those seuere times of quéene Maries reigne returned into England; and such as then had secretlie hidden themselues within the realme for their religions cause, began now to step forth into the light, and openlie shew themselues in the world. Amongst which latter sort was this Matthew Parker, known to the quéene and hir councell from the time of his youth, being by the iudgement of all men thought méet, both for his learning, grauitie and iudgement, to be aduanced to some spirituall promotion. Wherefore he was named to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, which offered dignitie the more he refused to accept, was the more vehementlie vrged vpon him; whereof there be manie witnesses liuing, and of them in the highest degrée of credit with the quéene, and of honor in the common-wealth. But at length, what by the commandement of hir maiestie, and the persuasion of his friends, he receiued the title and possession of the bishop and bishoprike of Canturburie: in which, how he behaued himselfe, we shall more liberallie hereafter discourse.

Wherefore in the second yeare of quéene Elisa- 1559 beth, he was on the seuentéenth daie of December chosen to that place by the deane and chapter of that metropolitane sée of Canturburie, and was consecrated in the presence of foure bishops: which were William bishop of Chichester, John bishop of Hereford, Miles sometime bishop of Excester, and Richard bishop of Bedford. In whose consecration, this memorable thing happened vnto him; that being the seuentith bishop after Augustine, he was the first and the onelie man that obteined the same without the popes confirming buls, & without anie Aronicall ornaments of gloues, rings, sandals, stippers, mitre, pall, or such like: *Multóque rectiùs* (as saith my author) *& simpliciùs & puritati euangelicæ congruéntiùs, auspicatus est à precibus, & spiritus sancti inuocatione, manuum impositione; pijs ab eo interpositis stipulationibus, indumentis verò archiepiscopali authoritati grauitatíque consentaneis, habitóque per doctum & pium theologum pro concione de pastoris in gregem officio, cura & fide, gregísque vicißim in pastorem amore, obsequio, atque reuerentia diserta admonitione, eáque finita eucharistiæ à frequenti grauißimorum hominum cœtu perceptione, & ad extremum omnium communi & ardenti oratione, vt munus iam illi impositum maximè cedat ad Dei gloriam, gregis salutem, suaque conscientiæ letum testimonium, cùm coram Domino gesti muneris rationé sit redditurus.*

The manner of consecrating Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie.

Now to go forward with him, being in this sort consecrated archbishop, there was a law made in the first yeare of our quéene Elisabeth, wherein it was appointed, that commissioners named by the prince, should haue authoritie to deale in ciuill 1558 and ecclesiasticall causes; least in such varietie and dissention of religion, the church of England might suffer some inconuenience and hurt. In which commission, this Matthew as he was first placed for his office and dignitie, so was he most carefull in trauelling therin, and executing thereof: who in doing the same, behaued himselfe with such modestie and vprightnesse, that he displeased none in correction of things not rightlie done but certeine new fansied fellows, who puffed vp with vaine glorie, did first conceiue, set forth, and defend (rather with rathnesse and will, than with iudgement and learning) certeine new opinions to trouble the ordered state

of the commonwealth: whose vniust complaints and contumelies he tooke so moderatlie, that he neither left the mildnesse of his owne nature, nor went beyond the dignitie of his archiepiscopall calling, nor did maliciouslie punish their lightnesse and rash vnaduisednesse. For what his sufferance was, to regaine these degenerat persons to the publike religion; what his pietie was, in seeking to reconcile such of the nobilitie, as law controuersies had sundered in amitie; and what his patience was, in suffering all kinds of iniuries, whereby he brake and auoided the malice and boldnesse of manie, and bound vnto him the wise and better sort; all they knew which were dailie conuersant with him: which if by prowse they did not, yet the same might be more coniectured by others, vpon his mild and well ordered actions, than we can here presentlie write. Now beside manie other things which he shewed for prowfe of his patience and gentle nature, there were other good parts in him: for although he was manie times troubled with sickenesse, yet would he often ascend the pulpit and preach, both in his metropolitane church, and in other parishes. But leauing these and manie commendable vertues, wherewith he was indued, let vs come to those things which happened in the time of his archbishoprike.

Regist. Matth. Parker.

In the first yeare of his consecration, he did at Lambeth consecrat eleuen, and confirme two bishops in his prouince; & within the next two yeares did with the consecration of new bishops fill vp all the number of the bishoprikes of his owne prouince, except onelie the see of Landaffe, which still kept Anthonie the bishop, who possessed the same in the time of queene Marie. These bishops, which were by him so consecrated in that first yeare, were Edmund Grindall bishop of London, Richard Cor bishop of Elie, Edwine Sands bishop of Worcester, John Jewell bishop of Salisburie, Gilbert Berkeleie bishop of Bath and Wels, John Beaton bishop of Lichfield & Couentrie, Rowland Yericke bishop of Bangor, Thomas Yong bishop of saint Dauids, & Richard Dauid bishop of saint Assaph, all diuines; and such as being fled out of England in the time of queene Marie, were returned in the beginning of the reigne of queene Elisabeth. Besides which, he consecrated two other bishops, which secretlie remained in England in the daies of the same queene Marie: whereof the one was Nicholas Bullingham, brought vp in the ciuill and canon lawes, who (being in the time of Edward the first vicar generall of the bishop of Lincolne, was remoued from thense in queene Maries reigne, and after in the beginning of this queenes time, appointed by the said Matthew Parker to be iudge of his courts) was now by him consecrated bishop of Lincolne. The other bishop was Edmund Ghest a learned diuine, & one of the familie or household of the archbishoprike & archdeacon of Canturburie, whome this Matthew aduanced to the bishoprike of Rochester. In which yeare also, this archbishop confirmed in their bishoprikes William Barlow bishop of Bath & Wels in the time of king Edward the first, now made bishop of Chichester, and John Scorie bishop of Chichester in the reigne of Edward the first, now aduanced to the bishoprike of Hereford.

The maner of consecrating Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie.

The next yeare he consecrated at Lambeth Robert Horne (sometime deane of Durham before his banishment in queene Maries time) bishop of Winchester, John Parkhurst bishop of Norwich, Richard Cheneie bishop of Glocester, Thomas Dauid bishop of saint Assaph, and Edmund Schambler bishop of Peterborrough, being his household chapleine. Besides these, he confirmed also in the same yeare Thomas Yong, remoued from saint Dauids to the archbishoprike of Yorke, and Thomas Dauid bishop of saint Dauids being remoued from the see of Assaph to saint Dauids. When all the bishoprikes of his prouince were thus replenished, Anthonie bishop of Tauens or Landaffe departed the world, in whose place Hugh Dauid doctor of law did succeed, and was also consecrated at Lambeth. So that by this time all the number of bishops in his prouince receiued consecration at the hands of this Matthew. A thing worthie the noting, because all histories haue set it down for a speciall thing, if anie archbishop had in his time consecrated three or foure other bishops, as Anselme is said to haue in one daie consecrated fiue bishops, & Plegmund his predecessor seuen bishops, a thing whereat antiquitie did marueil: but this Matthew, in the first yeare of his consecration, did consecrat eleuen, and confirme two. And in the three first years of his archiepiscopall dignitie he did fill vp all the bishoprikes of his prouince; a thing which neuer happened to anie archbishop of Canturburie before the daies of this man. This done, he appointed visitations, in which himselfe did visit his owne diocesse of Canturburie. At what time, to auoid all note and suspicion of gaine, he did not onelie willinglie remit to euerie parish their accustomed charges to be paid for those causes, but did further in all his iourneie defraie the expenses thereof vpon his owne cost. In the rest of his dioceses, either he did not visit, least he should greeue the people with the charge thereof; or else appointed that visitation to some other moderat person to be his procurator therein, which neuer demanded allowance therefore; or if he had anie allowance, the same was bestowed in his name vpon some bishop whose profits were but small; as on the bishop, of Excester: or else it was distributed to the poore, as happened in the visitation of Norwich.

In hist. Ebor. epiſcor. cap. 51.

Thus hauing spoken somewhat of his publike doings, let vs now also saie somewhat of his priuat actions. This man liuing priuatlie at Cambridge married his wife Margaret, whom he loued seuen yeares before the mariage contracted or celebrated, which time they had to procure mutuall consent betweene them: because king Henrie the eight had established a law, wherein it was treason for anie priest to marie. Whereupon they were after maried in king Edwards time, in which band they continued two and twentie yeares. During which he had by his wife foure children, whereof two died yong, and the other two were called John and Matthew, whom he diligentlie brought vp in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; both which comming to mans estate, were after maried in the episcopall tribe. For the eldest John did marie Jone the daughter of Richard Cor bishop of Elie, the other tooke to wife Francis the daughter of William Barlow bishop of Chichester. The domesticall traine of this bishop was honorable after his estate, to euerie one of whom this law was set, to be at the seruice in the time appointed, or else to be fined with the losse of his dinner. His hall was in orderlie sort kept, as it had beene in the daies of his predecessors. For on the right side thereof, his steward kept the table for the archbishops gentlemen, and such other strangers: and on the other side did sit the almoner with his clearks, and the rest of his household: whose tables were so well furnished, as these officers were appointed to interteine (with their diet) all commers (who might thinke themselues satisfied) which were vnder the calling of a knight. And thus this much shortlie touching that matter.

The mariage and issue of Matthew Parker.

The order of his house.

Now, after that he had beene foure yeares archbishop, paied his first fruits, and furnished his house according to his degree, and established matters for

religion; he determined to renew and build the ancient palace of Canturburie belonging to the bishop, being all ruinous, and a great part consumed with fire; which was a hard thing, & of great charge, considering the dearth of all things in these our daies, necessarie therevnto. Which in the end he brought to perfection, to the charge of one thousand foure hundred pounds and more. The charge whereof he was the willinger to sustaine, because he vnderstood, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and nintéene: Charles the fift the emperor, when he came into England to king Henrie the eight, to visit his aunt quéene Katharine, was feasted in the same hall. In which feast, Charles and his people had the vpper end of the hall, and king Henrie the eight & quéene Katharine kept the lower end thereof. But the chiefest cause, which moued this bishop to vphold the buildings of his predecessors, was; for that manie kings and quéenes had béene crowned, and manie archbishops at their inthronization had kept great feasts in the same hall: and that besides, in the same hall, manie dukes, earles, and noble men, hauing a yearelie pension, therefore, did execute the offices of steward and butler at the installation of the archbishops. As of late, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foure; when William Warham archbishop of Canturburie did enter the possession of the bishoprike, and kept a sumptuous feast therefore in the same hall, Edward duke of Buckingham did there serue as steward and ruler of all the household.

This hall thus repared, he also bestowed some costs vpon all those parish churches (which were in decaie) whereof exchange was made by king Henrie the eight with Thomas Cranmer, and whereof the quéene Elisabeth had receiued the tenths (during the vacancie of the bishoprike) by a law established in the first yeare of hir reigne. Which bishop (albeit he bestowed no great charge vpon his installment, as manie of his predecessors had done before, and lastlie cardinall Poole, whome this Matthew succéeded) further considering that the cause of building this great hall, was for the maintenance of hospitalitie, and desirous after the example of the old liberalitie of his predecessors, to make an archiepiscopall feast (worthie such a hall) to the multitude of his parishioners of Kent, (did in the yeare after the reparing of the same hall) take occasion that the same might be replenished with the people of Kent, when all the shire (aswell gentlemen and others were assembled at Canturburie, to wait vpon the iustices of assise) determined there to hold the oier, terminer, and gaole deliuerie. At what time, John Southcot iustice of the kings bench, and Gilbert Gerard then generall attourneie, and now maister of the rolles, were iustices of assise; and sir Thomas Kemp knight was shiriffe for and of that countrie, whome with the gentlemen of the shire this archbishop did inuite to a sumptuous feast.

He feasted the iustices of assise, and the whole assemblie of the assises.

Whereupon they granting to come thereunto, the bishop summoned the rest of the people by an officer and other messengers. On the daie of the appointed feast, the hall was decked with rich clothes, and furnished with much and rich plate and siluer vessell. At what time the iudges, the shiriffes, the knights, gentlemen, and all the whole companie of the bench, with lawyers and other officers attending on the court, togither with the whole multitude of the people, entered the hall, and were placed according to their degrées; no man seruing that daie, but such as were of the archbishops familie. But because the multitude was verie great, these ghests were faine to be set at seuerall times one after another; although in this publike time, when these iudges and other gentlemen were there, no woman was séene amongst them. For they being conueied into the innermost part of his palace, were committed to his wife, and this feast onelie consisted of the men: from whome the bishop receiued great thanks and commendations.

Which generall interteinement he vsed at other times, both there, & in manie other places: but because that this was openlie done in the shew of the whole shire; it séemed, and was reported, to be greater than anie other. For in the Whitsundaie before, when the archbishop had made a sermon to the cleargie and people of Canturburie, in the metropolitane church; and the sacrament was then distributed to the people: he was attended on to his house by the deane and cleargie, by the maior and citizens, and by diuerse gentlemen of Kent; whome he had that daie inuited to dinner. In which feast, (which continued three daies) the archbishop sat in his hall at the vpper end thereof. On whose right side sat the maior and the citizens; and on the other side ouer against them were placed the women. Which order was at the rest of the tables set along the hall, where the men were placed on the right side, and the women kept the other part. Which feast so ordered, was celebrated in honor of the quéne, which had aduanced him to that sée.

Other feasts made by the archbishop to the whole multitude.

This done, he preached againe on Trinitie sundaie to the people, and administring the sacrament, he bestowed the like feast on the people of Canturburie, in the honor of king Henrie the eight, the last restorer of the church of Canturburie. But this ouerpassed, let vs returne vnto some other thing, least in the midst of all these bankets, I make but a hungrie description of such worthie praise and liberalitie, vsed by so honorable and graue a personage. In the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and six, he consecrated Nicholas Robinson professor of diuinitie, to the bishoprike of saint Dauids, an eloquent man in his mother tong: who comming from Cambridge, where he suffered some troubles in quéene Maries time, was then this archbishops chapleine. In the yeare following, he confirmed Henrie Curwine doctor of law, bishop of Orford: who hauing béene archbishop of Dubline, and chancellor of Ireland, was verie skilfull in the ciuill law: which offices when he had worthilie manie yeares discharged, and did now grow in yeares; returned into his countrie, and was translated to the bishoprike of Orford. After which, this archbishop consecrated Richard Rogers bacheler of diuinitie to be his suffragane, bishop of Douer.

1566 Nicholas Robinson made bishop of saint Dauids.

1567 Henrie Curwine archbishop of Dubline, made bishop of Orford.

1569

The next yeare following, he returned vnto Canturburie, where on Ascension daie, in the metropolitane church, he fed the people with spirituall food; and the Whitsuntide after, for three daies together, did abundantlie fæd both men and women with materiall bread in the palace of Canturburie, after the same order whereof we spake before. In which yeare likewise he remoued the old example of his predecessors a long time pretermitted. For where of old time the bishops were wont to set their consecration at Canturburie; that order was now almost lost, to the preiudice of the right and priuilege of the church of Canturburie, which this archbishop did now restore. Wherefore, when Edmund Grindall bishop of London was to be remoued to the archbishops sée of Yorke, and that Richard Curteis bishop of Chichester was chosen: he would haue the consecration of the one, and the confirmation of the other, to be done at Canturburie in the metropolitane citie. For which cause, in the feast of Trinitie, in which Richard Curteis (which was his chapleine)

1570

chapleine) was fréelie consecrated without anie reward. This archbishop, after a sermon ended, did make an honorable feast in the memorie of king Henrie the eight, which excluded the monks from that church: which feast might worthilie be called an archbishops feast, because the archbishop of Yorke was also inuited thither. At which time, besides the bishop of Yorke, there was Robert Horne bishop of Winchester, Edmund Ghest bishop of Rochester, and this Curteis also now consecrated bishop of Chichester, with all the clergie of that citie, and other ministers of the church, both men and children. Besides all which, the outward tables of the hall were furnished throughout with verie people of both kinds, belonging to the hospitall of saint John and Harbaldowne. The next date following, being mondaie, this Matthew confirmed Edmund Grindall archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of the bishops of Winchester, Rochester, and Chichester. The same yeare on the third date of Julie he began his ordinarie visitation, which with manie intermingled continuations he after deferred vntill the two and twentith of the same moneth. On which date he published iniunctions for the people & clergie of his diocesse to obserue: the same being the last session of his visitation, although that he had proroged the same to the feast of the purification of the virgine Marie.

On the eleuenth date of which moneth, when the iudges were againe (with the whole traine of the shire) assembled at Canturburie to hold the assises, he did once more, as he before had done, inuite the whole companie to another feast, appointed in all things as the other was. The thursdaie following, Edwin Sands bishop of Worcester, being to be translated to London, came to Canturburie to visit the archbishop: where after he had remained two daies, he had on the saturdaie, when he departed in the morning, his election confirmed at London by the procurators, which were there for him. After which, the archbishop commeth to Lambeth, at what time his wife died, whose bodie was buried in the wals of the porch church of Lambeth, in a chapell, whose right belongeth to those houses of the buildings of Norfolke, whereof by hir husbands sufferance she obteined the inheritance, whilest she liued. On whose tombe this sentence grauen in golden letters (promising resurrection to him and to hir) is set downe by hir husband as followeth:

Qui credit in me non moritur in æternum.

The same yeare the six and twentith of Januarie, he confirmed the election of Nicholas Bullingham bishop of Lincolne to the bishoprike of Worcester, in whose see at Lincolne was Thomas Cooper placed, and consecrated at Lambeth the foure and twentith of Februarie. And in the same yeare, the eightéenth date of March, he consecrated William Wradbridge, professor of diuinitie, and deane of Salisburie, to the bishoprike of Exceter. Then he new shingled his house at Lambeth, making there a new bridge into the Thames, and reparing the notable solarie or sellar in the garden built at the charge of Cranmer, and almost now destroied. Besides which, he further repared two water courses, one comming into the garden, and the other into the inner cloister, to serue the common vse of the household. Moreouer in the same yeare he procured the new street in Cambridge, directlie leading from the west part of saint Maries church, to the gates of the publike schooles, to be new painted, and to be walled on both sides with bricke. Next in the same yeare, in the month of March, he consecrated at Lambeth, Edmund Ghest (bishop of Rochester) to the bishoprike of Salisburie: but because the archdeacon of Canturburie, whose office is to put the consecrated bishops into the possession of their sees deceassed at this time, this Ghest was inducted of the archbishop, by the procurator. After which, in the same place, John Freake professor of diuinitie and deane of Salisburie was made bishop of Rochester, and inducted therevnto by a procurator: at whose consecration were present the bishops Robert and Edmund, the first of Winchester, the second of Salisburie. But leauing this, let vs saie somewhat of his humanitie and courtesie vsed towards such as were committed to restreint vnder his custodie for matters of religion, who were Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, Thomas Thurlebie bishop of Elie, John Boxall secretarie to quéene Marie, Richard Smith professor of diuinitie, doctor Tresham chancellor of Oxford, Edward Rice esquier, and Henrie Howard brother to Thomas duke of Norfolke; all which he vsed with great lenitie and honor, bestowing the charge of the honorable buriall of Cutbert Tunstall, and cauling maister Rice, and Henrie Howard vtterlie to renounce the Romane religion, as saith the author of the life of this Matthew.

After this, on the twelfe date of Aprill, was the yong baron the lord Sturton committed also to this archbishop; who because the quéene came that summer into Kent, went also thither with this archbishop. Of which the quéenes progresse into that countrie (wherein my selfe was borne and bred, & wherein I haue both manie friends and kinred (whome this progresse toucheth) I must aswell (for the loue which I naturallie beare vnto it, as for the courtesie I dailie receiue in it) leaue some memorie to posteritie. Thus therefore I enter into hir maiesties progresse into that countrie. The fourtéenth date of Julie being wednesdaie, the worthie quéene Elisabeth departed from Grænwich, and went to Croidon, where with hir traine she remained in the archbishops house; from thense she passed to Orpington, to the house of sir Perciuall Hart, an old knight & ancient courtier, where she staied three daies, from thense remouing to hir owne house at Knouls. After whose abode there by the space of fiue daies, she passed forth to Burling, to the house of Henrie Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, which she vsed for three daies. And departing from thense on the kalends of August, she went to another house of the said lords, called Eridge; & hauing staied there six daies, hir maiestie taketh hir iourneie to Bodgburie, belonging to Alexander Culpeper, and the next date came to Hampsted, where Thomas Gilford (after made knight) receiued hir into his house. In which, when she had remained three daies, she passed on to Rie, a towne of the sea costes of Sussex, belonging to the ports; whither the people affirmed that neuer king nor quéene euer came before hir maiestie, the truth whereof I will not at this time either approue or reproue.

In this place she rested three daies, and then spent other three at Sisingherst, the house of Richard Baker, whome she made knight at hir departure. Next on the seuentéenth date of August, which was mondaie, she came to Bocton Malcherbe, to the house of that worthie gentleman Thomas Wotton, where she was two daies largelie interteined. For which, when hir maiestie would haue honored him with the state of knighthood, as manie of his ancestors had béene before, he modestlie refused the same, rather séeking honor by vertue of life, and benefit to his countrie, than by the fauor and persuasion of others. From this mans house hir maiestie kept on hir progresse to Yetsield, to the house of maister Tufton; in which also staieng two daies,

she passed from thense to hir own house of Westinhanger, then in the custodie of Thomas Sackeuill knight, baron of Buckehurst, where she spent foure daies.

After this, as she hastened towards Douer, she dined in the castell of Sandwich, and then being ascended Folkestone hill, this Matthew archbishop of Canturburie (who at that time remained at Bekesborne) and the lord Cobham warden of the fiue ports (accompanied with three hundred knights and gentlemen of Kent, all well horsed and attended vpon with a large retinue) did meet the queene vpon the same hill; all which waited vpon hir to Douer. In the furthest parts of the liberties of which towne, the maior and the iurats thereof, with three hundred armed men receiued the queene, and in the night conducted hir to Douer, where she was interteined with a noble peale of ordinance discharged from the castell, and the ships riding thereabouts. All which meetings, and hir receiuing into Douer, was done the fiue and twentith daie of August. Now hauing rested hir selfe six daies at Douer, interteined with delights answerable for the time, and for hir presence, she came to Sandwich, where she remained (being well receiued by the maior and iurats of the same towne, during hir abode there) by the space of three daies.

The next daie, which was the third of September, she tooke hir iourneie towards Canturburie, dined by the waie at Wingham, and then entered the citie somewhat after three of the clocke in the afternoone. Who presentlie going to the cathedrall church, & entring the same at the west gate, a yong man, then scholer of the grammar schoole, receiued hir with a Latine oration. Which ended, and she knéeling at a deske, the archbishop, the bishops of Lincolne, Rochester, and of Douer, vsed praiers for hir comming thither. Then the deane with the prebends, canons, ministers, and the whole quier of the church of Canturburie, and manie other singers of hir chapell went before hir (hauing a canopie borne ouer hir head by foure knights) through the quier vntill she came to the place appointed for hir oratorie; from whense (after euening praier done) she came along the stréet to hir palace of ancient time called saint Augustines: and the sundaie following, she went in hir coch through the stréets to the same church, and so returned home: on which daie the deane preached before hir. The next daie of which hir remaining at Canturburie (being the seuenth daie of September, and the daie of hir maiesties birth, making vp the fortith yeare of hir age) she was with all hir traine inuited to dinner by the archbishop of that citie. The order of which feast being celebrated much about the houre of hir birth, was after this sort.

The noble men did onelie attend vpon the queene, who as soone as she had washed hir hands, came to the table set in breadth in the highest place of the archbishops hall; in the midst whereof, vnder a canopie or cloth of estate, hir maiestie did sit in a certeine old marble chaire, alwaies there fixed, and now decked with pretious cloths of gold. Then the erle Ritius the marshall of France (who a little before, being sent ambassador from the French king, was with a hundred gentlemen come vnto Canturburie) togither with monsieur de Mote the French kings orator, were placed at the end of the queenes table, vpon the right hand of the queene, with their faces to hir maiestie, and their backs towards the hall; to the end that they might more conuenientlie talke with hir. And at the other end of the board on the left hand were placed foure ladies, which were the marchionesse of Northhampton, with the countesses of Oxford, Lincolne, and Warwike. At what time the pensioners serued the queene, and hir maiesties other seruants attended on the ambassador, the orator, and the ladies. The furniture of whose table consisted of two courses, of most delicat fish and flesh; and one third course of fruit & other banketting deuises. Hir maiestie thus placed, the other tables in the hall were also furnished; whereof, at the first (which stood at the right hand of the queene) were set the archbishop with diuerse counsellors and other noble men and women, of which the chiefe were such as came out of France. And at the table on the left hand of the queene were placed manie ladies and worshipfull women. At the tables somewhat further off were set the maior, the ancient citizens of Canturburie, and other gentlemen and gentlewomen of Kent, all which were serued with the archbishops retinue. Thus this solemnitie ended (whereof I haue omitted manie things, as well for order of seruice, as for musike and other delights) the queene went into the bishops gallerie, hauing long talke with the French ambassador, almost till night.

When hir maiestie departed, after that she had imparted manie great thanks vnto the bishop for this sumptuous and chargeable feast, and for the rich gifts which the archbishop did moreouer bestow vpon hir (as well of horses, as other iewels) amongst which was one salt of gold, which hauing two rich achats therein curiouslie carued, the one with the queenes image, and the other with saint George killing the dragon, and a long diamond in the couer, with French verses; it was valued at more than two hundred marks, besides the six portigues which were inclosed in the same salt, when he gaue it to the queene. Moreouer, the archbishop bestowed manie goodlie gifts vpon others of the councell, and of hir maiesties traine; with fiue hundred pounds, which he gaue amongst the officers of hir house. And yet not contented herewith, he kept open house for all commers, during the time that the queene remained at Canturburie.

The next sundaie also the queene came to the cathedrall church in hir coch through the street: and so returned againe, after morning praier and a sermon made by the bishop of Lincolne. Thus the queene remaining fourteene daies at Canturburie, she went on wednesdaie to Feuersham, where she remained two daies. Then on fridaie she passeth to Sittingburne, and laie that night at the house of James Cromer esquier, a good member of his common-wealth. The next daie she came to Rochester, and rested foure daies there in an inne called the crowne, the onelie place to interteine princes comming thither; as in my time I haue seene both king Philip and the queene to haue rested themselues there. From thense she goeth to Dartford a house of hir owne, and so after two daies to Grænwich, where she ended hir progresse. In which hir Kentish progresse (which by the queene of all other countries is most commended, as well for the troops of gentlemen which continuallie attended on hir, as for the varietie of delights which were there shewed, the learned inuentions & orations, and the rich shewes of the countrie) the shiriffe with a goodlie traine of knights and gentlemen did continuallie attend vpon hir maiestie, from hir first entrance into that shire, vntill hir returne vnto Grænewich. This being spoken of, let vs returne againe to this archbishop. After the queene was setled at Grænewich, the archbishop commeth to Lambeth, where hearing the fame of this interteinement of the queene, he greatlie reioised that he had liued so long, that being the seuentie archbishop of that sée, he

should

should in the seuentie yeare of his age, receiue so honorable a prince as his soueraigne was, and giue hir a feast the daie of hir birth.

After this, he did at Lambeth on the thirteenth daie of December consecrat William Hughes doctor of diuinitie, chosen by the quæne to be bishop of saint Assaph; of whome he obteined that daie the accustomed fee for his consecration and confirmation; togither with the aduouson (which belonged to the archbishop by right of his prerogatiue) of the parish church of Llanduechen, in the diocesse of S. Assaph, then appertaining to the gift of the same bishop: which grant was confirmed by the consent of the deane and chapter, and signed with their common seale. The nert moneth in Januarie came Peter Dathen, orator from the countie Palatine of Rheine, to the quæne of England, to whome (after that the archbishop had greatlie feasted him) the archbishop gaue a guilt cup with a couer of three and fortie ounces of siluer: in the bottome whereof was the image of a citie grauen, hauing a serpent vnderneath it, lieng in a lake, and seking to deuoure the same citie; about which were written these two Latine verses, expressing the proper sense and meaning of this hieroglyphicall image or portrature:

Vrbs ego sancta Dei, serpentis fraude vetusti
Quassa, Pal-tini sæpe potentis ope.

This bishop, liuing in all worldie delights, did yet kæpe such a moderation of gouernment in himselfe, and in the ordering of all things, that he seemed most rightlie to be indued with the vertue of temperance: and therefore not esteeming of the present pleasures of this life, he allwaies vsed this posie in his windowes and other places: *Mundus transit & concupiscentia eius.* Which he caused also to be printed in his archiepiscopall seale, with the figure of the daie of iudgement. And now hauing spoken somewhat of his posie, let vs not also forget to write somewhat of his armes. It is supposed by some, that the keis which he bare in these ensignes of his, were by long inheritance of ancient familie descended vnto him: which armes being gules a cheuron siluer betweene three keis; at the last, the quæne commanded that three starres should be added thereunto, which the harolds placed in the cheuron, with the colour of gules: of which armes, namelie the three keies, & the three starres, doctor Haddon composed these verses:

Sunt antiquorum claues monumenta tuorum,
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex:
Sic bene conspirant, virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placidæ pacis fœmina læta ferunt.
Sed tandem ad finem decurrant gaudia vitæ,
Ac homo puluis erit, puluis vt antè fuit.

This man wrote in the English tong a booke of priests mariages; he composed manie homilies to be read in the church; he procured Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster to be printed; he set forth the foure euangelists in the old Saxon, and now English tong; and wrote a booke in Latine of the liues of the archbishops of that see (as some affirme) which I haue vsed much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie. He departed this world the seuentæenth daie of Maie (about midnight) at Lambeth, where he was honorablie buried: on whose toome (being of blacke marble) is ingrauen an epitaph, composed by the same doctor Haddon, and set downe before in this chronicle.

Edmund Grindall.

Edmund Grindall, descending of honest parentage (such as liued within the limits of good subiects, with the trade of certeine kind of merchandize; by which they neuer obteined the greatest wealth, nor by want felt the griefe of miserie) was borne in a towne commonlie called saint Bees, but rightlie saint Beges, standing in the west promontorie of Cumberlandshire. Which towne was so named of saint Bega, a godlie and religious woman borne in Ireland: who comming thither to liue a solitarie life in contemplation, as one estranged from the cares and troubles of the world, did there end hir daies, leauing a perpetuall memorie of hir being there; in that the same place, after rising to a proper towne, did still reteine the name of that woman, being called saint Beges or saint Bees. Whereby his birth place being famous by that woman, renowmed for hir religion and priuat life, is no lesse famous now, in bringing forth this man, who for his religion suffering a kind of persecution in the time of quæne Marie (as after shall appeare) was aduanced to the highest degree of ecclesiasticall honor in England. In which, for the fauor he bare vnto that place (as all men naturallie dow, by a certeine sympathie, which our flesh doth participat of the aire and soile wherewithout life is first nourished) he did there cause (for a perpetuall monument of his good loue and fauor thereunto) a free grammar schole to be erected (whereof we will speake more hereafter) in the same towne & place of his birth. Who being brought into the world much about the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and nine-tæne (as I gather by certeine circumstances of his age when he died, which was past the great clymacteticall yeare, for he was threescore and foure yeares of age at such time as he departed the world) was (after that he had spent his tender yeares in the first rudiments) conuoied vnto Cambridge, there to be further instructed in learning, whereunto by naturall inclination he seemed greatlie addicted. In which place he much profited in studie, to the comfort of his friends, and to his owne following aduancement and credit. For he not onelie there receiued degrees of schole, as that he was called to be a maister of arts, but also was made fellow and maister likewise of Penbroke hall, where he had bæne first brought vp and instructed. Besides hauing executed the office of proctor in that vniuersitie, which is not the meanest rowme there, he afterwards rising to higher degree of scholasticall promotions, was made bacheler of diuinitie; hauing mostlie imploied his time, and profited his knowledge by the studie thereof, as appeareth by his disputations at Cambridge, on the foure and twentith daie of June, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, being in the third yeare of king Edward the first. For in the second of these disputations (appointed by the protector the duke of Somerset, at what time the visitors, before whome the same disputations were holden, were Ridleie bishop of Rochester, Thomas bishop of Elie, John Cheke the kings schoolemaister, doctor Yale a ciuilian, and doctor Wendie the kings physician) he disputed against doctor Sitn; whose arguments are liberallie set downe by maister Fox in his acts and monuments.

Thus, when he had spent some time in that place, he did forsake the vniuersitie, and began to make shew in the world of those skilfull parts wherewith he was indued. Wherefore being furthered by the helps, which his cousine William Grindall (schoolemaister to hir maiestie now liuing) could afford him; he was called into the affaires of the world, and made knowne to hir maiestie, then but ladie Elisabeth, in the daies of hir brother king Edward the first. To whom by the meanes of his good friends he was preferred in seruice, and admitted to be the kings chapleine, after that he had spent some time in the seruice of Nicholas Ridleie bishop of London, as chapleine vnto the said bishop. Which Ridleie,

leie, being by the kings appointment to be remoued from London to Durham (a place of more reuenues, and also a countie palatine) this Edmund Grindall stood in election to haue bene bishop of London; but manie things falling betweene the mouth and the cup, he was disappointed thereof. For before that he could receiue anie admittance into that see, his maister king Edward the sixt departed the world. Whereby he was not-onelie disappointed of that honor, but driuen to that extremitie, that he was inforced amongst others to flie the realme, and to passe into Germanie; where he continued all the time of queene Marie, as after shall appeare. The cause of which voluntarie banishment of himselfe out of England was as followeth.

When king Edward was dead, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three; and that his sister queene Marie, a woman estranged from him in the points of religion, had obteined the crowne; she not onelie banished such doctrine, as was by hir brother set forth: but also brought in the Romane ceremonies, the which manie (professing the other doctrine in hir brothers daies not being able to sustteine) did (following the counsell of our sauiour Christ, who willeth vs when we are pursued in one citie, to flie into another) forsake England: for that they might not suffer or sustteine that innouation of queene Marie, denieng them the libertie of their conscience, to serue God according to the gospell. Amongst which persons, being manie, this Edmund Grindall (reserued vnto further honor after this trouble) was one, and not the meanest which fled the realme into Germanie; where he remained well intertеined amongst them, vntill the death of queene Marie; which happened in the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight. At what time the crowne was deuolued vnto hir sister, the now reigning queene Elisabeth, who (banishing to Rome all such ceremonies as hir sister had set vp, restoring the free preaching of the euangelicall doctrine, and granting free passage to such as had bene exiled to returne home to their desired countrie) did gratiouslie and fauorablie receiue those preachers comming out of Germanie, and held them in greater honor than euer they were before. At what time this Edmund Grindall, hauing now recouered his sweet & native soile of England, was after his comming home aduanced to the chaire of the bishoprike of London, where he continued in gouernment about eleuen yeares, being a person well beloued and honored of the Citizens. During which time he did in Pauls preach a funerall sermon for the emperor, whose obsequies were there celebrated with all honor thereunto apperteining.

After which, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and nine, he was remoued from London to the see of Yorke, where he continued by the space of six yeares; being from thense in Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and fiftеne, aduanced to the highest spirituall dignitie in England, & made archbishop of Canturburie. Where now growing to the highth of his honor, he not long inioied the same in full perfection. For as the wheele, when it is at the highest, must turne; and as the faireſt cedar is most subiect vnto the power of the winds: so this man began somewhat to decline, and the beames of his honorable place were somewhat eclipsed, by the clouds of hir maiesties displeasure conceiued against him. For he was called before authoritie, where standing vpon the defense of his cause, and growing in mislike with hir maiestie therefore; he was committed to restreint in his owne house. In which estate he continued vntill his death, without releasе thereof. So greeuous a thing it is to fall into the princes disgrace: which Salomon saith is death, *Sed vir sapiens placabit eam.* Before the time of whose death (about the space of some two yeares) he was depriued of the benefit of his sight, and so continuing vntill his death, he fell into a feuer and lingering sickenes; wherein (one quarter of a yeare before he surrendred his soule) he did pininglie consume his life. At what time (because he would not late that vpon the conscience of another, which he might himselfe performe; and so leaue that to be done by his executors after his death, which he might dispatch in his life) he like a carefull and wise prelat appointed a free grammar schoole, as is touched a little before in the beginning of his life, to be built in the place where he was borne. For doing whereof (as he did also for the rest of the things which follow) he some ten or twelue daies before his death deliuered forth the monie to such as hereafter should be his executors; and further for the maintenance of the same schoole appointed a yeerelie reuenue of fiue and twentie pounds land to be annexed thereunto. Moreouer he deliuered forth monie so much as would purchase twentie pounds land by the yeare, which should be assured to Queenes colledge in Oxford, with as much monie as should buie twentie pound lands by yeare, to be conueied ouer to Penbroke hall in Cambridge, the vniuersitie wherein he was nourished and tooke degree in schoole. Wherewith not yet satisfied, he did in his life, a little before his death, bestow fiftie pounds vpon the almshouse of Croidon, for the releefe and maintenance of such poore and impotent people as were there. Which being done, he as one that now perceiued the time of his death drawing neere, and that he had dispatched most of those gifts and liberalities which he meant to bestow, tooke his leaue of the world and departed this life the first of Julie *An.* 1583, at Croidon, where he was also buried, when he had bene archbishop of Canturburie much about the space of seuen yeares. After whose death the see remained not void by the space of three moneths, but that hir maiestie aduanced John Whitegift thereunto, as here at hand more fullie appeareth.

John Whitegift.

John Whitegift now archbishop of Canturburie (a man of no lesse grauitie than learning and honor, as both the worthie bookes which he hath left to posteritie, and the honorable offices, as well ecclesiasticall as ciuill, by him borne, do well witnesse) being descended of honest parentage, was borne about the yere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, at great Grimsbie in Lincolnshire, a place no lesse knowne to antiquitie for things there passed in former ages, than now famous by the birth of this man. Which Grimsbie being by some in old times called Grimundesbie, doth occasion me to treat somewhat thereof in this place, concerning the cause whie it was so named. Which matter being set downe in manie of our chronicles, as in Caxton, Henrie Knighton, Eulogium, Scala chronicôn, Campden, and others, I will deliuer the words of the said Authors, least I might seeme (in being ambitious in names) to bring emptie casks without anie wine. The words of which authors, although they be long & to some maie seeme needlesse to be so often remembred, yet I haue not refused to giue euerie author leaue to tell his owne tale, for that I would not seeme to wrong them in misreporting thereof; and for that I desire to make common by manie copies (as occasion maie serue) the writings of former ages remaining in priuat hands. Thus therefore to begin with Henrie Knighton, a canon of Leicester, I set downe his owne

words

words liberallie describing the historie of the name of Grimesbie in this sort.

Interea videamus quam ob causam, & qua ratione, Canutus venit in Angliam, & misit clameum in regno Angliæ. Fuit quondam in Anglia quidam rex Ethelwoldus nomine, & genuit duos filios & duas filias, & moriebantur, excepta filia minore nomine Goldesborough ætate sex annorum & dimidium, quando pater eius moriebatur. Iste Ethelwoldus dū moriretur, cōmendauit tutelam filij sui cuidam Godricho duci Normaniæ, qui maritauit eam cuidam Hauelocke filio Birkelani regis Daciæ apud Lincoln, qui postea regnauit tam in Anglia quam in Dacia similiter: in Dacia iure hæreditario, & in Anglia iure hæreditatis vxoris suæ. Per quod Dani sumpserunt nimiam audaciam in Anglia, & suppeditauerunt Anglos longo tempore, sicut continetur in historia de Grimesbi. Quia quidam Grim nomine nutrivit prædictum Hauelocke apud Grimesbi, vsq; ad tempus quo ipse Hauelock desponsauit prædictam Goldesborough apud Lincoln. Et quia prædictus Grim quando primum adduxit puerum de Dacia primo applicuit illo loco qui sortitus est nomen à nomine ipsius Grimesbi. Iste Hauelock regnauit 31 annos, & rexit populū suum cū ingēti honore, & genuit quindecim filios & filias, & moriebantur omnes præter quatuor in iuuētute sua, & senior istorum quatuor vocabatur Gourmundus, quem proposuit præfeciſſe hæredem suum Angliæ, & secundus vocabatur Canutus (de quo loquitur in præsenti) quem fecit regem Daciæ quum esset 18 annorum. De regno Angliæ ipsemet contentus, volens reseruare regnum Angliæ filio suo Gourmundo, iste Gourmundus ascenso equo indomito (volens magistralia attemptare) fregit collum suum. Tertius filius vocatus est Godardus, quem feoffauit in senescharia Daciæ & in mercimoniatu Angliæ, quæ non se extendebat ad tantū valorem qui nunc. Quartus vocatus est Thoraldus, qui duxit vxorem comitissam Hebertow in Norwegia, cuius affinitas in Norwegia perseuerat vsque ad præsens, & maior amicitia inter regem Norwegiæ & regem Daciæ adhuc confirmatur, & qualibet vice quando Dani intrauerunt posthac in Anglia pro clameo mittendo in regnum Norigi cū eis affucrunt, suum præbendo auxiliū, donec Guido de Warwik finem fecit in hac parte.

Peculiaris historia de Grimesbi.

Grimel nutrit de ducunt nomen.

Thus much Knighton, which is confirmed by Eulogium, written by a monke of Canturburie, who hath set downe the same historie at large, knitting vp the matter with these words, *lib. 5. a. 44. d.* gathered out of diuers places of the same. *Rex Edelfridus quandam habuit sororem nomine Orwen, & illam maritauit regi Ethelberto, quod coniugium vinculū amoris inter duos reges cathenabat. Rex autem Ethelbertus terram citra Trentam cum regio diademate occupauit, cum terra de Northfolke & Suffolke adiacentibus. Rex verò Edelfridus comitatum Lincolniæ & Lindeseiæ cum eis spectantibus. Rex verò Athelbert de vxore sua filiā genuit nomine Argentile, quæ nupta fuit Hauelock, &c.*

John Knighton, writer, gist.

Which matter being liberallie also recorded by one Graie of Northumberland, as Leland getteth (the author of the chronicle intituled *Scala chronicorum* after the arms of the said Graie, which was a ladder, and after the imagination of a dreame which he theweth of a ladder in the prolog; which Graie being an Englishman and taken prisoner in the wars nere vnto Edenburgh in Scotland, did turne that chronicle out of French rime into French prose) I will not refuse to deliuer, as the same was turned into English by Leland; and that the rather, because the same Graie after the reciting of the same historie touching Grimesbie, in the end seemeth to conclude with some doubt of the truth of the matter, for that he called it an apocrypha, or thing not vniuersallie receiued, as appeareth in these words. Some ,, saie, in Constantine king of Britains daies, that Ethelbright and Edelseie were small kings vnder ,, him, whereof the first was king of Northfolke and Suffolke, and the other of Lindseie. And the two ,, kings increased, and Ethelbright toke to wife Dr- ,, wene the sister of Edelseie, of whome he begat a ,, daughter called Argentile in British, a Goldes- ,, rough in Saxon. And this Goldesborough was after ,, left with hir vncle Edelseie, on condition, that he ,, which in feats of armes might be found most noble, ,, should haue his daughter; who was after married ,, to one Hauelocke, which was sonne to the king of ,, Denmarke, but conueied by sleight into England, ,, and after the truth knowne, was restored in Den- ,, marke as the true heire. One Curane sonne vnto ,, Grime (a poore fisher, not able to keepe him for po- ,, uertie) a strong and a mightie yong fellow, came to ,, Edelseie his court into Lindseie, and there was ,, first a turner of broches in the kitchin, and after by ,, valiant deeds grew to great name. Grime had Ha- ,, uelocke by the commandement of the king of Den- ,, marks steward deliuered to him to be drowned: ,, but hauing pitie on him, he conueied him to Lin- ,, seie, to a place since called of his name, Grimesbie: ,, but this historie of some is counted but apocrypha. ,, And some saie that Sweine of Denmarke, father ,, to king Cnute first attempted Lindseie by the first ,, comming thither and mariage of Hauelocke. Thus much *Scala chronicon.* which in this sort censuring this historie, did (as I suppose) occasion that learned antiquarie Campden to write of the same in this sort in his Britannia, in the title of Lincolnshire, pag. 306. *Deinde Louth frequentatum emporiolum, cui Lud fluuiolus nomen impertijt, & postea Grimesbi, quod Sabini nostri (qui quod volunt somniant) à Grimo mercatore sic dictum volunt, qui quòd Hauelocum regium Danorum puellulum expositum educauerat, fabellis decantatur cum Haueloco illo pupillo, qui in regis coquina primò lixa, & postea regis filiæ nuptijs ob heroicam fortitudinem honoratus, nescio quæ facinora gesit, illis dignissima qui anilibus fabulis noctem protrudere solent.*

The author of *Scala chronicon.*

Wherefore passing ouer those things touching Grimsbie, the etymon whereof I leaue to some Apollo to declare, let vs descend to some such notable thing (whereof no question maie arise) as hath beene there doone. Touching which thus writeth Piers Longtoft in his chronicles of England written in French verse; in which he setteth downe, that in the time of Ethelred, the Danes infesting this land, arriued at Grimesbie, and so spoiled the countrie, as appeareth in these his French verses following:

Mes l'an suaunt a pres sunt cyl ariuez,
A mont de Grymesby, a Nicole sunt alez
Vastant & destruent, kant ke eit trouez
Le false counte Ederick al roy ad taunt perlez,
Ke la pees est feye & Eylred enginez.

Thus leauing the place of the birth of this archbishop, and going forward with our purpose, we saie that he did participat his race with ancient gentrie, and some such persons as their place and office made honourable. For he was by kindred and bloud

allied

alied to the Fulnetbæs, and to Godrich sometime lord chancellor of England. The familie of the first being descended from an ancient race, hath yet his being in Lincolneshire, whereof Fulnetbæ at this daie liuing is indued with faire possessions. And the other (Godrich) being bishop of Elie & chancellor of England, a man as learned as honourable) obteined a perpetuall remembrance therof amongst posteritie, in that he did not degenerat from the Saxon etymon of his name, which signifieth a person both good & rich, sith he was vertuous in life and honorable in his calling. Besides, this John Whitegift had an uncle called Whitegift, lord abbat of the abbeie of Wellow (as I take it) *Iuxta Grimsbie*, at the last suppression of the abbeies.

Now in this man, of whom we purposelie speake, there appeared euen in his tender and yong yeares a great towardnesse in learning, wherein he highlie profited as after shall appeare. For being by God his goodnesse and beneficiall natures inclination framed thereunto, he did in his first and youngest yeares wholie consecrate himselfe to the muses; by meanes of which naturall forwardnesse in him, he was (for more increase thereof) by his frends furtherance first trained to some practise skill in song, and after taught the rudiments of grammar in S. Anthonies schole in London, where he some yeares remained, vntill he was found apt to ascend to higher places of learning, and then was committed to the tuition of maister Bradford that famous martyr, then fellow of Penbroke hall in Cambridge, about the third yeare of the reigne of blessed king Edward: where continuing his studie with earnest desire and great profiting, he was first by doctor Ridleie then bishop of London & maister of that college, and maister Grindall then president there and afterwards archbishop of Canturburie his means chosen bible-clearke, and after that was inuested with the degree of bacheler of arts, being not long after from Penbroke hall (with the good liking and consent of all the fellows) chosen fellow of Peterhouse in that vniuersitie, where he proceeded to the degree of maister of arts, and bacheler in diuinitie, continuing his studie in that college by the space of twelue or thirteene yeares, and thereby atteining to great skill & knowledge in the Greeke and Latine tongs, diuinitie and all other good learnings. Whose profitable trauell in the tongs and sciences did well appeare in his painfull lectures and other exercises, as well in the said college, as in other his exercises and disputations abroode: but speciallie at a commensement, wherin he was father of the act at the bachelers proceedings. Moreouer, his dailie proceeding in the studie and knowledge of diuinitie (whereunto he wholie applied himselfe, making the same the centre wherin to end the lines of the circumference of all humane learnings) was not onelie made apparant by the learned readings that he made, being reader of the diuinitie lecture called the ladie Margarets in the said vniuersitie, & after that of the quænes maiesties lecture in diuinitie, by a good number of yeares (in which he expounded ouer the whole epistle to the Hebrues, & the reuelation of saint John) and likewise by the learned bookes which by good occasion he hath written: but also by his continuall, godlie, and dæpelie learned sermons, vttered in the vniuersitie of Cambridge (both in Latine & English) in the citie of London, and in the court before hir maiestie, & elsewhere.

And as almightie God did blesse his labours in studie of all kind of godlie sciences and knowledge, whereunto were ioined great humilitie, vertue, vprightnesse of life, and constancie, both in matters of religion, and priuat frendship: so did he singularlie blesse the fruits of his learning with increase of preferments and dignities in the church and the commonwealth. First, during his fellowship in Peterhouse, immediatlie vpon his being minister, preacher, and chapleine to doctor Cox, late bishop of Elie, the said bishop bestowed vpon him the parsonage of Teuersham neere vnto Cambridge, and after that a prebend belonging to the cathedrall church of Elie. Next (for his vertue, learning, and gouernment, whereof he had giuen good experiment) being president vnder the maister of Peterhouse, he was in the roome of doctor Hutton deane of Yorke, chosen by the fellows of Penbroke hall to be maister there, about Easter, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and seauen, in which yeare he also was orderlie called to the degree of doctor in diuinitie. But in the maistership of Penbroke hall he did not long continue, for such was the wise gouernment and cariage of himselfe (with a carefull and mild seueritie for the due obseruation of the lawes, statutes, and orders of the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and of the colleges he had gouernement in, not admitting anie innouation in them, or in anie other such good and tolerable orders) that vpon the death of doctor Beaumont he was, in the said yeare of Christ 1567, being the tenth yeare of the quænes maiesties happie reigne, by hir highnesse appointed and made maister of Trinitie college in the said vniuersitie: at what time he was also worthilie aduanced to be one of the swoorne chapleins to hir maiestie. During the time of his carefull and wise gouernment of that great college, which was by the space of ten yeares, he was twise by the generall good liking of the whole vniuersitie chosen vicechancellor. In the latter yeare of whose magistracie, being 1573, hir maiestie did bestow vpon him the deanrie of the church of Lincolne, whervnto was adioined afterwards the prebend of Nassington in that church. And such was the opinion iustlie conceiued of his learning, integritie and gouernment, that besides the education of the lord Herbert sonne and heire to the earle of Worcester, and of maister John North sonne and heire vnto the lord North in Peterhouse, there was at one time vnder his tuition in Trinitie college, the right honorable George earle of Cumberland, Edward lord Zouch, the lord Dunboine of Ireland, and two of the sonnes of sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord keeper of the great seale, with diuerse other yong gentlemen, ouer whome he had the ouersight for their education in good learning and vertue. And in the synod and clergie (which was held in the yeare of Christ 1571 and the 14 yeare of the quænes reigne, vpon a deserued opinion of his graue modestie and mildnesse of disposition, accompanied with great gifts of learning) he was chosen prolocutor: which function he right well performed both at that session and the session following, holden in the 18 yeare of hir maiesties reigne for the clergies benefit, and to hir maiesties verie good liking. Shortlie after which time, in the yeare of Grace 1577, and the 19 yeare of the quænes reigne, he was about Easter preferred by hir maiestie to the bishoprike of Worcester; and in September after by hir highnesse made vicepresident of hir councell in the principalitie and marches of Wales, in the absence of sir Henrie Sidneie knight then lord deputie of Ireland. Which office of vicepresidentship though he did beare during all the time of his being bishop of Worcester (which was by the space of six yeares and more) yet he did personallie execute and attend the same but onelie two yeares and an halfe, the lord president himselfe being then returned. During which time of attendance he so painefullie and so carefullie demeaned himselfe also in his other charge and function ecclesiasticall,

stastical, that it did well appeare to all those countries adiacent, that his doing of iustice to and vpon others was no hinderance to the teaching of iustice and godlinesse to others, which euen then he continuallie practised. Afterwards doctor Grindall archbishop of Canturburie dieng in the moneth of Julie 1583, it pleased God to put into hir maiesties hart to nominat him in August after archbishop of that see, whose election thereunto was confirmed at Lambeth on the 23 of September following. And on the second of Februarie 1585, according to the computation of our church of England, being the 28 of hir maiesties reigne, he with other worthie and honorable personages was sworne one of hir highnes priuie councell; which honor vnder hir maiesties most gracious gouernement I praie God he may long inioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reuerend prelat John Whitegift now liuing, order leadeth vs to a collection of the lord Cobhams, for that the lord Cobham now liuing is the next person (after the same John Whitegift) which is next before mentioned to haue bene sworne of hir maiesties councell.

A treatise of the lord Cobhams, with *the lord wardens of the cinque ports: gathered* (as well out of ancient records and monuments, *as out of our histories of England) by Francis Boteuile*, commonlie surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption, 1586.

THe diuine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into foure degrées, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, iust, and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowmed by worthie fame, in that they haue obteined a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the feats of warre; the fourth and chéefest kind of noble men, are persons which of themselues excell in the prerogatiue of the mind, and benefit of vertuous life. For he is most rightlie termed noble, whome his owne dowries of the mind, and not an others worthinesse doth nobilitate. Whereupon Socrates being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: *Animi corporisque temperantia.* And Cassiodorus prooueth, that of all others, the nobilitie gotten by our selues is the most excellent, when he saith: *Nobilitas à me procedens, est mihi cordi, plusquam quæ ex patrum procedit nobilitate: quia in quo definit cuiusque nobilitas, tunc auorum nobilitate congruè indiget.* The reason whereof, and the cause whie a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath appointed to be the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies seeketh to performe worthie and honourable actions, for thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: *Habet hoc optimum generosus animus, quòd concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi animi virum humilia delectant & sordida. Fœlix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortunæ, prospera tentabit, aduersa comminuet, & aliis admiranda despiciet.* Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular falling in seuerall persons maketh euerie such person noble, who tasteth but one of these foure distinctions of nobilitie: how much more is that person to be termed noble, and rightlie to be honoured therfore, in whom all these foure parts or the most of them do concur; as to be descended of good, of mightie, of ancient, and of warlike ancestors, and himselfe not to degenerate from them, euen in the chéefest point of all others, which is in his owne actions, therein most of all to nobilitate himselfe and his posteritie? All which as I haue persuaded my selfe are to be found in one, who at this time (as is before said) was amongest others for his worthinesse and merit aduanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and queene of this our present age. Which noble person being so preferred to that place ministreth iust cause to me to record some antiquities touching the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports; and that the rather, for that the lord Cobham now liuing, being the glorie of that ancient and honorable familie, not onelie meriteth well of his countrie, as after shall appeare; but is also an honorable Mecenas of learning, a louer of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.

But leauing him for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth, and for auoiding the note of flatterie, I maie not saie that which I can, and euerie man knoweth) I will orderlie descend to my purposed catalog of the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports, which I will set downe in that sort, as the pedegrée of that neuer sufficientlie praised lord treasuror of England, sir William Cecill knight lord Burleigh, is deliuered to the world in my former discourse of the lord treasurors of England, pag. 1238. Wherefore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams.

William Quatermer, which signifieth as much as William of the foure seas, was lord Cobham of Cobham in Kent, and florished in the time of king Henrie the second. This man, being a knight and belonging to king Henrie the second, was called the kings knight; because that the king, after the seruice done by this Quatermer beyond the seas, brought him out of Normandie into England; where the king recompensed him with the gift of certeine land and rent in Kent of the nature of Gauelkind, together with all the land of Hertland in Schorne, and in the marsh of Bolham, and Swainpoole in Schorne, in the said countie of Kent. Whereunto the king further added all the lands and rents in Cobham; which after tooke denomination of this William Quatermer, and was called Quatermers fee. By force of which grant he possessed this land accordinglie, with all such honor and priuileges as to the same belonged. But after by his deed he gaue vnto Henrie of Cobham all his lands and tenements which he had in the towne of Cobham, as by a dateles deed thereof maie more largelie appeare, as followeth.

The charter whereby William Quatermer *gaue to Henrie de Cobham* his land in Cobham and *Schorne in Kent.*

OMnibus hominibus tàm præsentibus quàm futuris Wilhelmus de Quatermares salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra, quòd ego dedi & concessi, & hac præsenti charta mea cõfirmaui Henrico de Cobham pro homagio & seruicio suo, totam terram meam & tenementum quod habui in villa de Cobham, cum toto iure, & homagijs, & eorum sectis, & seruicijs, & redditibus, & releuijs, & in omnibus eschetis, & totam terram & tenementum meum quod habui in villa de Schornes, videlicet totam terram quæ appellatur Gauelland: cum omnibus pertimentibus suis, totum mariscum meum de Bulham, & totum mariscum meum de Swanpoole, cum omnibus aisiamentis quas habeo in prædictis villis in capite de domino rege, per seruicium quarta partis feodi vnius militis. Habendum & tenendum sibi & haredibus suis de me & heredibus meis omnia

omnia prædicta tenementa, cum omnibus pertinentibus ad fœdam firmam, absque omni diuisione & diminutione in perpetuum, liberè, & quietè, & integrè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis, ille & hæredes sui decem libras sterlingorum apud Cobham, scilicet ad festum sancti Michaëlis, vel infra octabis, centum solidos; & ad pascha, vel infra octabis centum solidos, pro omnibus terrenis, demandis, & sectis, & querelis. Et ego prædictus Willielmus, & hæredes mei defendemus & quietabimus omnia prædicta tenementa, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, versum dominum regem, regem, &c: de omnibus seruicijs, quæ pertinet ad quartam partem fœdi vnius militis, de omnibus seruicijs quæ possunt accedere super prædicta tenementa, &c. Testes, Richardus Bereſſe, Willielmus Clouile, Robertus de Sentclere, Stephanus de Cochington, Godfridus de la Deane, &c.

Henrie de Cobham.

Henrie de Cobham, who liued in the 10 of king John, in the yeare of Christ 1208, hauing obteined the lands in Cobham by the grant aforesaid from William Quatermer, was lord of Cobham, and so accounted; and that the rather, bicause that king John, by his charter in the same tenth yeare of his reigne, did confirme to the said Henrie de Cobham all the lands which he had in Kent, or elsewhere, vnder the witnes of Peter *de Rupibus*, or Peter of the rockes bishop of Winchester, Geffreie Fitzpeter erle of Esser, and Saier de Quincie earle of Winchester, &c. This Henrie had issue three sons, John de Cobham knight his eldest, William de Cobham his second called Cobham of Allington, iustice itinerant in the 40 of Henrie the third, and who further continued that office in the 42 of Henrie the third, as is proued by the records of the exchéker in the priuie seales of 41 of Henrie the third, where this writ is found: *Liberate Willielmo de Cobham 20 marcas de termino paschæ, quas ei concessimus, percipiendum ad scaccarium nostrum, ad sustentandum se in seruicio nostro, quamdiu steterit in itinere in officio iusticiarij nostri.* The third son of this Henrie Cobham was Reinold de Cobham, another of the iustices itinerants, in the 30 of Henrie the third, being the yeare 1246. I haue read also of one Henrie Cobham shiriffe of London the 13 & 21 of Henrie the third, whom at this time I will neither receiue or reiect to be this Henrie Cobham, to whome Quatermer gaue his lands.

John de Cobham.

John de Cobham knight, lord of the manors of Cobham and Cowling, eldest son to the first Henrie Cobham, came to the manor of Cowling by purchase for foure hundred marks, as appeareth by the effect of a charter, the note whereof came vnto my hands in this sort: *Simon de Pelham dat Iohanni de Cobham manerium de Cowling, &c: pro 400 marcis præ manibus solutis. Hijs testibus, Rogero de Northwood, D. Fulcone Paiferer, D. W Sentclere, D. Will de Valouis, militibus.* This John married two wiues, the first was the daughter of William Fitzbenet, by whome he had issue John de Cobham the yonger, or the second of that name, and Henrie de Cobham of Rundall or Randall, of whome we will intreat hereafter when we haue finished the lineall descents and orderlie successions vnto our time of the lord Cobhams of Cobham. After the death of which his first wife, this John Cobham knight married his second wife called Ione, the daughter of Hugh Neuill, by whom he had issue Reinold de Cobham knight, lord of Allington, an other person different from the former Reinold de Cobham lord of Allington, & son to Henrie before, James de Cobham, Will. de Cobham, & an other Reinold de Cobham that died without issue. Of which Reinold de Cobham lord of Allington, the son of this John by his second wife, descended the L. Cobhams of Starburow, whose descent and succession we will set downe after the discourse of the lord Cobhams of Randall; at this time in this place onelie shewing the death of this John the elder lord Cobham, who died not (as some haue) in the 35, but rather (as others haue) in the 36 of Henrie the third, being the yeare of Grace 1251, as I gather. After whose death an office was found that he held in Kent, the capitall messuage of Cobham, and that he had lands to the yearelie value of 117 pounds and 14 shillings.

And here, because I haue mentioned Hugh Neuill, whose daughter this John maried; I thinke it not vnmeet, although it concerne not the lord Cobhams otherwise than as a deed done by one from whome they are descended, to set downe what I haue read touching the said Hugh Neuill (being a person then of great honor, and one whose name hath béene the greatest in England: as well for manie noble men of that name liuing at one time, as for the valiancie of their mind, and continuance of their descent) in performing an act of great courage and force, deseruing continuall remembrance, the which I haue taken out of Matthew Paris. This Hugh Neuill, being in his youth familiar with king Richard, did (after that he had béene chiefe iustice of the forests) go into the holie land, to fight against the enimies of Christ: where he not onelie behaued himselfe to his singular glorie against those men of that countrie, but also obteined a memoriall of posteritie for that which he then did against the beasts thereof, when he killed a huge lion in the holie land, which being first by him pearsed with an arrow, and after hurt with a sword, there died. Of the death of which lion was this verse compiled, as followeth:

Viribus Hugonis vires periere leonis.

Afterwards this Hugh died, in the yeare of our redemption 1222, being about the first yeare of king Henrie the third.

John de Cobham the yonger.

John de Cobham knight, surnamed the yonger, or the second of that name, the sonne of the former John by his first wife, did (after the death of his father) diuide the lands according vnto the custome of Gauelkind in Kent, betweene him and his brother Henrie Cobham of Randall, as appeareth by a deed dated the 16 of Edward the first, about the yeare of Christ 1285, at what time the marsh called Sherdmarsh remained to John, & the lands called Heuer in the parish of All saints in Yo, in the hundred of Yo in Kent remained with Henrie. About 18 yeares before which, that is to saie, in the 54 yeare of Henrie the third (falling in the 1269 and 1270 yeares of our Lord after the account of England, beginning the yeare on the 25 of March) this John Cobham, mindfull of the aduancement and maintenance of his yonger brethren by his father & mother in law, the daughter of Hugh Neuill (as all elder brothers ought to be) did giue to them diuers lands in forme following: which was, he granted to James certeine rent in Burfield and Shelne, and pastures in Haligwesko; to William he gaue a rent in Aldington, togither with a mill there; & to Reinold he granted his lands in Orkesden, and in Sinsford: vpon condition, that euerie of those three brethren surviuing should be heire to the other, if they died without issue. Which when he had so liberallie done, finding how great an inconuenience it was (for the maintenance of anie name or familie) to haue the lands so to be diuided amongest manie brethren, as the Gauelkind land in Kent was accustomed to be, obteined of Edward the first a grant (dated the 4 of his reigne, being about the yere of Christ 1276) in which the king granted to him, that all his lands and tenements, which were holden in Gauelkind in Kent, should descend to his eldest sonne, or anie other next heire after him, according as other lands held by fargentæ or knights seruice, did at the common law without

In the time of Edward the first, as appeareth by the records of that court, there was one John de Cobham a baron of the exchéker, which office he held in the 34 yeare of that king, and also long before.

without anie partition of Gauelkind, to which deed were witnesses R. bishop of Canturburie, W. bishop of Rochester, R. bishop of Welles and Bath, William de Valence the kings vncle and earle of Penbroke, Roger de Mortimer, Paganus de Cadurcis, Stephan de Pinchester, and diuerse others.

According to which deuise of this John Cobham, thus to make the Gauelkind land in Kent inheritable after the custome of the common law, diuers persons as well of nobilitie as gentrie of this shire of Kent (amongest which was George Brooke knight lord Cobham descended of this John Cobham) did by parlement holden in the one and thirtith yere of king Henrie the eight, cause the nature of their Gauelkind land to be altered into the customable descents of our common law, for the eldest sonne to inherit. The example whereof others also following in the time of Edward the first, did by like authoritie procure such descent of their lands in Kent, whereby at this daie most of the lands in that countrie haue weiued the nature of Gauelkind, and clothed themselues with the honor of descent in the common law. This John Cobham, who hath induced me to saie thus much touching Gauelkind lands in Kent, maried Jone daughter of Robert Septuans knight, by whome he had issue Henrie Cobham knight his heire, James Cobham a clearke, whom I suppose, to be he that in the tenth of Edward the third, the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, had lands in Easchetes mead lieng in Penhurst in Kent, according as I haue seene a charter thereof: Roger Cobham of Piperstiue, that died without issue. And here because I am fallen into the name of Piperstiue, which is as much to saie as the clriue of Pipard, I will saie somewhat of that name of Pipard; and that the rather; because much about this time (as I haue read) one William Cobham married Jone the daughter of Henrie Pipard of Lachford in Oxfordshire esquire, the said Henrie Pipard liuing in the fift & tenth of Edward the second. The name of which Pipards comming into England with William the Conqueror, the first of them being called Rafe, was lord of great Yaselie and Lachford in great Yaselie in Oxfordshire. Shortlie after the time of which Rafe, Roger Pipard of great Yaselie gaue to his sonne Henrie Pipard certeine lands in Lachford in the tithe called Inland, bordering vpon Ditch furlong, to hold of him by a gilt spur; and further gaue to his said sonne Henrie all his lands in Lachford for his homage and seruice. The which line of the Pipards tooke end in Jane Pipard, the daughter and heire of Richard Pipard of Lachford in Oxfordshire esquire, who liued in the yeare of Christ 1421, being the ninth yeare of Henrie the fift, and in the third of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1424. For she being maried to John Badbie the second sonne of John Badbie, he became lord of Lachford, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth, in the yeare 1466, whereby the name of that line of Pipard was vtterlie extinguished. The daughter and heire of which Badbie named Katharine, being maried to William Lenthall of Starkar in Herefordshire (an ancient gentleman, and one whose ancestors were lords of Hampton court in that shire of Hereford) the manor of Lachford came to the Lenthals, and is at this daie in the possession of William Lenthall esquire, descended from the said William Lenthall, which maried the heire of Badbie that maried the heire of Pipard, of which name one marieng a Cobham, occasioned me (as before I said) to digresse thus much to treat of the Pipards, and their offspring. And so againe to this John Cobham, who besides the sonnes before named, had other sonnes, as Rafe Cobham, which maried Marie Brewes countesse marshall (the widow of Thomas of Brotherton earle marshall, second sonne to King Edward the first) which Rafe died in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of Christ 1316. And the ladie Marie his wife departed the world in the six and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, about the date of our Lord 1362, being 36 yeares after the death of the said Thomas of Brotherton. Of which countesse issued John Cobham knight, who liued in the 41 yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1367, (as apeareth by the records of the exchequer) and John Cobham of Blackborow in Deuonshire, with Thomas bishop of Worcester, besides two other daughters, whereof we will speake hereafter, when we haue treated a little of this Thomas Cobham the bishop, referring thee for the more ample discourse therof vnto Thomas Walsingham, and another anonymall chronicler, who liberallie treat of him. The first of the which writeth, that after the death of Robert Winchelseie archbishop of Canturburie, *Monachi magistrum Thomam de Cobham, virum supereminentis literaturæ, multisque virtutibus redimitum, in pastorem regi præcipuum concorditer eligerunt, &c.* Contrarie to which writing of Walsingham (in which is said, that Walter Reinolds was made archbishop gratis, & what a worthie person he was to gouerne the church and dispose the kingdome, and that Thomas Cobham was reiected from that see the other anonymall author before mentioned, referring all this to the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirteene, doth most bitterlie write, who liuing much about that time, and before Th. Walsingham, as I coniecture (because he taketh vpon him to know the conditions of the said Thomas Cobham and Walter Reinolds) doth deliuer these words concerning the said Thomas Cobham and Walter Reinolds, that the monks of Canturburie *Magistrum Thomam Cobham virum sanguinis nobilitate clarum, sacræ theologiæ, iuris canonici & ciuilis, necnon & dialecticæ professorem egregium, ecclesiæque fulcimento columnam immobilem concorditer eligerunt, cuius electioni & morum honestatibus humani generis inuidebat inimicus, misitque in cor Walteri Reginaldi viri siquidem & in tantum illiterati vt nomen proprium declinare penitùs ignorabat: qui & ipse vir Belial lubricus, regens tunc temporis indignè episcopatum Oswaldi & Dunstani apud Wigorniam, & ad episcopatum Cantuariensem nequiter aspirans, euacuauit electionem Thomæ Cobham per simoniam.* Thus much he. By which we perceiue the diuersitie of affections in writing of histories. But whether this man, for malice to Walter Reinolds hath written this thing aboue the truth (for me thinketh it should not be, that a man so vnlearned, as that he could not decline his name, should atteine to such dignities, as to be bishop of Worcester, chancellor and treasuror of England, and archbishop of Canturburie) or that Walsingham (himselfe a spirituall man) seeking to aduance more than was due the metropolitane of the relme, hath so commended Walter Reinolds, I know not, and therefore leaue it to euerie man to iudge as he listeth: I will againe come backe to the said John Cobham the second of that name, and returne to make rehearsall in one place of all his children, to the end the same may be the better conceiued, sith I haue before with manie along parenthesis mingled other matters with them, whereby the reader might be troubled in the right knowledge of those persons.

1312 As hath Walsingham.

This Thomas was also prebendarie of Potkes deane of Salisburie, as hath Matthew Parker in the liues of the bishops of Canturburie.

This John the second therefore had issue Henrie his heire; who (I suppose) for this time, is that Henrie mentioned in the rolles of the exchequer, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, to haue the farme of the citie of Rochester: James a clearke, Roger

This Henrie might well haue Rochester in farme, in the life of his father, in the

Cobham

time of Edward the second.

Cobham of Piperdelliue, Rafe Cobham, John Cobham of Blackebozow, Thomas Cobham the bishop: Jone maried to Michaell *de Columbarijs*, and another daughter maried to William de Andwich knight. This John Cobham the second, liuing in the time of Edward the first, and dieng in the reigne of the same king, maie well be (and so is) that person which is recozded (if my conceiuing be not deceiued) in the eightæenth yeare of Edward the first, falling in the yeare of Chzist 1290, to be capteine ozgardian of Rochester, and of the castell; and also to be in the twentith yeare of the same king Edward the first, being in the yeare of Chzist one thousand two hundzed fourescoze and twelue, a baron of the exchequer. Befoze which time, John Euersden, a moonke of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, writeth that in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thzæe hundzed thzæescoze and ninetæne, which was in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, John Cobham and Walter de Helma were sent downe vnto Burie, otherwise called S. Edmundsburie, to sit vpon certeine goldsmiths that were accused foz clipping of the coine; where he fined them, and toke the monie to the kings vse, contrarie to the liberties of the abbat. This John Cobham the second died the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and thzæe hundzed.

Henrie Cobham, the first lozd Cobham of that name.

Henrie Cobham the sonne and heire of John the second, being fozтie yeares old at the time of his fathers death, was made knight, and created the first baron and lozd of Cobham, obteining place in the parlement house. To this Henrie did king Edward the first, in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand thzée hundzed & foure, grant the farme of Rochester, with the kéeping of the castell, as appeareth by this déed following.

The grant of Edward the first, of *Rochester castell to Henrie Cobham.*

Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, omnibus, &c. Nos de fidelitate dilecti & fidelis nostri Henrici de Cobham plenius considerantes, cõmisimus ei ciuitatem nostram Roffensem; tenendam de nobis, & hæredibus nostris ad firmam, ad totam vitam suam; ac etiam castrum eiusdem ciuitatis, cum pertinentijs, custodiendum similiter ad totam vitam suam. Reddendo nobis & hæredibus nostris per annum, ad scaccarium nostrũ pro ciuitate prædicta duodecim libras, & pro custodio dicti castri ac wardis eidem castro pertinentibus, triginta sex libras & quatuor solidos, sicut Ioannes de Cobham pater prædicti Henrici, & bonæ memoriæ Richardus nuper episcopus London, dudum firmarius noster, dictæ ciuitatis & custos castri prædicti nobis ad dictum scaccarium nostrum per annum, pro custodia eorundem reddere consueuerunt, &c. In cuius rei, &c: has litteras nostras, &c. Teste meipso apud Dumfermeline, 14 die Ianuarij, anno regni nostri triceſimo secundo.

This man being thus in great credit with the king, in the life of his father John Cobham, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque pozts, in the fiue & thirtith and last yeare of king Edward the first, as appeareth by a note which came to my hands, set downe in this sozt: *Stephanus de Burgherſh filius & hæres Roberti de Burgherſh, quondam custodis quinque portuum, fatetur se recepisse de isto Henrico Cobham, conestabulo Douernie, & custode quinque portuum, 20 marcas argenti, &c.* The déed of which Stephan Burgherth was dated the twentith of Maie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thzæe hundzed and seuen; which Henrie Cobham is repozted, maister Lambard, in his perambulation of Kent, vnder the title of Léeds, to haue raised the castell thereof. But because there maie be some question touching the same, and foz that the same Lambard hath not iudiciallie defined the same; I will leaue it as I find it in his owne booke, and *Verbatim* set downe his wozds in this sozt.

He was constable of Douer vnder Edward the first, in the life of his father king Henrie the third: and after in the first yeare of king Edwards gouernment, as appeareth by this déed of Stephan Burgherſhin the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the third: and so vnto his death which was in the 13 yeare of Edward the third: of which time the most the wardens of the cinque pozts.

I haue read (saith he) that * Edward (prince of Wales, and afterward the first king of that name) being warden of the cinque pozts, and constable of Douer castell, in the life of Henrie the third his father, caused Henrie Cobham (whose ministerie he vsed as substitute in both those offices, to raise the castell that Robert Creueceur had erected, because Creueceur (that was then the owner of it, & heire to Robert) was of the number of the nobles that moued and mainteined warre against him; which whether it be true oz no, I will not affirme: but yet I thinke it verie likelie, both because Badlesmer (a man of another name) became lozd of Léeds shortlie after, and also foz that the présent wozke of Léeds présenteth not the antiquitie of so manie yeares as are passed since the conquest. Thus this much my synchzonos and the learned antiquarie maister Lambard. After which, it resteth to set downe the effect of a déed, wherein Richard de Rochester gaue the manoz of Stone and Stapingdon in the ile of Shepeie to this Henrie Cobham; in the first yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1312, 1313; according to a note which I haue séene gathered thereof, in these wozds.

* Edward the first king of that name since the conquest.

The castell of Léeds builded by Robert Creueceur.

The barons warre against Henrie the third.

Richardus de Roueceſter dedit domino Henrico de Cobham, & Reginaldo filio eius, pro ducentis libris, manerium de Stone & Stapingdon in Schapeia: habendum et tenendum eisdem Henrico & Reginaldo, & hæredibus ipsius Reginaldi exeuntibus: & si Reginaldus obierit sine exitu, tunc idem manerium reuertitur rectis hæredibus ipsius Henrici: anno sexto Edwardi, regis filij Edwardi. Hijs testibus, domino Ioanne de Northwood seniore, Rogero de Sauage, Roberto de Shireland, Ioanne de Northwood iuniore, Ioanne de Sauage, militibus.

This Henrie, being the first baron of Cobham, maried Maud the daughter of one that was called *De columbarijs*: by whome he had issue John de Cobham his sonne and heire, Thomas de Cobham of Piperdelliue, and Beluncle knight, James Cobham, Reinold Cobham parson of the church of Wicham, Stephan Cobham bishop of Lincolne, and one daughter named Margaret, maried to Mathew Fitzherbert. After which, this Henrie lord Cobham surrendered his life to God, in the yeare of our redemption 1339, and in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the third, about 39 yeares after the death of his father, being seuentie nine yeares of age, and was buried at Stoke vnder Hamden in Summersetshire.

John Cobh

John de Cobham knight, the third of that name, and second baron of Cobham, was gardian of the citie of Rochester, and was (as I gather by a note, that nameth John Cobham, if John be not mistaken foz Henrie, last befoze recited) constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque pozts, in the second yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Chzist 1320, which fell in the life of his father Henrie, the first baron of Cobham. This John, in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of Chzist 1336, was (when the king toke his iourneie into France, by occasion whereof he was to gather great summes of monie of his subiects) ioined with Haimo de Heath bishop of Rochester, the pzioz of that citie, and Thomas de Aldon

John lord Cobham.

Regist. Roffen.

de Aldon knight in commission, whereby they were authorised to call before them in the church of Rochester the mondaie next after the feast of the Holie crosse, the clergie and people of the whole countie of Kent, to demand certeine summes of monie to be paid to the king for the support of his iournie toward France. Whereupon the people comming to that place at the daie appointed, those commissioners could not for that instant bring their trauell in executing that commission to the expected end. For the commissioners demanding what euerie man would giue towards the kings wars in France, the clergie would not giue anie thing, because they were to grant a tenth; and that which the laitie would giue, came to so small a summe that it was refused. Whervpon the king demanded onelie a fiftéenth and obteined it.

This John the second baron maried two wiues, the first was Ione the daughter of John Beauchampe of Stoke vnder Hampden in Summertun-towne-shire, now called Summersetshire, knight; by whom he had issue, one sonne and his heire called John Cobham, which Ione was buried in the chancell of the collegiat church of Cobham in Kent, with this French epitaph as is yet there to be séene:

Dame Ione de Cobham gist icy,
Dieu de sa ailme ayt mercy,
Qui pur l'ailme priera,
Quarante iours de pardon auera.

The second wife of this John the second baron was Agnes the daughter of Richard Stone of Dertford in the countie of Kent, who dieng without anie issue by hir (whereof I can yet learne) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and twentith of the reigne of king Edward the third, was also buried in the chancell of the collegiat church of Cobham, on whose graue stone is this epitaph yet to be séene:

Vous qui passe icy entour,
Pries pur l'ailme de curteous viandour,
Qui Iean de Cobham auoit a nome,
Dieu luy face veray pardone,
Qui trespassa l'endemayne de S. Mathy,
Le puissant otrie a demourer oue luy,
En l'an de grace Mil. CCC. L. quatre,
Ces enimies mortel fist abatre.

John Cobham. John Cobham knight (the first of that line, the fourth of that name, and the third and last baron of Cobham, descended of the males of that familie) was the sonne of John the second baron of Cobham. This man as the state of the world, and loue to religion went in those daies, did for the redemption of his soule erect a college and chanterie of a certeine number of chapleins, with a maister belonging vnto them, to praie for the soules of him, his ancestors, and his successors: which college he erected in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred

The other maisters of that college were such as these epitaphs there found doo declare: ✠ *Hic iacet dominus Iohannes Sprot, quondam magister istius collegij, qui obijt 25. die mensis Octobris, an. Domini* 1498, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

The third epitaph is of William Hobson maister of that college, which died in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, hauing this written vpon his graue stone in brasse: ✠ *Hic iacet dominus Gulielmus Hobson, quondam magister istius collegij, qui obijt 22. die Augusti, anno Dom.* 1473, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

A fourth epitaph is of John Gladwin maister of that college, wherein is neither set downe the time of his death, nor anie certeintie when he liued, being deliuered onelie in this sort: ✠ *Hic iacet magister Iohannes Gladwin, quondam magister istius collegij, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

Which college being so founded by this John lord Cobham, did (after the generall dissolution of houses of religion, & other chanteries, in the time of king Henrie the eight and king Edward the first) returne by the kings grant vnto those which were descended of this John Cobham. For George Brooke lord Cobham, father to that honorable and worthie gentleman William Brooke knight, lord Cobham now liuing, obteined the same at the kings hands, and doth at this daie inioie it. About fiue yeares after the building of that college, this said John last lord Cobham was (in the one and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and seuen) dispatched ambassador vnto Rome, concerning the mariage of Lionell duke of Clarence with Iolenta or Violenta the daughter of Galeas earle of Millaine; as appeareth by a deed of the said Edward the third, directed to Nicholas of the Heath clearke, dated at Eltham in the said one and fortith yere of the king. Who dispatching his ambassage to the desired effect, did still increase in such fauor with king Edward the third, and with the nobilitie and commons of the realme, that after the death of Edward the third, and in the minoritie of Richard the second, he was by the whole consent of the nobilitie and voice of the parlement, amongst other appointed to haue the custodie of king Richard the second. In which he behaued himselfe verie faithfullie, both in defense of the king, & also of the kingdome, against those rebellious insurrections and coniurations of Wat Miler and of his complices, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and foure score, and one thousand three hundred foure score and one, being the fourth and fift yeares of the deposed king Richard the second. At what time for his owne defense, and the safetie of the countrie of Kent, against those rebels, he by the kings licence built that goodlie castell of Cowling yet standing, with a writing of brasse fixed on the gate, to shew the cause and

Richard the second (did with the assistance of Thomas Woodstocke duke of Glocester the kings vncle, by violence take Tresilian the chiefe iustice out of the sanctuarie of Westminster. For which act afterward in the eleuenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being much about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fourescore and eight, both the duke and he asked pardon of the abbat of Westminster for the breach and violating of their priuileges, and the reuerence of the holie place in taking him out of sanctuarie. Which lord in some yeares after, that is, in the two and twentith yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourscore and eighténe, was apprehended & sent with sir John Cheincie knight to the Tower: after which, when they had sometime remained there, they were by the consent of the nobilitie (saith Walsingham) in the parlement holden at Shrewsburie banished into the Ile of Gernesele, where they had a small portion allowed them, the said lord John being onelie arreined vpon these two articles. First, that he the said lord Cobham was in counsell to make one commission against the state of the king, and likewise that he vsed the same commission in doing iudgement against the kings will and to the preiudice of him. Secondlie, that he did sit in iudgement to iudge sir Simon de Burleie, and James Barnes knights of the king, in his absence and against his will. Whereupon he was condemned to perpetuall prison and banishment into the Ile of Gernesele: of which matter thus writeth that worthie poet sir John Gowre knight liuing at that time, and beholding all these doings of that age:

Some saie they were condemned to lose their liues, but pardoned thereof at the request of the nobilitie and so banished.

Innocentem dominum Cobham, qui priùs seculo renuntians, in domo Carthusiensi tunc moram traxit, etiam in iudicium parlamenti produxit (which was the king) *sed ille minarum terrore aut blandiciarum exhortatione locum tyranno non præbens, in omnibus suis responsionibus fidelißimus inueniebatur, vnde rex quasi confusus eius constantiam deterrens, ipsum præ verecundia absque mortis sententia longè ab Anglia destinauit.* Which matter with a further commendation of this lord Cobham, the said John Gowre setteth downe in these heroicall verses following:

Vnus erat dignus patiens, pius, atque benignus,
Prouidus & iustus, morum virtute robustus,
Non erat obliquus, regni sed verus amicus,
Hunc rex odiuit in quo bona talia sciuit,
Vt dicunt mille dominus Cobham fuit ille,
Chronica quos læsit quibus ille fidelis adhæsit,
Christo sed verè voluit quia fine placere,
Transtulit ad sedem, se Carthusiensis in ædem,
Sic cœpit Christus voluit quem tollere fiscus,
Quem Christus duxit, fiscus sine iure reduxit,
Rex scelus accusat, Cobham scelus omne recusat,
Iustificans factum, sic res processit in actum, (tur,
Quæ sapit hæc loquitur, nec in hoc vecors reperi-
Immo quod est certum, regi manifestat apertum,
Sic quia veridicus tribus est constanter amicus,
Rex condemnauit Cobham, sed non maculauit,
Sic non conuictus gladij non sentijt ictus,
Exilij loca subijt tamen exteriora,
Hunc rogo quòd purus redeat cum laude futurus,
Vt sic fœlici redditu lætentur amici.

But afterward, as sir John Gowre doth request of God in the end of these Latine verses, so this lord Cobham (being before greatlie in the fauor of Henrie duke of Hereford, after king of England, by the name of Henrie the fourth) was restored home to England, when the said Henrie did weare and beare the crowne and scepter of this realme, of whose calling home out of the Ile of Gernesele by king Henrie the fourth, the said Gowre writeth thus.

Cobham sorte pari dux fecit & hunc reuocari,
Exilio demptus iustus redit ille redemptus.

Which lord Cobham being now setled againe at his owne home, liued an honourable old man manie yeares after, and surrendered his life to God the tenth of Januarie, in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the word of the Father take on it the flesh of the mother 1407, and was buried within the collegiat church of Cobham, which he built, with this epitaph yet there to be seene:

De terre fuit faite & fourmee,
Et en terre a terre suis retournee:
Iehan de Cobham foundeur de cestу place qui fui
Mercy de ma ailme eit la seint trinitee. (nomee

He married Margaret the daughter of Hugh Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, who dieng the daie and yeare set downe in this following epitaph, was also buried beside hir husband, hauing this written:

Icy gist dame Margaret de Cobham, iadis fille a noble tire counte de Deuonshire, femme de siegneure de Cobham, foundeur de ceste place, que morust le second iour de mois de Aouste, le anne de grace 1495, l'ailme de que Dieu aist mercy, Amen.

This lord Cobham had (by the ladie Margaret Courtneie his wife) his onelie child, daughter and heire Ioane married to John de la Poole knight, by whome he had issue one daughter named Ione after hir mother, which was heire, ladie, and baronesse of Cobham, nece by the daughter and heire of this John Lord Cobham, which Ione de la Poole had fiue husbands, whereof we will speake as they succeeded in order. Hir first husband was Robert Hemengdale knight, by whome she had two sonnes, William & John, which both died in their childhood. Hir second husband was Reginald Braibrooke, knight, by whome she had issue Reginald and Robert, which died verie yong; and Ione maried to Thomas Brooke of Somersetshire knight, who was in hir right lord of Cobham, as after shall appeare, which Reginald Braibrooke with his two sonnes before named, were buried in the church of Cobham, as appeareth by this now extant epitaph ouer the place of their burials: ✠ *Hic jacet dominus Reginaldus Braibrooke filius Gerardi Braibrooke militis, ac maritus dominæ Iohannæ dominæ de Cobham hæredis domini Iohannis domini de Cobham fundatoris istius collegij, qui quidè Reginaldus obijt apud Middelborow in Flandria 20 die mensis Septem. an. Dom. 1405, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.* On which stone also was grauen on ech side of him: *Hic iacet Reginaldus filius eorum:* & also *Hic iacet Robertus filius eorum.*

Hir third husband was Nicholas Hawberke knight, by whome she had issue one sonne called John, which Nicholas died at Cowling in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was with his sonne John, who died yong, buried at Cobham with this epitaph: ✠ *Hic iacet dominus Nicholaus Hawberke miles, quondam maritus dominæ Iohannæ de Cobham hæredis dominæ Iohannæ de Cobham, fundatoris istius collegij; qui quidem Nicholaus obijt apud castrũ de Cowling 20 die Octobris, an. Dom. 1407. cuius animæ propitietur Deus.* Upon which stone was also grauen the picture of a yong man, vnder which was written *Hic iacet Iohannes filius eorum*

All these three husbands this Ione had in the life of hir grandfather the last lord John Cobham, whereby none of them was intituled lord of Cobham; but when she married hir fourth husband, he was called lord Cobham as after shall appeare. Hir fourth husband was sir John Oldcastle knight, by whome she had a daughter that died verie yong, and of whome we need not to saie anie thing, his life & doings being so largelie set forth in all our chronicles, especiallie by maister Fox and Walsingham, as that they need not anie discourse of mine. Onelie this I will touch, that he was intituled lord of Cobham

Sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham.

ham in the right of his wife, and was burnt and hanged for the doctrine of Wickliffe, and for treason (as that age supposed) to king Henrie the fift, about the first yeare of the reigne of the said king, touching which I will in briefe sort set downe so much of his life, written partiallie (as the nature of that age would permit) in verse, as is to be seene in the chronicle intituled *Extractũ breue de chronica THOMAE ELMHAM, prioris Lenton, de tempore regis Henrici quinti:* the capitall letters of which verses doo shew the yeare of our Lord in this sort as here followeth:

1413 *HIC Iohn oLD CaſteL ChriſtI fVrIt InſIDIator,*
Amplectens hæreſes in ſcelus omne ruit:
Fautor perfidiæ pro ſecta Wickliniana,
Obicibus regis fert mala vota ſacris,
1413 His name being Iohn Oldcaſtle, conteineth by the letters in the firſt verſe the number of 1413. out of which take 378. being the ſame of the martyrdome ſuffered in the Apocalyps, the number remaining 1535. which was the yeare of his age when he died: ſuch myſticall repoſitions could that age ſucke out to ſerue their purpoſe.
Hic apocalypſis CirCVMCInCtVs patet hoſtIS,
Altera beſtia ſit cornua bina ferens,
Nomine ſecenti ſunt ſexaginta ſimul ſex,
Extrahe quod remanet his ſua vita datur.
Hunc rex militia necnon terroribus arcet,
Flecti mente nequit turbidus ille lupus:
Nam corpus Behemoth vt ſcutum fuſile fertur,
Durum dum ſupereſt fictile quando cadit:
Sic patet hæreticus non parens corripienti,
Dum lapſu proprio vergit ad antra Satan.
Cenſuit ancipiti rex hunc mucrone feriri,
Prætulit eccleſiæ iura paranda ſibi:
Hæreticum propria confeſſio reddit eundem,
Qua damnauit eum pontificalis honor.
Regia ſed pietas ſibi differt mortis & ignis
Pœnam, ſub ſpe qua poſſit adeſſe ſalus.
Has capit inducias in turri Londiniarum,
Rumpens vincla fugit dæmonis artis ope.
Hinc antris latitat, clam perquirendo fauorem,
*In lauacri * luce concipiendo dolum,*
Aſſultum regi ſtudet atque ſuis apud Eltham,
Sed Deus inde ſuos eripit abſque malo:
*Inſidiando cohors in * gurgitis arce lauacri,*
*Concutiens * chriſma ſeditioſa ruit.*
Vernans MILICIa ſVres CaLCabat agone,
Subuertit caſtrum, ſtat ſacer ordo vigil.
Sed tamen extendit trux vires vlteriores,
Tertia cui feria fixa ſit inde ſequens.
Hic bellum regi campeſtre parare ſtudebat,
Campum manè petens regia iura præit.
Vndique conueniunt hac proditione feroces,
Partibus ex multis vota gerenda mala:
Vexillum regis prodit, crux prauia campo
*Aſtitit, * Aegidij gens inimica fuit.*
Campis atque vijs equites exire iubentes,
Regi præſentant quos rapuere malos,
Carceribus trudi dominus rex mandat eoſdem,
Ne ſine iuſticia flet violenta manus,
*Námque * vetus caſtrum, cui ſit damnoſa vetuſtas,*
Profugus inde fugit cum nouitate fera.
Traditus hic Satana latitans luit ille ſatelles,
Fert odium luci qui mala tanta facit:
Hoc ſigno regi campo tunc fulgur amœnum,
Detexit tenebras, hoc operante Deo.
*Caros LVCe CLVIt * Ianl Dans robora * Deno*
Vt rus Aegidij regia cura colat:
Hic ſuſpenduntur tracti prius, inde cremantur
Hæretici plures, conditione pari,
Capta Cohors CaſtrI VeterIs partIta CreMatVr,
Rex hominem veterem ſic renouare ſtudet:
In tellure ſatum lolium ſit in igne crematum,
Quiſque pians gramen ſit benedictus, Amen.

Exſecto Epiſcopo.
Veſtelo Epiſcopo.
Eccleſia.
1413 Oldcaſtle.
S. Giles beſides London.
Sir John Oldcaſtle.
1413 Ianuarii. Decimo die.
1413

Of which Iohn Oldcaſtle I find alſo this note in the records of the exchequer, of the ninth yeare of that king in Michaelmas tearme: ✠ *Eliſabeth, quæ fuit vxor Edwardi Charelton chiualer & Iohannis Piers, executores teſtamenti prædicti Edwardi, nuper domini de Powis, in denarijs ſibi liberatis per manus Thomæ Bradſhew, in partem ſolutionis* 1000 *marcarum, quas dominus rex dictis executoribus liberari mandauit pro captione Iohannis Oldcaſtle, chiualer (nuper vocatum dominum de Cobham) iuxta quandum proclamationem dicti domini regis in ſingulis comitatibus Anglie factum per priuatum ſigillum DClxvi lib.* 13. s. 4 d.

Now the fift and laſt huſband of the foreſaid Ione de la Poole, was ſir Iohn Harpenden knight, buried at Weſtminſter, beſides hir firſt Huſband Hemendale. This Ione, which had all theſe Huſbands died in Januarie, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the firſt, and was buried in Cobham church, as is yet to be ſeene, with this epitaph: ✠ *Hic iacet Iohanna domina de Cobham, quondam vxor domini Reginaldi de Braybrooke militis, quæ obijt in die ſancti Hilarij epiſcopi, anno Domini* 1433. *cuius anime propitietur Deus.* **Thus much touching Ione the heire and baroneſſe of Cobham, and of hir Huſbands and iſſue: amongſt which, Ione (as is before ſaid) maried to Thomas Brooke, was onelie baroneſſe of Cobham, and he intituled baron of that place in hir right, as after ſhall appeare. But before I enter into the treatie of the Brookes as lords of Cobham, I thinke it not amiſſe, as I haue ſet downe before of the Cobhams, to ſet downe the deſcending line of the Brooks, vnto Thomas Brooke the firſt, intituled lord Cobham, & ſo vnto this William Brooke knight lord Cobham now liuing, bicauſe I would fill vp one orderlie courſe of the names and deſcents of all ſuch families as haue inioied the honourable title of the lords of Cobham.**

The line of the Brooks, at this daie lords of Cobham.

I Haue read in the hiſtorie of Cambridge, lib. 1. fol 4. of one Laurence Brooke, who liued in the foure & fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, falling about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred and ſixtie, and was delegate of the king to appeaſe certeine diſcords at Cambridge. But whether theſe Brooks, whereof I am now to intreat, be deſcended of him or no, I will not at this time receiue or reiect, but leaue it to the iudgement of others: and therefore hauing nothing to ſaie certeine thereof, I will haſten to that certeintie which ſufficient authoritie doth warrant, vnder the learned pen of that notable antiquarie, Robert Glouer, named by office Summerſet. Thus therefore I begin with the Brooks.

Laurence Brooke liuing in the foure & fortith of Henrie the third, had receiued twentie pounds by the yeare of the kings grant out of the exchequer.

William de la Brooke, lord of the manor of the Brooke beſides Iuell Cheſter, now called Ilcheſter, in Summerſetſhire, had iſſue Henrie de la Brooke. Henrie de la Brooke the ſonne of William, married Nicholaa, the daughter of Brian Goneuile, by whom he had iſſue Henrie Brooke: of which name Goneuile one Edmund Goneuile a reuerend man, parſon of the church of Terrington in Northfolke, did begin to laie one part of Goneuile college in Cambridge, on thurſdaie in Whitſun weeke, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three hundred fortie and eight, being the two and twentith of Edward the third.

Henrie Brooke, the ſonne of Henrie, and of his wife Nicholaa married Eliſabeth, and died in the eightæenth yere of king Edward the ſecond, leauing iſſue Iohn de la Brooke.

Iohn de la Brooke, the ſonne of Henrie and Eliſabeth, maried Ione the daughter of ſir Iohn Bardſtone knight, by whome he had iſſue ſir Thomas Brooke knight, which Iohn died in the two and twentith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred fortie and eight.

Thomas Brooke knight, the ſonne of Iohn, maried Conſtance the daughter of one Markenfeld, by whome he had iſſue Thomas Brooke knight, which Thomas the father died in the one and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Lord 1367.

Thomas Brooke knight, the sonne of the said Thomas Brooke knight, married Ione second daughter, and one of the heires of Simon Yanape of Glocestershire, which Ione was the widow of Robert Chedder of Brittow. By which wife this Thomas had issue Thomas Brooke knight, lord Cobham, and Michaell Brooke his yonger sonne, which sir Thomas Brooke and his wife being buried at Thorncombe, there is this monument extant of the time of both their deaths: ✠ Heere lieth Thomas Brooke knight, which died in the yeare of our Lord 1419, being the fift of king Henrie the fift. And also heere lieth dame Ione Brooke, wife of the said Thomas, the which died the tenth of Aprill 1437, the fifteenth of king Henrie the sixt, on whose soules Iesus haue mercie.

Tho. Brooke knight, the first (that was intituled lord Cobham) of that familie.

Thomas Brooke of Summersetshire knight, the sonne of the last Thomas Brooke knight, married (as before is said) Ione the daughter of Reginald Braiebrooke, in whose right he was intituled lord Cobham. This man had issue by this Ione, Edward Brooke knight, lord Cobham; Thomas Brooke, and John Brooke, Robert Brooke, and Peter Brooke, all which died without issue; Reginald Brooke of Apsale; Morgan Brooke, which also died issueless, and Hugh Brooke; with Elisabeth married to S. Maur, the sonne and heire to John of S. Maur knight. Ione married to John Carrant the sonne and heire of William Carrant esquier, Margaret Brooke, & Christian which died without issue.

Edward Brooke lord Cobham.

Edward Brooke knight, the sonne of the last Thomas Brooke knight, was lord Cobham and aduanced to the baronie thereof about the fiue and twentith of king Henrie the sixt, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and six, or a thousand foure hundred fortie and seauen, for that yeare of Henrie the sixt, fell part in that one and part in that other yeare of our Lord. This lord Cobham faithfullie assisting the faction of Richard duke of Yorke, being now in the kings seruice in Ireland, continued his faith vnto him in the absence of this duke, for which cause the duke in the thirtith yere of Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of Christ 1452, commeth out of Ireland to consult with his frends Iohn duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and this lord Cobham, who being now in Wales and flieng the comming of the kings armie in those parts, they all went ouer Kingstone bridge, passing into Kent, and there vpon Burntheath nere vnto Dertford pight their field: whereof when the king had intelligence, he came to Blackeheath, and there also placed his campe. At length the duke by mediation of frends, and for that the people of Kent and of other places came not vnto him as they had promised, brake vp the field, and yelded himselfe to the king at Dertford: at what time on the tenth of March the duke made his submission and toke oth (to be true and obedient to the king) in S. Paules church of London, in the presence of manie of the nobilitie, amongst which were the lord S. Amond, and this Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After this, in the three & thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixt 1455 the duke of Yorke being in the marches of Wales and associat with his frends, amongst which was the lord Cobham, and perceiuing that neither exhortation serued nor accusation preuailed against Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset chefe hinderer and enimie of this duke of Yorke: they determined to reuenge the quarell by force, and so to obteine their purpose by open warre. Wherevpon, with those of his faction then present, whereof this lord Cobham was one, the duke commeth toward London, but was at saint Albons incountred with the king then present, and such as assisted him: where in the battell betwixt them, the victorie fell vnto the duke, and the king was wounded in the necke with an arrow: by meanes whereof things seemed to be at some quiet. But as the inward heat of coles of hatred are couered with the cold embers of outward dissimulation: so the malice betweene the king & the duke being but for a shew suppressed, and the same bursting forth againe, the duke of Yorke was faine to flie into Ireland. But afterward regathering his power togither, he landed at Sandwich in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and three score, where met them Thomas Bourcher archbishop of Canturburie with his crosse borne before him: who comming to Canturburie and through Kent, there ioined with them this Edward lord Cobham, John Guilford, William Pechee, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen of that shire. All which companie comming to London the second of Julie, at a conuocation in Paules, the earle of Warwike recited the cause of their comming. Which done, the duke and the rest departing from London to go to the king at Northampton, left Richard earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir John Guilford, to keepe the Londoners in their promised obedience; which lords toke such carefull order for the citie, in diligent keeping the gates and entries thereof, that no succor might come to the lord Scales (lodging in the Tower) who with the lord Hungerford were come to the citie, to take the same before the comming of the duke of Yorke, that no aid might come to the lord Scales and those in the Tower, now streictlie besieged by water and by land. Wherewith the lord Scales toke such displesure, that he shot off the great ordinance against them within the citie, and they of the citie did with like requit them within the Tower, to the great damage of both parts. This Edward Brooke lord Cobham married Elisabeth the daughter of James lord Audleie, by whome he had issue John Brooke lord Cobham, & Elisabeth married to Robert Tanfield esquier.

John Brooke lord Cobham of Cobham.

John Brooke lord Cobham, the son of Edward lord Cobham, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred eightie and three, attended vpon the said king to his coronation: and in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred ninetie and three, he interteined to be of his councell sergeant Read, after cheefe iustice of the common plees, from whome Thomas Wootton and Thomas Willoughbie in Kent esquiers, as heires of the said Read, and James Cromer, and Isaac Rudston esquiers also in that shire are lineallie descended; for which cause I was the willinger to take this occasion by this lord Brooke in this sort, to mention the said sir Robert Read, and these persons descended of him. This John lord Cobham, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred ninetie and seuen, ioined with Greie earle of Kent against the Cornish rebels, who made insurrection vnder James Touchet lord Audleie & Michaell Joseph the blacke smith, at what time those rebels were subdued at Blackeheath. This John lord Cobham had two wiues, the first Elenor the daughter of one Antie of Suffolke, by whome he had no issue; the second wife was Margaret the daughter of Edward Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, by whom he had issue Thomas Brooke lord Cobham, George Brooke which married Elenor (some saie Elisabeth the daughter of William, and sister and heire to sir John Pechee knight) and Edward Brooke of Denton;

ton, which was knighted in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, by Howard lord admerall, in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred and twelue, and died without issue, hauing maried a woman borne in Ireland. The daughters of this John lord Cobham were Marie married vnto Robert Blage a baron of the exchekер; Dorothie married to William Isaac of Kent esquier, & Faith Brooke. And here hauing before mentioned one George Brooke sonne to this John lord Cobham, and finding by Leland, that much about this time liued one sir George Brooke knight, which I can not yet discerne to be other but this George Brooke; I will set downe the words and matter of Leland, as well for that I desire to perpetuat all whatsoeuer commeth to my hands of Lelands commentaries, as for that so worthie an exploit of a Brooke should not be by me forgotten. Thus therefore writeth Leland. After the battell of Tewkesburie, fought by king Edward the fourth against prince Edward sonne to Henrie the sixt, sir Walter Writle, and sir Geffreie Gates knights of Richard Neuill earle of Warwike were gouernors of the towne of Calis, who sent sir George Brooke knight out of Calis vnto Thomas bastard Fauconbridge capteine of the earle of Warwikes nauie, to raise the countrie of Kent, to go to London, and to take king Henrie out of the Tower, &c. So Fauconbridge came to Canturburie, raised all Kent, and came to London the tenth daie of Maie; there the maior and aldermen, and the lord Scales kept them out, wherefore Fauconbridge shot his ordinance at the citie, burning much about London bridge, and about Aldgate. Wherevpon the commons of London tooke great displeasure, or else they had let in Fauconbridge and the Kentishmen, in despite of the rulers of the citie. Wherevpon Fauconbridge went from London to Kingston, &c. Thus much Leland. This John lord Cobham died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and fiue hundred, being about the fifteenth yere of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, and his wife Margaret died in September, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and six, in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the seuenth, and were buried in the collegiat church of Cobham, with this epitaph: *Hic iacet Iohannes Brooke miles ac baro baronia de Cobham, & domina Margareta vxor sua, quondam filia nobilis viri Edouardi Neuill nuper domini de Burgauenni, qui quidem Iohannes obijt (*) die mensis (*) Anno Domini* 1500. *Ipsa verò domina Margareta obijt (*) die mensis Septembris* 1506, *quorum animabus propitietur Deus.*

1471 In the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth.

John Brooke lord Cobham of Cobham.

*Stellula indicat nonnulla defuisse.

Thomas Brooke.

Thomas Brooke knight lord Cobham, the sonne of John lord Cobham, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred and thirtéene, being the fift yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, was with George Talbot earle of Shrewsburie left to tame the Welshmen, when the king minded to passe the seas to the warres of Terwine and Turneie: who after also in the same yeare with the same earle of Shrewsburie, was at the warres of the cities of Terwine and Turneie. After which, in the yeare that the word of the father tooke flesh in the wombe of the mother a thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, being the thirtéenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, he was one of the peeres for the arreignment and condemnation of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham. Then in the yeare of our incarnation one thousand fiue hundred and fiue and twentie, being the seuentéenth yeere of the reigne of Henrie the eight, commissioners sat in all shires, to leauie the first part of euerie mans goods; but the burden was so greeuous that it was denied, & the commons in euerie place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. For in Kent the lord Cobham then a commissioner thought to execute the same, but being clubbishlie answered by one John Scudder, he sent him to the Tower; for which the people muttered against the lord Cobham, and said expreslie, that they would paie no monie, and in the same grudge did euillie intreat sir Thomas Bullen at Maidston, which tax the people refused to paie, because it was the cardinals extreame dooings & not the kings. He maried three wiues whereof the first was Dorothie daughter of Henrie Heidon knight, by whome he had issue John that died issuelesse; George Brooke after lord Cobham; Thomas and William Brooke, which died without issue; Margaret married to sir John Fog knight; Faith married to William Dkenden gentleman of Calis; and Elisabeth first married to sir Thomas Wiat knight, and after to sir Edward Warner knight. His second wife was also Dorothie the daughter of sir Philip Calthrope of Norwich knight. His third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of Thomas Hart, and sister to sir Perstuall Hart knight, by both which his last wiues this lord Cobham had no issue. He died the ninetenth daie of Julie, in the yeare of our Sauior one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, and was honorablie buried with his ancestors at Cobham, hauing this epitaph grauen vpon him: *Orate pro anima Thomæ Brooke militis domini de Cobham, & consanguinei & heredis Richardi Beauchamp militis, qui quidem Thomas cœpit in uxorem Dorotheam filiam Henrici Heidon militis, & habuerunt exitum inter eos septem filios & sex filias, & prædicta Dorothea obijt: & prædictus Thomas cœpit in vxorem Dorotheam Southwel viduam, quæ obijt sine exitu, & postea cœpit in vxorem Elizabetham Hart, & habuerunt nullum exitum inter eos, qui quidem Thomas obijt 19 die Iulij Anno Domini* 1529.

George Brooke lord Cobham (by birth the second, but at the death of the same Thomas the eldest son of Thomas lord Cobham) being a gentleman of great hope, was for the valor shewed by him in his youngest yeares during the life of his father, not onlie well estéemed amongst all men, but also highlie honored by the king. For this George before his fathers death, shewing manifest proofe of those good parts wherewith he was liberallie indued by beneficiall nature, and his parents good and carefull education, attended with good credit (in the yéere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, being about the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the eight) on Thomas duke of Norffolke then lieutenant of Ireland, where this George Brooke did valiantlie behaue himselfe in the same wars. Wherwith not contented, but being like the sun, which the higher it goeth, so much the more it spreadeth and increaseth his force; this George as he increased in yeares, so much the larger he spread forth the honorable beames of his valor. For in the yeare of our Lord 1522, falling in the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of the renowmed king Henrie the eight, in the warres which the admerall of England had against the French Britons, at what time Morleus was taken from the Britons; the lord admerall in some part to recompense the worthie deserts of this George Brooke, then performing a peece of good seruice, did amongst others adorne him with the degree of a knight. Who thus honored, did not yet cease from the performance of the dutie both of a worthie knight, and a valiant gentleman. For shortlie after in the selfe same yeare, the kings armie (vnder the conduct of Thomas Howard earle of Surreie and admerall of England, ioining with the men of the emperor Charles the fift) passed towards Ard, from

George Brooke.

whense this sir George Cobham with two thousand men, by the precept of the admerall generall of the field, came to the towne of Sellois, set fire on the towne, assaulted the castell, burned, and subdued it, with the towns of Brunibridge, Senekerke, Botingham, and Manstier. Which donne, he returned to the admerall, and obteined due thanks and reward therefore, all these things being performed in the life of his father Thomas lord Cobham. After whose death, this noble man George Broke being become lord Cobham, did neither faint in the course of his honorable actions, nor anie whit degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors, for he was still had in such estimation: that amongst other of the nobilitie, in the three and twentith yeare of Henrie the eight, being the yere of our Lord and Sauior a thousand fiue hundred thirtie and one, attending on the king going to meet the French king betweene Calis and Bullongne, this lord Cobham was one, who in honorable sort behaued himselfe to his singular commendation. Some yeares after this, being in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, and the six and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight, he as marshall of the armie vnder Edward Seimor earle of Hertford, taking ship at Newcastell, passed into Scotland, and in the same countrie performed manie warlike exploits. Whereupon, in the same yeare, as a reward of his worthinesse, he was made deputie of Calis in the place of the earle of Arundell; at what time this lord was sworne to that office, in the morning of the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of June, in the night whereof (after the watch bell ended) the king landed at Calis, to go in person to the siege of Bullongne. Touching whose landing, and the behauior of the lord Cobham; the first declaring a most noble mind of the prince, in that he would not refuse to obeie the orders of his townes; & the other shewing the wisedome of the same lord Cobham, in that he would not rashlie doo anie thing, I will not refuse to saie somewhat, sith the same deserueth not to be forgotten, and may be a good example to others. In the morning of the same fourteenth day of June before the king passed from Douer to Calis, was Henrie Fitzallen earle of Arundell deputie of Calis, but he then surrendering his office, and the lord Cobham that daie sworne, the king tooke land at Calis, after that the watch was set, & that the watch bell had ceased ringing; after the ceasing whereof, it was not lawfull to open the gates to receiue anie into the towne. The news of the kings landing being knowen, the erle of Arundell and the new deputie come with the porter, hauing the keies to open the gate, and to receiue the king into the towne, at what time the earle of Arundell in hast commanded the porter to open the gates, the lord Cobham then saieng nothing, but the porter refused the doing therof at his word, alledging, that this same morning in truth he was their gouernor, & then it was his dutie to obeie him. But now (saith he) you are no more in that office, wherfore I will not doo it vntill the lord Cobham our deputie doo appoint vs, at whose speech it shall be donne, and not before.

Whereupon the lord Cobham noting the wise demeanour of the porter that warrantlesse would not breake the orders of the towne, for the present time said nothing, but still expecting the kings nearer approch to the towne, he at length goeth himselfe to the gate, when the king knocked, tooke the keie from the porter, did open onelie the little wicket, receiued the king onelie thereth rough, with three or foure more into the towne, and excluded all the rest of the traine, of what estate soeuer: which the king greatlie commended, hauing before vnderstood by the speech of the lord Cobham, that they might not without breach of the orders of the towne, admit such companie amongst them, after the houre appointed; and therefore besought the king that it would please him that onelie some three or foure, which his maiestie would appoint, might onelie come within the wals of the towne; whereunto the king granted, and standing himselfe at the wicket, would not permit anie to enter, but such as he by speciall name called vnto him; whereupon three or foure being now come in at the gate, the king did shut the wicket with his owne hands. Thus this lord Cobham continuing in the fauour of king Henrie the eight during his life, shewed no lesse merit of good desert after his death, to his sonne king Edward the first, than he had donne before. For about the third yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and eight, the king adopted this lord Cobham into the honourable felowship of the knights of the garter; in which yeare also, about the second of Maie, after the surrender of Bullongne (the daie whereof following this lord left his deputiship of Calis as I haue beene informed) this lord Cobham with sir William Peter chéefe secretarie, went from Calis as ambassadors vnto the French king, at what time these ambassadors were lodged the first night at Bullongne, and so rode to Amiens, where they met the French king, with whome hauing dispatched the cause of their comming, they after returned into England honourablie rewarded, vpon which returne of the lord Cobham he was sworne one of the kings priuie councell.

After which to shew how redie and able he was to furnish himselfe with armor and men for defense of his countrie against inuasion, he in the first yeare of the same king Edward the first, in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, amongst other of the nobilitie which mustered before the king in the parke of Grænewich, shewed his traine to the number of fiftie persons, vnder the ensigne of the Saracens head, which he gaue to his seruants for their cognisance. Then after the death of king Edward the first, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, he setteth his hand with other of the nobilitie to a letter, wherin the lords admit quéene Jane to the crowne, excluding the ladie Marie daughter to king Henrie the eight. Which deed of his, donne by the persuasion of the greatest part of the greater sort of councellors, was not so hurtfull vnto him as it was to others, after the comming of quéene Marie to the crowne, to whom he shewed himselfe no lesse faithfull subiect than before he had beene a sound councellor to hir brother. For in the first yeare of the reigne of the same quæne, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, he dutifullie resisted sir Thomas Wiat knight, raising a rebellion in Kent, and besieging this lord Cobham then defended within his castle of Cowling: where this lord discharging such artillerie as he had against Wiat, he inforced him to depart from thense. But as nothing is so well donne or meant, but that the same maie be impeched by the malice of the aduersarie, sith there is none that resteth free from enuie: so this lord growing in some suspicion about Wiats rebelling, by the euill persuasions of his enimies, sith this lord had vsed some conference with Wiat; he was in the end apprehended and committed to the Tower with certeine of his sonnes; who there sufficientlie prouing his innocencie, was after about the foure and twentith of March, discharged of his imprisonment and sent to his house in Kent. From whense in the second yere of the same quæne, with other noble men, he went to meet king Philip, comming into England

land to marrie quéene Marie. After which he liued some fiue or six yeares in honorable peace and quiet, beloued of his countrie, and honored of the nobilitie, and then gaue place to nature.

He married Anne the eldest daughter of sir Edward Brzaie knight, and one of the heires of John lord Brzaie, by whom he had issue William Brzoke lord Cobham, George Brzoke his second sonne which maried Christian the daughter and heire of Richard Duke esquire, by whom he had issue three sonnes; Duke, so christened after his grandfather; Charles and Peter, Thomas Brzoke his third sonne which married Katharine the daughter of sir William Candish knight, by whom he had issue a daughter married to Arthur Pils esquire; John Brzoke his fourth sonne now liuing, who married Anne the widow of sir John Norton, and the daughter and heire of Cob; Henrie the elder his fift sonne, and Edward Brzoke the elder his sixt sonne, who both died without issue; Henrie Brzoke the yonger his seuenth sonne now liuing a pensioner, a knight, and one that hath béene ambassador legier in France for hir maiestie, who married Anne the daughter of Henrie Sutton of Arrone, and widow of doctor Walter Haddon maister of the requests; Thomas Brzoke the yonger his eight, Edmund the ninth, and Edward the yonger his tenth sonne, all which three died without issue. Besides which sonnes, this lord George had issue foure daughters, Elisabeth married to William Par marquesse of Northampton, Anne and Marie which died vnmaried, and Katharine now liuing married to John Jerningham esquire. And here sith I haue somewhat mentioned this Elisabeth marquesse of Northampton, who went into Flanders to recouer helpe of an infirmitie which she had, I must saie somewhat that she after hir returne from those parts vncured departed this life at Whitehall, and was buried in Paules on the north side of the quier, not farre from John of Gaunt. Touching whome after hir death doctor Haddon did compose these few following verses:

Elisabetha fuit naturæ iure Cobama,
Coniugis & proprio nomine Parra fuit,
Forma, pudor, pietas, fœcundæ gratia linguæ,
Ingenium, virtus, inuiolata fides,
Cum grauitate lepos, cū simplicitate venustas,
Larga manus, pectus nobile, firmus amor,
Deniq; quicquid habet natura, quod addere possit
Addere quod possit gratia quicquid habet,
Omnia viuentem Parram comitata fuerunt,
Omnia mors atrox obruit ista simul,
Obruat ista licèt tristi mors sæua sepulchro,
Attamen illorum fama superstes erit.

But leauing hir, and returning to hir father, we saie, that this lord George departed this life the third kalends of October, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, and the fift and first yeare of the reignes of Philip and Marie. After whose death his wife ladie Anne, refusing anie longer to liue after the deth of hir honorable and louing husband, did also forsake the world, and ended hir daies in Nouember after the death of hir husband, to both whom buried in Cobham church, their louing sonne William lord Cobham did consecrate a rich, statelie, and curious monument of rare workmanship in stone, to the end that one tome might vnite their bodies after death, whose harts were by mutuall loue ioined during their liues. Vpon which gorgeous monument are ingrauen these following epitaphs, wherof the first in prose concerneth the lord Cobham, and the other in verse belongeth to his wife in this sort. ¶ *Honoratissimus & clarissimus vir Georgius Brokus fuit dominus Cobhammus ex oppidi Cobhammi possessione cognominatus, & idē laudatissimus aliquot annis Caleti præfectus, in illustrissimum collegium cooptatus equitum diui Georgij, nec solùm hunc præstantissimū habuit honorem & familiæ commendationem, sed etiam natura fuit optima, & animo omni generis laude ornatissimo: dux fuit in bello præstantissimus, & sapientissimus in pace cōciliarius, principibus in quorum temporibus vixit egregiè probatus: Cantianis suis inter quos habitauit eximiè charus, deniq; toti reipublicæ propter honorum splendorem, & virtutum notissimus & dilectissimus. Et hæc omnia fuerunt in illo illustriora; quoniam & professionem euangelij susceperat, & defensionem, ac eandem ad extremum vsq; spiritum conseruauit. Iste nobilissimus vir, constantissimus Dei seruus, & ornatissimum patriæ membrum, cùm ad maturam senectutem peruenisset, annum agens sexagesimum secundum, & febris ardoribus conflagrans, tertio kalendas Octobris est mortuus, anno millesimo quingentesimo octauo, cuius discessu, liberi quos post se multos & inprimis laudatos reliquit, & amici & necessarij, tota denique respublica magnum & iustum dolorem acceperunt. Gulielmus autem Brokus eques appellatus, ex antiquæ familiæ cognominatione dominus Cobhammus Georgij patris & hæres beneuolētissimus, hoc monumentum memoriæ Georgij patris sui clarissimi dedicauit, an. 1561 & Elisabethæ reginæ tertio.*

Besides which, vpon the other side of the same tome, besides the picture of his wife, is this epitaph set downe concerning hir, being a gentlewoman of great birth, and likewise of honourable behauiour:

Patre fuit domino fœlix, dominóq; marito,
Alter erat Brayus Cobhamus alter erat,
Anna fuit frugi, fuit & prosperima mater,
Pauperibus larga præbuit Anna manu,
Nil erat hac melius, nil fortunatius vna,
Donec erat charo charior illa viro.
Vltimus hunc annus Mariæ cū funere mersit,
Illa pari fato mense Nouembre ruit,
Sic quos vita duos concordes semper habebat,
Extinctos eadē nunc quoq; busta tenet.

William Brzoke knight, lord Cobham, the sonne and heire of George Brzoke lord Cobham, not degenerating in anie point from the nobilitie of his ancestors, was (as before his father had bene) aduanced to the honorable degree of knighthood in the life of his father, in whose time he deserued no small commendations for his seruice in the warres in those his yonger yeres. But because I maie not set downe what euerie particular action and honour of his might iustlie deserue to be spoken, because I might to some therin seeme ouer much to flatter him of whom I write whilest he is yet liuing, I will not either in truth dilate all the circumstances of the matter, neither in ample speeches streine my pen to powre out that which he rightlie deserueth, and euerie one plainlie knoweth: but onelie simplie set downe such things, as he hath valiantlie, honorablie, grauelie, and deliberatelie performed, in the warres, in peace, abroad and at home, to his countries good, the honour of his familie, his owne aduancement, and his princes liking. Wherefore to begin with things done in his fathers life, and in the budding of those yong yeares which gaue forth a manifest proofe of that fruit which so honorable a tree would in following time deliuer with ripe consideration; we saie, that in the third yeare of king Edward the first in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie & nine, after the assault of Bullogne-

William Brzoke.

berg

berg in the warres betweene the French and the English, this lord Cobham (by order and appointment of his father George lord Cobham then deputie of Calis) came from Calis with a hundred souldiors, who ioining with another hundred souldiors issuing out of Guines vnder the leading of capteine Smith, toke their iorneies as appereth to Bullogneberg. Shortlie after which, by the order of the lord Clinton then gouernor of Bullogne, were sent forth sir William Brooke with his hundred from Bullogne berg, and capteine Litton with his hundred from the base towne, and another capteine with a third hundred of souldiors from another peece of defense thereabouts; wherevnto were ioined fiue and twentie horssemen with certeine cariages to go vnto a wood, two miles distance from Bullogneberg, to fetch timber from thense for the mounting of the great artillerie and other necessarie vses. These capteines with their bands being almost come to the woods side, met with certeine of their skouts, which were sent forth in the morning; who told them how they had discouered the tract of a great number of horssemen. Whereupon the English retired, and therewith the French horssemen brake out of the wood beforesaid, & following the English, fell in skirmish with them. But the Englishmen casting themselues in a ring, kept out the enimie with their pikes, wherewith they had impaled themselues; who hauing that their small number lined with shot, did continuallie gall the Frenchmen as they approched. All which notwithstanding, those horssemen gaue three maine onsets vpon the English, with the number of fiue hundred horsse; the rest of their companie remaining still in troope. But such was the valiant prowesse of the English (incouraged by the comfortable speeches, and valiant actiuitie of sir William Brooke, with the diligence of the other capteins, which not onelie conducted and placed them in such order as stood most for their safetie, but also vsed such good speeches to them as the necessitie of the time required and would permit) that in the end the enimie was manfullie repelled, and diuerse of them with their horsses slaine; amongst which was monsieur Cauret: whereby this sir William Brooke and the Englishmen did safelie retire and returne home.

This sir William Brooke being one of the squiers of the bodie to king Edward the sixt, was after the death of king Edward, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, with his father the lord George, by the malicious persuasion of their enimies, committed to the Tower vpon suspicion of priuitie of the rebellion of Wiat, although (as you heard before) this lord repelled him from his castell of Cowling. But in the end, they so well answered whatsoeuer might be obiected against them, that they were shortlie after with great credit deliuered to their libertie. After which, this William Brooke liued in quiet all the time of quéene Marie, as far as I can yet learne. In the latter yeare of the reigne of which quéene, George lord Cobham died, whereby this sir William possessing now the honorable title of his father, was made lord Cobham by descent: who with all due circumstances executing the funerall of his father and mother (who did not long suruiue hir husband the lord George) did after in the church of Cobham erect a statelie monument ouer them of rich stone, most beautifull now to be seene in the same church. Not long after which death of his father, this William lord Cobham was after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie knight, in the first yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth, made constable of Douer castle, warden of the fiue ports, chancellor and admerall of the same. Which office he at this daie doth most honorablie inioie, hauing (during the same) onelie two lieutenants, the one a worthie gentleman called William Cripse esquier, and after his decease, Richard Barre esquier, a man well deseruing a place of such charge, trust, and credit.

In which first yeare of hir maiesties reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, this lord did most honorablie interteine the quæne with hir traine, at his house of Cobham hall with sumptuous fare, and manie delights of rare inuention. Amongst which, one comming now to mind, which I then being yong beheld, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof; which was: a banketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therevnto, composed all of græne, with seuerall deuises of knotted flowers, supported on each side with a faire row of hawthorne trées, which nature sæmed to haue planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome hir maiestie, and to honor their lord and maister. But because the beautie and maiestie, with the rare deuise thereof cannot be so well conceiued by pen, as the same was artificiallie made, vnlesse the reder might at one instant behold also the artificiall situation of the place; I thinke it better to passe the rest in silence, than not deliuering it in such grace as it meriteth, to offer disgrace vnto it, and shame to my selfe, in that I shall faile in due commendation of the deuise; and take vpon me to describe that which is beyond my reach. Wherefore leauing the maner thereof, I will set downe certeine verses made by doctor Haddon, and placed in the forefront of the same banketting house, which doo not onelie shew the ioifull welcome of hir maiestie to this honorable lord; but also to the whole countrie of Kent, which verses were these following:

Regia progenies, clari stirps inclyta Bruti,
Grata venis populis Elisabetha tuis:
Quocúnque aspicias plausus & gaudia cernis,
Lætatur vultu fœmina virque tuo:
Imberbes pueri, cani, teneræque puellæ,
Omnis ad aspectum turba profusa ruunt.
Nos te reginam, tu nos agnosce clientes,
Sic tibi, sic nobis, sic bona cuncta fluent.

Not long after which, this lord Cobham was by hir maiestie sent ambassador into the low countries to king Philip, where he so honorablie and wiselie dispatched the same, that he was holden in no lesse reputation, than his birth and merits did well chalenge. Which doone, his wife the ladie Dorothie the daughter of George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie parted the world. Whereupon hauing no issue male by hir, and desirous to perpetuat so long and honorable a title of the lords Cobham, which he would not to haue ended in himselfe; he applied his mind to the second mariage, and finding a gentlewoman in the court of modest behauior and knightlie birth, deseruing well, not onelie for the rare and good cariage of hir selfe in that place; but also for the dowries of hir mind (for she was both wise and learned) and for the beautie of hir person wherewith nature had adorned hir, he toke hir to wife, being by name Francis, the daughter of sir John Newton, knight; who hauing made him a glad father of much faire issue, whereof we will speake hereafter, yet liueth to both their comforts. Touching which name of Newton, sith I am now occasioned to speake thereof; I thinke it not amisse here to set downe what I find noted thereupon; to the end that I might in like sort ioine them in some part of a discourse of their descent, whome God hath ioined in one societie

of

of matrimonie. Wherefore I will vtter what I find thereof in the collections of Leland that most worthie antiquarie: who making mention of Gourneie, Caradoc, and Newton, as persons so tied together, partlie by descent, and partlie by name, that they cannot be seuered; I will *Verbatim* recite Lelands words, which are these, written in the peregrination of England, which he made in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two.

From Montague to Stoke vnder Hampden about a mile, there I saw at Stoke in a bottome hard by the village, verie notable ruins of a great manor place or castell. In this manor place remaineth a verie ancient chapell, wherein be diuerse tombes of noblemen and women. In the south-west side of the chapell be fiue images and tombes one ioined hard to another, three of men harnessed with shields, and two of women. There haue bene inscriptions of each of them; but now so sore defaced that they cannot be read. I saw a shield or two all barreie of blew and white. There are manie other tombes of noble men in that chapell. Without the quier dore lieth a great faire flat marble stone, with an image of brasse flatlie grauen, and this writing in French about it: Icy gist le noble & valiant chiualier Mahew de Gourney iadis seneschall de Landes, & capteine de castell de Acquies pur nostre seigneiure le roy en la duchie de Guyen. Qui en sa vie fu a la battaile de Beuamazine, & ala apres a la siege de Algazire sur la Sarazins, & auxi a les battailes de Schluse, de Cressie, de Ingenesse, de Poiters, de Nazara, &c. Il morut al age de 96 ans, & 26 September, anno Domini 1406, de que ailme Dieu aist mercy. I marked in the windows three sorts of armes, one all barreie blew and white, another with three stripes gules downe right in a field gold, the third was crosselets of gold manie intermixt in one, in a field as I remember all gules. The prouost of this collegiat chapell hath a large house by the village of Stoke, and thereby is a notable quarrie of stone at Hampden.

Caradoc or Cradoc, they were called Newtons of the name of their dwelling called Newtowne.

The verie proper name of sir John Newton is Caradoc. The name of Newton came by this error, because the grandfather of sir John Newton dwelled, or was borne in Trenewithein in Pois land. Againe, this Gourneie was lord of Stokehampden, and there he lieth buried in a collegiat chapell, by the ruins of his castell; he was chiefe founder (as some saie) of the house of Gaunts at Bristow, he was founder of the priorie of nuns in Summersetshire, called Baron Gourneie: and of Richmont castell by Pendep, fiue miles from Wels. All the building of this castell is cleane downe. It came after to Hampden, and to Caradoc *aliàs* Newton. The forest of Kingswood commeth iust out to Barmecourt maister Newtons house. There were of ancient time foure counted as chiefe lords of Pendep; first the king and his part came to the bishop of Bath by fee farme; Glastenburie had another part; Bonuill lord Bonuill, and now the lord Greie marquesse Dorset was the third owner; the fourth was Gourneie; and now Caradoc *aliàs* Newton. Gourneie vsed much to lie at Richmont castell. Sir John Newton digged vp manie old foundations of this castell, towards the building of a new house hard thereby, called Eastwood. There is a village by East chapter, called West chapter Gourneie, and there be the varietie of armes that Gourneie gaue in the glasse windows, and his cote armor. At such time as Gourneie liued, the lord Fitzwaren was maister of Pendep first by inheritance, and it was well furnished with deare: but shortlie after, for riots and trespasses done in hunting, it was disforrested, and so it remaineth. Gourneis lands came by this means vnto Newton.

Sir John Newtons house standeth in the verie place where the grange of Richmond castell was.

One Newton a man of lands inhabiting at Wike towards Banwell, had a yonger brother, which maried one of the daughters and heires of Hampton, and wife issuelesse before to one of the Chocks that died without child by hir, which was the yongest daughter of three that Hampton left behind him, and yet she being maried vnto Newton, father to sir John Newton, fortuned to haue all the three parts. The verie lands of Newton of Wike, be descended by heires generals to sir Henrie Capell, sonne to sir Giles that dwelled at Wike, and to maister Griffith of Northamptonshire that hath Braibrooke castell. So that Newton of Barmecourt hath no part of Newtons lands of Wike. Thus much Leland Whose words although they be long, yet I haue bene the willinger to set downe, because it concerneth the name of Newton, of whome this honorable ladie Cobham is descended; being a person in no lesse credit with hir maiestie, than hir worthinesse doth well merit.

But to leaue hir in court in the good fauor of hir prince, I will returne my pen to the lord Cobham, who for the tender loue that he bare vnto his sister the ladie marchionesse of Northampton, went with hir and this ladie Cobham his wife into Flanders, there to seeke remedie for an infirmitie wherewith the said marchionesse was greeuouslie troubled. After whose returne into England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and fiue, being the seuenth yeare of queene Elisabeth, Christopher prince and Margraue of Baden, with Cecilie his wife sister to the king of Swethen alanded heere in England in the month of September at Douer, whom this lord Cobham there receiued, and from thense conueied vnto London, where the prince and his wife lodged at the earle of Bedfords house standing on the east side, not far from Iuie bridge. But as there are none that liue in this world in such happinesse, but that they are enuied (because such is the nature of enuie that it alwaies repineth at hir superiors, and at the good of anie other; for as saint Augustine in a certeine sermon doth write; *Inuidia est odium alienæ fœlicitatis, respectu superiorũ, quia eis non æquatur: respectu inferiorum, ne sibi æquentur, respectu parium, quia sibi æquantur; vnde Cain inuidet Abel prosperitati, Rachel Liæ fœcunditati, Saul Dauid fœlicitati: per inuidiam procuratus est lapsus mundi & mors Christi:* the sharpe and fierie darts whereof, none but onelie the poore and miserable can eschue; for the vertuous, the wise, the valiant, kings, quenes, lords, capteines, and all estates whatsoeuer are subiect therevnto) so this noble lord Cobham, feeling the common force thereof, by the complaint of others, was vpon the same assigned ouer to the charge of the honorable lord treasuror, vntill further triall were made of his vprightnesse. But in the end, as gold the more it is purified by the fire the brighter and better it becommeth: so the lord Cobham, hauing well cleered himselfe of whatsoeuer was laied against him, did like Joseph not onelie receiue an honorable libertie, but did also in following time rise to greater honor than he had before. For his fidelitie to his prince deseruing it, and hir honorable fauor commanding it, he was after in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and eightene, being the twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, sent with sir Francis Walsingham hir principall secretarie, ambassador into the low countries, to don John of Austria, bastard sonne of Charles the fift the emperor, and regent of those countries for Philip king of Spaine. In which ambassage he behaued himselfe so gravelie, that in few yeares after he was aduanced to greater honors. For he was called both to be one of the most

honorable fellowship of the knights of the garter, and in Hilarie tearme in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and fiue, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne was admitted into the number of hir priuie councellors, where I will now leaue him, inioieng that place, in which I wish him long and happie continuance. Besides which (ouerpassing his goodlie buildings at the Blacke friers in London in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and two, and since that, the statelie augmenting of his house at Cobham hall, with the rare garden there, in which no varietie of strange flowers and trees doo want, which praise or price maie obteine from the furthest part of Europe, or from other strange countries, wherby it is not inferior to the garden of Semiramis) I determine to speake somewhat of such persons, as are issued from him. Wherefore we first saie, that this lord maried two wiues, wherof the first (as is before said) was the daughter of George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, by whom he had issue one onelie daughter called Francis, yet liuing, being borne on wednesday the last of Julie one thousand fiue hundred foure score & nine, being first maried to Thomas Copinger of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent esquire, by whom she hath issue, two sonnes now liuing, William & Francis; and after his decease vnto Edward Becher esquire now liuing, by whom she hath also issue, two sonnes, Caro & Francis. After the death of this ladie Dorothie, the lord Cobham maried Francis the daughter of sir John Newton, by whom he had issue, foure sonnes, & three daughters, which were Maximilian, Henrie, William, George, Elisabeth, Francis, and Margaret, of whom particularlie we will saie somewhat, aswell for their honorable birth, as for that their good education giuen by their parents deserueth not that they should be forgotten.

Maximilian the eldest sonne (borne on wednesdaie the fourth of December in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and threescore, being the third yeare of the reigne of queene Elisabeth) growing after to be a goodlie yong gentleman, was first in his youngest yeares brought vp in his fathers house, where he learned the Latine, the French, & other languages; then going to Cambridge, where he bestowed some time in philosophicall exercises, & forsaking that place, did after trauell beyond the seas, where most vnfortunatlie (about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and three) he ended his desired life, which might greatlie in time haue beene beneficiall to his countrie, whose death (being greeuous to his parents at Cobham performing the funerals of him their sonne, who should by the course of nature haue discharged that dutie to them) maie iustlie moue them to write vpon the tombe of the same Maximilian these verses, set vpon a tombe in the hospitals of the incurable in Naples, which in the like cause I haue read to be set by the now liuing mother vpon the tombe of hir lamented sonne, departing in hir life time to hir great griefe and heauines:

Quæ mihi debueras suprema munera vitæ,
Infœlix seruo nunc tibi nate prior:
Fortuna inconstans, lex & variabilis æui,
Debueras cineri iam superesse meæ.

The which I haue seene turned into French in this sort expressing the words & the true meaning therof:

Par ces derneirs honores, que puet ladie attender,
Ie te paye primer ce que tu me deuois,
Sort murable ô du temps les variable loix,
Tu deuois ah mon filz ah suire ma cender.

But to let that passe, this yong gentleman hauing his mind mounted to the hight of good actions, and desirous to make shew that patience reuolueth in expecting the good successe of hard and high things, tooke this posie to him; Gaudet patientia duris. Of which words and the blacke lion placed in a siluer field being his crest, one Giles Fletcher (now doctor of law in Cambridge in this yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six) and one that greatlie loued this gentleman, did some yeares past compose these following persuasiue verses, as followeth:

Ecce niger vestræ referens insignia stirpis,
Stat leo candenti conspiciendus agro:
Admonet vt niuei tibi sint in pectore mores,
Hic color & fortem te iubet esse leo.
Quàm bene conueniunt nigro coniuncta leoni?
Quæ tria sunt titulis addita verba tuis.
Hæc quoq; te fortem, Gaudet patientia duris,
Hæc quoq; te niueis moribus esse iubet.
Ergò sit vt tituli, sic vitæ regula, verbo
Sed quod inest, factis debet inesse tuis.
Vt te nobilitas humilem, fors ampla modestum
Reddat, honor mitem, copia magna pium.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Conueniens verbo laus erit ista tuo.
Si malè quid placeat, quod vis non velle, carere,
Quod cupis, a placidis abstinuisse malis.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Deterior verbo ne videare, caue.
Si quid displiceat, motus lenire feroces,
Pectoris ac iræ fræna tenere tuæ:
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Hic quoq; sint verbo consona facta tuo:
Si mala contingant, tranquilla mente dolorem
Ferre, nec aduersus succubuisse malis.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Dissimilis verbo ne videare, caue.
Hæc bene si facias, re, sanguine, nomine magnus,
Et magno maior Maximilianus eris.

Thus setting end to Maximilian the eldest sonne of this lord Cobham, let vs descend to the rest of his children.

Henrie Brooke, being the second sonne by birth, but now the eldest by inheritance, is a gentleman, of whome great hope is conceiued, that his following yeares giuing increase to his good parts by nature, and to the like gifts of the languages by education, will not onelie make him a beneficiall member to his commonwealth, but also a person worthie of such a father, which Henrie was borne at Cobham hall, on wednesdaie the two and twentith of November, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure.

William Brooke the third sonne, a comelie gentleman, and inclined to follow the court (for which he seemeth by the gift of nature to be created) is in like sort beautified with the knowledge of the languages, and therefore likelie in following time to prooue a glorie to his house, as well abroad as at home, being brought into this world on tuesdaie the eleuenth of December, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and fiue.

George Brooke the fourth sonne, hauing by an accidentall chance in his youth some imperfection, in one part of his bodie, being borne on saturdaie the last of Julie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie nine, is so well indowed with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he implóied in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degree of maister of art, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, that he fullie and more recompenseth that accidentall imperfection, with naturall and procured beautie of the mind, and therefore with Ouid (a man more wittie than wel-fauored) may iustlie saie:

Ingenio forma damna rependo meæ.

Elisabeth and Francis Brooke two twins were borne on tuesdaie the fift daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred three score and one, whereof the first being a modest and vertuous gentlewoman doth worthilie serue hir maiestie as one of hir priuie chamber; the other being a person not degenerat from the honor of hir house, was in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and eightie in Michaelmas terme married to John lord Sturton at the Blacke friers in London; Margaret the third daughter, a goodly gentlewoman & furnished with the good gifts of nature, and her parents education, was at Cobham hall in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure married vnto sir Thomas Sands of Throughlie in the countie of Kent knight. With which ladie I doo for this time knit vp the discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, and will descend to the other persons by collaterall lines issued from that house.

The Cobhams lords of Randall or *Rundall in Kent, in the parish* of Shorne.

Hauing before perfourmed the descents & succession of all the lords of Cobham, either by the name of Quatermere Cobham, or Brooke; order requireth (sith there hath beene three lords, as I haue beene informed at one time of the Cobhams, which I for this present take to be the lord Cobham of Cobham, the lord Cobham of Randall, and the lord Cobham of Sterborow) that we also intreat somewhat of the Cobhams lords of Randall, to make this worke perfect, touching all the lord Cobhams in England, For which cause meaning first in orderlie sort to set downe the lords of Randall, a place not farre from Cobham; I must begin the same a little higher, and make repetition of somewhat spoken before to bring forth this line of the house of Randall in this sort.

John Cobham.

Sir John Cobham knight the sonne of the first Henrie Cobham, hauing two wiues, had by his first wife the daughter of one William Fitzbennet two sonnes, whereof the eldest was called John, of whom the lords of Cobham did descend (as we haue before touched) and the second was named Henrie Cobham lord of Rundall, of whome we are now to intreat.

Henrie Cobham of Randall.

This Henrie Cobham of Randall knight married Jone, one of the daughters and heires of Stephan Pinchester warden of the cinque ports, and of Margaret his wife the daughter of John de Burgh, which Stephan was the sonne of Stephan Pinchester knight, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and eightéene, about the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and of Rose his wife. The name of which Pinchester I haue beene the more willing to set downe, because that these Cobhams of Randall (in respect of this John daughter and heire of Stephan Pinchester) did leane the cote of the Cobhams, and bare the armes of Pinchester, which is gules a plaine crosse siluer, as yet to be seene vpon a monument carued out of stone in the church of Shorne in Kent, where this Henrie Cobham was buried with his armor, on whose shield he beareth those armes of Pinchester. By which Jone the daughter and heire of Stephan Pinchester this Henrie had issue John Cobham, which died without issue; Stephan Cobham of Randall knight, Thomas Cobham which had lands in Hollinborne and Chaford; and Stephan Cobham the yonger which had lands in Dunstall. Which Henrie liued in the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yeare of our incarnation one thousand three hundred fortie and three, and was buried at Shorne (as is before touched) with this epitaph in French as followeth: Sire Henry le Cobham leisne seignour dé Rondail fust appelle gist icy, Dieu de sa ame ayt mercy.

Stephan de Cobham lord of Randall the sonne of Henrie Cobham married Auisia, by whome he had issue John Cobham of Randall knight; which Stephan died in the life of his father, in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie & three of the birth of our Sauior. Stephan de Cobham lord of Randall.

John de Cobham lord of Randall knight, had issue Thomas de Cobham of Randall knight, his heire, and John de Cobham of Yeuer his second sonne. Which John Cobham the knight departed this world, in the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the one thousand three hundred three score and second yeare from the birth of Christ. John de Cobham lord of Randall.

Thomas de Cobham of Randall knight, the sonne of John Cobham knight before recited, married Mawd the daughter of one Pimpe knight, who perhaps was lord of the manor of Pimps court in Kent. By which Mawd this Thomas had issue Reinold Cobham knight, and William Cobham, of which William I haue gathered this note out of an old euidence: William Cobham of Stapleherst, in the eight yere of king Henrie the sixt, gaue to Peter Web of Shorne two acres and a halfe in the parish of Shorne, in the field called Smithen, and all his lands vnder west Hull, which should descend vnto him after the death of the lord Thomas de Cobham *alias* Rundella knight, his father. This Thomas Cobham of Randall knight, died in the seuentéenth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirtéene. But his wife Mawd died about thirtéene yeares before hir husband, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and foure score, in the third yeare of the said king Richard the second, and is buried in Cobham church, with this epitaph, which is there yet to be seene: Icy gist dame Mawd de Cobham, le femme de sire Thomas Cobham, que dellya le 9 iour d' Auerill, en le anne de grace 1380. Thomas de Cobham lord of Randall.

Reinold Cobham of Randall knight, the sonne of sir Thomas Cobham of Randall knight, married Elisabeth the daughter of sir Arnold Sauage knight, who was shiriffe of Kent in the ninth yeare of the said king Richard the second, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and fiue, at what time he had a *Dedimus potestatem* directed vnto him to take a fine of sir Roger Northwood knight lord of Shorne in Kent. By which Elisabeth this Reinold Cobham had issue John de Cobham, which died without issue; Thomas Cobham of Randall esquire, and Henrie Cobham which died without issue. Reinold de Cobham lord of Randall.

Thomas Cobham of Randall esquire was nine yeares old in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, which fell about the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and seuen, or one thousand foure hundred & eight. For the said yere of the king did fall in both those yeares of our Lord, accounting the yeare of Christ to begin on the fiue and twentith daie of March, after the account of England. Of which Thomas sith I haue nothing to write either of his mariage or death, I will in this sort knit vp this discourse of the Cobhams lords of Randall, and descend to the lord Cobhams of Sterborow. Thomas Cobham lord of Randall.

The

The descents and successions of the lord Cobhams, lords and barons of Starburow castle in Surrie.

TO come to the full discourse of these lord Cobhams of Starburow, who were for honor and antiquitie of great estimation; we must first fetch their originall from John Cobham knight, as we haue alreadie done the lords of Cobham and Randall: and for that must the third time repeat some discourse and descent of the said John Cobham; who being the sonne of the first Henrie Cobham, to whom Quaternere sold his lands in Cobham, had two wiues as is before touched: by the first whereof he had two sonnes, of whom the lord Cobhams of Cobham and those Cobhams of Randall did descend: and by his second wife called Jone, the daughter of Hugh Nevill, he had issue Reinold Cobham knight, lord of Aldington, of whom the Cobhams of Starburow did descend, as this following discourse doth manifest.

Reinold Cobham knight lord of Aldington, which liued in the sixteenth yere of king Edward the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred foure score & eight, married Jone the daughter and heire of William de Yener, by whom he had issue Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold de Cobham lord of Starburow

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow, the second of that name and that line, being knight of the garter was lord of Starburow castle. All which lord Cobhams of Starburow (as differing from the armes of the house of Cobham of Cobham, from which they issued) did beare gules a cheuron gold, charged with three staues sable, onelie changing the sable lions of the cheuron of the house of Cobham of Cobham into sable starres; but still keeping all the rest of the armes both in colour, field, & cheuron, as they of Cobham did beare them. Of which stars in those armes of these Cobhams, the place was called Starburow, or the burow of the stars, and they surnamed the lords of Starburow. This Reinold lord Cobham, was with the earle of Derbie and others, hauing fiue hundred men sent in the thirteenth yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and nine, into Flanders, where they subdued the Flemings, whereof the most part were destrous to fall to league with the king of England against the mind of their erle, which took part with the French king. After which, the king going into Flanders, feining that he would in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fortie, ride about that countrie for his pleasure, he secretlie came into Zeland, where taking ship, and sailing three daies and three nights, on S. Andrews daie at night about cocke crowing, entred the Tower of London by night, being attended on (amongst other noble men) with this lord Cobham, who (continuing still in his princes fauour, a thing rarelie happening, but that his worthinesse alwaies merited fauour) was in the sixteenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie & two, appointed with others, during the wars in Britaine, to be a commissioner for the king of England, to conclude a peace by mediation of two cardinals, setting their seales to the same agreement, in the presence of the lord Cobham. About two yeares following, this Reinold was made admerall of the sea, from the mouth of the Thames toward the west parts, so long as it pleased the king, as appeareth by the patent dated the eight of Maie, in the eightenth yere of Edward the third, falling in the yeare from the birth of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure. Then in the twentith yeare of the said king, falling in the yere of our Lord one thosand three hundred fortie and six, he passed with the king into Normandie, continuing with him in all those warres of France, and was by speciall appointment of the king bestowed in the fore-ward of the armie, in which the prince of Wales was at the battell of Creseie, as one of the cheefe persons for value, to whom Edward the third would commit the life of his sonne the prince of Wales. The next yere following, being the one and twentith of Edward the third, and of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and seuen, he was amongst others appointed for the English part to treat with two cardinals about a peace betweene France and England, and was in the same yere by patent admitted into the honor of a baron, with a further gift of the manor of Westclive to him and to the heires of his bodie begotten. Besides which, in the same yeare, this Reinold, with Thomas lord Berkeleie, and Norice Berkeleie, became manucaptors for Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Defmond, that he should come into England, and abide such order as the law would award for such misdemenors as he had vsed against the king. Afterward this lord Cobham tooke the towne and castle of Sacret or Salart; from whense he returned towards Languedocke, and was sent againe in another voiage against the Frenchmen. And in the nine and twentith of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and fiue, when the prince of Wales, commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince, diuided his armie two miles from the towne of Areull, this Reinold with others were in the vaward, at what time it seemeth that he was marshall of the armie. And in the thirtith yere of Edward the third, in the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, he was valiantlie fighting in that famous battell of Poitiers, in which the Blacke prince tooke the French king prisoner. But yet not ceasing his warlike exploits, he also in the three and thirtith of the king, being the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and nine, went out of England againe with king Edward the third, and besieged the citie of Rhemes. Not long after which, in the thirtie and fift yere of this king, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and one, he departed this life, and was buried at Linfield in Surrie: at whose feet on his tombe lieth embossed in stone a Saracen in a red robe, signifieng that he had obteined victories amongst and against them. He married two wiues, whereof the first was Jone the daughter of sir Norice Berkeleie knight, by whome he had issue Reinold Cobham knight, baron of Starburow. His other wife was Elisabeth the daughter of Hugh erle of Stafford, the widow of John de Ferrers of Chartleie knight, by whom he had no issue.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold Cobham knight the third of this line and name, and the second baron of Starburow, was in the eight and fortith yere of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and foureteene, with John duke of Lancaster, William earle of Salisburie, Simon Suoberie and others sent into Flanders to Bruges to intreat a peace betweene England and France, which parlee continued almost two yeres, and ended without conclusion of peace, but onlie with a truce for a certeine time. After which, in the one and fiftith and last yere of the same king, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and sixteene, he was the second time (with the bishop of Hereford and maior of London) sent to Bruges,

to

to treat of the like peace with the French, but was shortlie after called home by the death of the said Edward the third. When this king was dead, and that his nephue (by his sonne the Blacke prince) called Richard the second, being within age, came to the crowne; this Reinold Cobham amongst others was in the eleuenth yeare of the same Richard the second, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred foure score and seuen, appointed to haue the gouernment of the realme, as maie appeare in my former discourse of the protectors of England, and to be one of the kings gouernors. For which office and for nothing else he was after in the parlement holden at Shrewsburie, in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of this Richard, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred foure score and eightéene condemned: who departing the realme therefore, did returne out of Britaine into England with Henrie of Bullingbroke, then duke of Hereford (and after king by the name of Henrie the fourth) in the three & twentith and last yere of this deposed king Richard, in the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred foure score & ninetéene. After which he liued about foure yeares, and ended his life in the fourth of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, falling about the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and three, being buried in Linsted church in Surrie with this epitaph, declaring his martiall and ciuill qualities:

De Starborough dominus, de Cobham hic Reginaldus,
Hic iacet, hic validus miles fuit vt leopardus:
Sagax in guerris, satis audax omnibus horis,
In cunctis terris famam præclauit honoris.
Dapsilis in mensis, formosus, morigerosus,
Largus in expensis, imperterritus, generosus:
Et quando placuit Meschia, quòd moriretur,
Ac spirans obijt in cœlis glorificetur:
Mille quadringeno, trino, Iulij numeres tres,
Migrauit cœlo, sit sibi vera quies.

He maried Elenor the daughter of John lord Matrauers, & the widow of sir John Arundell knight, by whome he had issue, Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold de Cobham knight, the fourth of that name and time, and the third baron of Starburow, had two wiues: the first was Elenor the daughter of sir Thomas Culpepper knight, by whome he had issue, Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow, Thomas Cobham knight, Elenor maried to Humfreie duke of Glocester, Elisabeth maried to Richard lord Strange of Knocking, Anne a nun at Barking, and Margaret maried to Reinold Curteous. Which Elenor first wife to this Reinold now lord Cobham, died in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and twentie, being the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, and was buried at Linsted with this epitaph here presentlie following:

¶ *Hic iacet domina Eleonora quondam vxor Reginaldi Cobham militis, filia Thomæ Culpeper militis, quæ obijt anno Domini* 1420.

The second wife of this Reinold the fourth of that name was Anne, one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Bardolph, by whome he had no issue. Now here I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, to saie somewhat of the said Elenor Cobham, the daughter of this Reinold lord Cobham before touched. Which woman being maried to Humfreie duke of Glocester, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and seuen, did by night on tuesdaie the 19 daie of Julie, in the 19 yeare of the said Henrie the first, being the yeare that the word of the father tooke flesh in the wombe of the mother, one thousand foure hundred fortie and one, flie vnto sanctuarie, vpon the apprehending of Henrie Bullingbroke a priest the sundaie before, for vsing coniuration to consume the kings person. Which flight caused hir to be suspected of treason, & that the rather, because this Bullingbroke confessed he did this, by the procurement of the said Elenor: who was indicted as accessarie thereunto. After which, on the twentith daie of October, being in the twentith yeare of that Henrie, falling in the said yeare one thousand foure hundred fortie and one, from Christs birth, she appeared before Robert Gilbert bishop of London, William Alnewike bishop of Lincolne, and Thomas Browns bishop of Norwich. Where Adam Molins clearke of the kings councell read certeine articles obiected against hir, of sorcerie and witchcraft: whereof she confessed part, and denied others. But after, on the three and twentith of October, she was conuicted of those articles, and receiued penance therefore, which she performed. The maner whereof is set downe by Iohn Stow, and shall be more liberallie touched by me in my larger discourse of the lord Cobhams, hereafter to be set forth. And thus this much of that Reinold the fourth, and his children.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold the fift of that name and line, was the fourth & last baron of Starburow of that house, being called Reinold the yonger in the life of his father. This Reinold the fift, I take to be that man, whome the duke of Bedford (brother to Humfreie duke of Glocester that maried Elenor, sister to this Reinold the fift) did amongst others make knight in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue. He maried Thomasin the daughter of John Cherocke knight, by whome he had issue one daughter and heire called Margaret, maried to Rafe Neuill the second of that name earle of Westmerland; who hauing by hir one onelie daughter, which died in hir cradle, the lands of the lord Cobham of Starburow, came to sir Thomas Cobham knight, brother and heire to this Reinold.

Thomas Cobham lord of Starburow.

Thomas de Cobham knight, the sonne of Reinold the fourth, and heire to his brother Reinold the fift, maried Anne the daughter of Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham, by whome he had one onelie daughter and heire called Anne, maried first to the lord de Monte Iouis *alias* Monte Ioroso, in English Mont Iews or Mont ioies: and after to sir Edward Burgh of Lincolneshire knight, baron of Burgh. Who at this daie inioieng that name & baronie of Burgh, doth keepe the remembrance of their descents from these lords Cobhams of Starburow, the castle whereof being at this daie in their possession. This Thomas Cobham is he, whereof I haue read, that there was one Thomas Cobham knight, whose daughter and heire was called Anne, that died in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and one. Of which name Cobham I also read manie more notes and epitaphs: but by reason I can not yet well tell, in which of the collaterall lines of this house (whereof there are manie) to bestow them, I will refer them to my next addition; not doubting but longer time will breed more certeine knowledge where to place them whereby truth maie be brought to light, sith *Veritas est temporis filia.*

Thus hauing finished all my course discourse of these lords Cobhams, it is high time for vs now to descend to the lord wardens of the fiue ports: which office the honorable baron sir William Brooke knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now liuing, doth to his countries good, and his great honor, worthilie inioy, as some of his ancestors haue done before.

The catalog of the lord wardens of the *cinque ports, and constables of Douer castle, as* well in the time of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, *as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by* Francis Thin, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six.

IT hath bin some question, whether this officer of warden of the ports were in the Romane and Saxons times, which truelie I am resolued was then vsed; and the officer rightlie to be called *Limenarcha*, the chiefe (as it were) of the borders of seacoasts, and the gouernor *Saxonici litoris*; which was of that shore which belonged to England in Kent, on which the roning pirats of the Saxons lieng vpon the sea were woont to alland, and then to spoile the countrie. For the more explanation whereof, I referre thee to that learned worke of maister Camden, touching the antiquities of Britaine, and will onlie bend my pen to such principall officers of those places as fall within my knowledge; as followeth.

Earle Godwine.

Godwine earle of Kent was constable of Douer castell, maister of the ports and those parts of the sea coastes, and had the towne of Douer in his kéeping, in the time of king Edward the confessor: who in the yeare of Christ one thousand and nineteene, being the third yeare, or as other haue, the second yeare of Canutus king of England, had the gouernment of the English armie into Denmarke, when Canutus went to subdue the Vandals: at what time Canutus by the helpe of Godwine obteined the victorie. After which, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thirtie and eight, as some haue (but in the yeare one thousand thirtie and six, as others haue) in which yeare Canutus died, this Godwine, in recompense of the honor which he receiued by Canutus, labored to aduance Hardiknute the sonne of the same Canutus, to the kingdome of England; but he preuailed not: for Harold Harefoot was then made king.

Godwine thus still remaining in credit, found meanes to haue Alured the sonne of Egelred heire to the crowne to be slaine, least he should pursue his title to the kingdome. Of which thus speaketh the priuat history of Elie in the second booke: *Alfredus* (Alfred or Alured) *missioni Goodwini strictissimè vinctus, ducitur ad Ely, sed vt ad terram nauis applicuit, eius oculi sunt eruti, & sic ad monasterium ductus traditur ad custodiendum; vbi breui post obijt, & in australi porticu in occidentali parte ecclesiæ sepultus: nunc autem* (which was about the latter end of the time of King Henrie the second) *ossa ipsius iuxta altare sanctorum Eadmundi regis & martyris, & Thomæ Cantuariensis episcopi tumulata sunt.* Which history disproueth all such writers as affirme, that this Alfred was slaine, and that he was killed by Godwine about Guildenford, of some called Gilford. This done in the time of king Hardiknute, he with quéene Emma had the gouernment of the realme.

But yet in the time of the said Hardiknute, as some chronicles affirme, he was feine to purge himselfe of the death of Alured: which he did by oth, and by giuing to the king a rich present; being a ship, conteining therein fourescore souldiors, wearing vpon each of their armes two bracelets of gold of sixtéene ounces weight, a triple habergeon guilt on their bodies, and a sword with gilt hilts girded to their waists, a battle ax after the maner of the Danes on their left thoulder, a target with bosse & mailes gilt: and to conclude, they were furnished at all parts with armor and weapon accordinglie. But touching the purgation of Godwine, and the gift of this ship, I must speake my fansie; not as though I would be *Honorarius arbiter*, or a seuere controllor of other men: but as one that desireth that truth maie appeare, which hath béene manie waies obscured by writers of chronicles. And for that cause I saie, that this purgation of Godwine, and this gift, should be referred to the following time of king Edward the confessor; as is well proued by an ancient booke dedicated to quéene Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, and the daughter of this earle Godwine. Which booke was of purpose made, to set forth the praise, vertues, learnings, and languages of the said Edith (amongst which languages, she is commended, for that she vnderstood and spake the Irish tong) and to further the renowme and glorie of this erle Godwine, as after by the verses proouing the same, shall more plainelie appeare. And yet I know, it is not vnpossible but that he might giue two ships in both those kings times: which if he had done, I doubt not but this booke would aswell haue spoken of the one, as of the other; being speciallie written to set out his glorie.

This earle Godwine, hauing with much diligence aduanced Edward the Confessor through his power and strength in the realme to the crowne of England, did after purge himselfe of the death of Alfred brother to this king Edward, and presented a worthie gift (vnto the said king Edward, at his entrance into the gouernement) a ship of rare deuise and riches, as these verses taken out of the before mentioned booke do well and soundlie proue:

Laudibus exortis hinc gratis concinit orbis,
Et resonet mecum tua musica gaudia rerum,
Quæ lux de cœlo rutilans, in rege nouello,
Anglis illuxit, gemebundáq; corda resoluit,
Has quoq; conuitias, qua lætitia celebrarunt,
Festum proceres, certatim dona ferentes,
Agnouere suum regem magnúmq; patronum.
Multa dedere quidem, verùm supereminet omnes
Larga ducis probitas Goodwini, munere tali,
Scapha grauis longo laterum compage redacto,
*Verticibus binis, *finibus stabat Thamasinis,*
Sedibus æquato numerosis ordine lato,
A medio naui despecto vertice mali,
Centum bis denis aptata minacibus heris,
Aureus è puppi leo prominet æquora proræ,
Celsè pennato perterret tempore draco,
Aureus & linguis flamma vorat ore trisulcis,
Nobilis appensum preciatur purpura velum,
Quòd patrum series depicta docet varias res,
Belláq; nobilium turbata per æquora regum,
Interné grauidus stipes robúrq; volatus,
Sustinet extensis auro rutilantibus alis,
** Armigerum volucrem, pedibus, rostróq; ferentè,*
Et similem viuo, visu gemmis simulato,
Singula bis denis argenti transtra talentis,
Bis binis rutili, cumulat dux inclytus auri,
Cuiq; viro galeam loricam pone trilicem,
Lancea cum gladio, nec abest his Gallicus vmbo,
Danica cum capitis sculpti formata securis,
Sæpius ex cocto chalybum fornace metallum,
Pluribus his opibus pollebat regia sedes,
Argenti montes meri rutilantes & auri,
Gazas insignes cum pallia plura videres,
Ornatúsq; graues, quo mittit Barbara tellus,
Orbis & extremi varijs textricibus Indi,
Tum decus armorum iungit nunc inferiorum,
Quanquam Vulcani referuntur in arte parari,
Regi Troiano nullo cedentia tclo,
Cætera præcipuè sunt instrumenta carinæ,
Quæ stupeat pontus nimium mirantibus vndis,

* The banks of the riuer of Thames.

* An Eagle.

Respiciens

Reſpiciens ſolem tota de claſſe lucentem,
Hanc in ſede noua ſolÿ regniq; corona,
Regnante tribuit, recipi & gratam fore poſcit,
Sæpiùs augeri ſpondens hæc velle libenti,
Vnde manus præſtat fidei ſacramenta parari,
Eduardúmq; ſibi regem dominúmq; fideli,
Seruandum voto conteſtans, & famulatu,
Principibus reliquis ſit in exemplum probitatis,
Iſtud idem cunctis imitantibus Anglicus orbis,
Gaudet in Eduardo feſtiuus rege decoro,
Pax antiqua ſuos rediens ſic viſitat Anglos,
Aufugiunt rixæ, diſcedunt bella, furórq;
Omnis frigeſcit, tellus pontúſq; quieſcit,
Ac paſſim lætis celebrantur feſta choreis.

After which this erle Godwine hauing the towne and caſtle of Douer in his charge, did (vpon the complaint of Euſtace earle of Bullogne, which maried Goda the ſiſter to king Edward, and alanded at Douer, to the intent that he would viſit the king, at which place eighténe of the men of Euſtace were ſlaine for one man of Douer ſlaine by the men of Euſtace, vpon a contention betwéene the townſmen and them) take armes againſt the king, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand fiftie and one. Whervpon he was baniſhed, but neuer after ceaſſed to moleſt the king, vntill that he was reſtored home vnto his honors and liuings, and had his peace made with the king the ſecond yeare of his baniſhment, being about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiftie and two, and the ninth yeare of king Edward the Confeſſor. Of the maner of the death of which Godwine there be diuers reports ſet downe, which I meane not here to touch, but onelie to laie before you that he died in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiftie and three, or (as others haue) one thouſand fiftie and foure, and was honorablie buried at Wincheſter. He maried two wiues, the firſt was Thira borne in Flanders, by whom he had one ſonne, *Quem equus impotenter agitatus deiecit in Thamiſin.* His ſecond wife was Githa the ſiſter of Sweine the king of Denmarke, *Quæ fulmine icta interijt, ſatisfacturis pœnas ſoluēs, quòd dicebatur agmina mancipiorum in Anglia coempta Danemarchiam ſolere mittere.* By which woman this Godwine had iſſue, Harold after king, Sweine, Toſtie, Wolnothus, Gurth, Leofwine, and Edith maried to Edward the Confeſſor.

Harold. Harold the ſonne of Godwine being earle of Kent, after the death of his father, was alſo conſtable of Douer caſtle about one yeare in the time of Edward the confeſſor. After which, this Harold put on the crowne of England immediatlie vpon the death of the ſaid king Edward, but was within three quarters of a yeare thereof ſlaine by the Norman baſtard, in the firſt and laſt yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Harold. He maried Agatha, by whom he had a ſonne, by ſome named Ulfus, but by Dudo de ſancto Quintino, which liued aboue fiue hundred yeares paſt, it ſeemeth that he had two ſonnes. For thus writeth the ſaid author: *Porrò duo filij Heraldi regis ſe ab eorum contubernio ſubducentes, cum multis vernaculis patris, Hibernia regem nomine Dermutum pro obtinendo inuamine ſunt aggreſſi. De cuius regno ipſo ſuffragante, parua temporis intercapedine non minimam militū ſibi contrahentes manum cum 66. nauibus (qua in regione maximè oportunum exiſtimauerunt) Anglos otiùs repetierunt, rapinis & incendijs, more ſauiſſimorum piratarum, exterminantes populum. Quibus Brientius Eudonis ducis Britannia minoris filius, cum ſuis obuius, protinus cum eis die vna duobus prælijs manum conſeruit, caſiſq; mille & 700. bellatoribus cum nonnullis regni proceribus, reliqui è certamine fugientes nauiū præſidio, necis exitium vtcúnq; euaſerunt, ex carorum amiſſione permaximum Hibernenſibus importantes luctum, qui profectò niſi nox prælium diremiſſet, omnes mortis nouacula abraſi fuiſſent.*

The names of the two ſonnes of Harold, were Godwine and Edmund, as appeareth by one anonymall chronicle in theſe words: *Godwinus & Edmundus filij regis Heroldi de Hibernia redeuntes in Summerſet applicuerunt, quibus Adnationis ol'm regis Heraldi ſtallarius occurrit cū exercitu, &c.*

Thus much Dudo. The which I haue béene the willinger to ſet downe, becauſe that it not onelie proueth Harold to haue had two ſonnes, but alſo vnfoldeth a doubt which hath béene amongſt our antiquaries, whoſe ſonne that perſon, which is called commonlie amongſt vs *Brientius filius comitis* ſhould be; for by theſe words of this author, I find him to be the ſonne of Eudo earle of Britaine.

Bertram Alburneham a baron of Kent was conſtable of Douer caſtle in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three ſcore and ſix, being (as is ſaid) the firſt and laſt yeare of king Harold; which Bertram was beheaded by William the Conqueror, after that he had obteined the crowne, becauſe he did ſo valiantlie defend the ſame againſt the duke of Normandie. But of this man I am not yet fullie reſolued whether he were conſtable of Douer caſtle or no; or whether there were anie ſuch man before in that credit, at or before the conqueſt. Bertram Alburneham.

Odo biſhop of Baieux and earle of Kent, wherevnto he was aduanced by the Conqueror, had alſo the towne and caſtle of Douer in his charge, at what time Hugh Montfort was conſtable thereof, who reſiſted and repelled Euſtace earle of Bullogne beſieging the ſame caſtle. After which, this biſhop falling into the kings diſgrace, the caſtle of Douer was committed to John lord Fines, and he by the Conqueror made the firſt warden of the cinque ports, and conſtable of Douer caſtle. Odo.

John Fines lord Fines created warden of the cinque ports, and conſtable of Douer by William Conqueror, with a gift of inheritance to kéepe that place to him and to his heires; to whom alſo the Conqueror did giue (to the end that the ſaid Fines ſhould be of ſufficient abilitie to beare the charge thereof) the number of fiftie and ſix knights fées, of lands and poſſeſſions: which being valued at fiue pounds the knights fée, as is by ſtatute limited, amounted to the yearelie value of two hundred and foureſcore pounds; the ounce of ſiluer being then at twentie pence, which at this time riſeth to the ſumme of eight hundred and foztie pounds by yeare, after the rate of fiue ſhillings the ounce of ſiluer: which ſix and fiftie knights fées he had vpon condition, that he ſhould diſperſe the ſame to ſuch valiant perſons as worthilie ſerued in ſo noble and pretious a caſtle. Whervpon he diſtributed the ſame to eight perſons to be his aſſiſtants, and to mainteine one hundred and twelue ſouldiors, the names of which eight with the other matter therevnto belonging, is more liberallie ſet downe by that carefull and learned antiquarie William Lambard eſquire (my Synchronus) in his perambulation of Kent vnder the title of Douer, pag. 124. and 125. John Fines.

James lord Fines, the ſonne of John before named, was after the death of his father (by force of the inheritance thereof granted to his father) warden of the cinque ports, & conſtable of Douer caſtle, who died (as is by ſome ſuppoſed) at Folkeſtone in Kent. James Fines.

John lord Fines ſonne of the ſaid James Fines was alſo by inheritance warden of the cinque ports, and conſtable of Douer caſtle. John Fines.

Malchilinus de Mannot, called alſo by Robertus Montenſis Machelmus de Douer, is in other authors named Walkelme or Walkeline, and was conſtable of Douer caſtell in the third yeare of king Stephan, as witneſſeth the ſaid Robertus Montenſis, who being in the ſaid caſtle (as a freend to Maud the empreſſe as I coniecture) did yet in the ſaid third yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption one thouſand one hundred thirtie & eight, deliuer the caſtell of Douer to the queene the wife of king Stephan, when ſhe beſieged the ſame caſtell. For which cauſe after the death of king Stephan, and Malchilinus.

the comming in of Henrie the second, he abandoned his charge, and fled into Normandie. By the comming of which Walkelme to the constableship of Douer castell, there was a disseizine of the inheritance thereof belonging to Fines. Now, after the surrender of this castell by Walkelme, there be some antiquaries which affirme that William earle of the Egle, and also earle Warren (in the right of his wife) being the base sonne of king Stephan, was in the life of his father constable of Douer castell, grounding themselues vpon a composition made in the seuentéenth yeare of the said Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, betweene king Stephan and Henrie Fitzempresse duke of Normandie, contending with Stephan for the crowne of England. Which opinion they defend with these words of the agréement, wherein it was granted to this William (amongst other things) that he should haue the seruices of Faremouth besides the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoeuer apperteined to the honor of Douer. In which (saie they) sith the honor of Douer is depending vpon the prerogatiue of the castell, and that without the castell there is no honor, sith all the tenures, and all the seruices which belong to that honour, doo belong to the castell, he could not haue the one without the other. For hauing whatsoeuer belonged to the honor which is the castell, he could not receiue the benefit of that, without he had the thing also which was the cause of that tenure, and by force of which he might receiue those appurtenances.

But truelie sauing correction, it is often séene, that seruice may be seuered from land to which it is due, and one to haue the demesne and an other the seruices of manour. But sith I am neither good logician nor lawier to dissolue arguments, or to disproue tenures, I will at this time leaue it indifferent for euerie one to receiue or reiect him for constable of Douer castell, vntill I find more substantiall proofe by charter to prefer him thereunto, than such an argument to infer it thereupon; especiallie sith I find him not so named by anie authoritie that I haue séene, whereof manie make mention of his other titles of honor, as that he had the citie of Norwich with the third penie of the earledome of Northfolke, that he was earle Warren, and that he was earle of Bullongne and Morton.

Richard earle of Ewe. Richard earle of Ewe. I haue read of this man this note, that he was both constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and gouernour of Kent; but how true it is I will not at this time set downe, but leaue it to the iudgement of others, who can iudge better of that note deliuered to me in these words. *Officium constabularij iuxta patris sui donationem perdurauit à Fineo ad Fineum vsque ad tempora regis Stephani; & postea Richardus comes de Oye constabularius institutus est ac custos quinque portuum & præfectus totius Cantiæ, ac fundator collegij de Hastings in castro de Hastings, &c.*

Eustace. Eustace earle of Bullongne, and duke of Normandie, sonne to king Stephan, is by some supposed to be constable of Douer castell, and lord warden of the cinque ports. Which perhaps may be true, although that at the same time William de Ypre was earle of Kent, whome some haue in respect thereof made to be constable of Douer castell: notwithstanding others saie that he was onelie deputie constable of Douer castell to the said Eustace, or (as we terme it) his lieutenant.

Allen Fines. Allen Fines, after the death of king Stephan, was by the benefit of king Henrie the second restored vnto the wardenship of the ports, and constableship of the castell of Douer. And héere I thinke it good to note that king Henrie (the sonne of king Henrie the second) being crowned in the life of his father, did in the yeare one thousand one hundred seauentie and foure, being about the nineteenth or twentith yeare of the reigne of his father, giue vnto Philip earle of Flanders one thousand pounds of yearelie reuenues, the countie and earledome of Kent, with the castels of Douer and Rochester: for the which the said Philip should doo homage to the yong Henrie, and mainteine his quarrell against his father. But the erle was neuer in possession thereof, neither made anie constable of Douer castell, or was himselfe constable of that place; which gift of the said yong king Henrie Geruasius Dorobernensis setteth downe in this sort.

Comes Flandriæ Philippus suum pro posse spopondit auxilium iuueni regi (against his father king Henrie the second, being then in Normandie) *faciens homagium cum iuramento, cui pro seruitio suo promisit rex cum tota Cantia* 1000 *librarum redditum, castellum quoque de Roffa cum castello de Doueria. Matthæus comes Boloniæ frater comitis Flandriæ suscepit in promissis pro homagio & seruitio suo totam socam de Kirketonia in Lindesia, cum comitatu de Moritonia, &c.* And héere mentioning Allen Fines, and hauing no cause to speake of these Fines hereafter, I am to admonish the reader, that (although my iudgement be but of one man, and that one swallow maketh not summer) I doo not suppose anie thing spoken of the Fines constables of Douer castell to be so firme, as that I would bind anie man to beléeue more thereof than he listeth.

Hugh de Esser. Hugh de Esser, afterward earle of Esser, was made constable of Douer castell, at that time when the sonnes of Henrie the second (as is mentioned before by Geruasius, which fell about the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seuentie and three, and the nintéenth of king Henrie the second) rebelled against their father not onelie in Normandie but in England also: this Hugh being further constable of Douer castell, when the same king sailed ouer into Ireland, for to receiue the kingdome thereof, which happened in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seauentie and two, the yeare before the rebellion of yong king Henrie the sonne against his father. At what time yet the right of the inheritance of this office of wardenship continued still in the heires of the Fines; by reason whereof Adam Fines, then baron, ought to haue continued constable thereof. But bicause he was hated of the king and the nobilitie, they appointed an other constable, which was this Hugh of Esser, a person in great fauour with the king, and possessed that office a great time of the gouernement of the same king. But of this man I haue no great opinion that he was constable of Douer, or earle of Esser, yet may I not tie other men to my conceit, bicause *Barnardus non vidit omnia.*

Matthew Clére. Matthew Clére was constable or capteine of Douer castell, as appeareth by manie authorities, being also by writers called shiriffe of Kent; who vpon the commandement of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, legat *A latere*, protector, chéefe iustice and chancellor of England, did (about the third yeare of king Richard the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred ninetie and one) imprison in Douer castell Godfreie bishop of Yorke (the base sonne of king Henrie the second) returning from Rome. At which time also (as I haue séene noted out of the register of the house of Canturburie) there were three constables of Douer

castell,

castell, as is proued by this deed found in the said register.

Gulihelmus comes de Albemerle, & Simon de Auernen. & Matthæus de Clere constabularij Doueriæ, & Gulihelmus de Aubuill, & Henricus de Lõgo campo præfecti Cantiæ: Omnibus præsentibus & futuris, ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd dominus noster Richardus rex Angliæ in redditu suo a Ierosolomytana apud Alemaniã detentus esset, & inimici eius contra eum & regnum suum insurgerent. Prior & conuentus Cantuar. licèt ab omni consuetudine regni & exactione sæculari, liberi & immunes esse dinoscerentur: de mera tamen voluntate sua non coacti, homines suos, ad opus domini regis per octo dies commodauerunt. Vnde ne quis in posterum ab eis hoc præsumat, quasi debitum vel consuetum petere, quod pro tam grati regni necessitate sponte studuerunt impendere, litteras istius cũ sigillorum nostrorum appositione in testimonium libertatum & immunitatum suorum tradidimus, &c.

William of Wrotham.

William of Wrotham, whome some call William of Wrothing, was warden of the cinque ports, & constable of the castell of Douer, in the time of king John, vnto whome he did faithfullie stand in all his warres and troubles, after that the king was excommunicated.

Hubert de Burow.

Hubert de Burow after earle of Kent, and chéefe iustice of England, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the time of king John. This man in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and seauentéene, as some haue, or rather one thousand two hundred and sixtéene, as other haue, valiantlie defended Douer castell. For when Lewis the sonne of Philip the French king had stronglie assaulted the castell (the monuments and mounts whereof are at this daie yet to be séene, whereof one standing on the west side of the castell is at this daie called Lewis siege) this Hubert did with no lesse honor and valor repell the enimie and defend the castell, than Lewis did besiege it egerlie, for which he deserued such fauor and recompense, as after the death of king John he was made protector of England in the minoritie of king Henrie the third. During whole constablership of Douer castell, in the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and three, or one thousand two hundred sixtie and two as some write, being about the six and fortith or seuen and fortith of king Henrie the third, he found meanes that the castell gard there, which had continued from the time of William Conqueror, vntill then, was with the assent of king Henrie the third conuerted into a paiment of monie, the land being charged with ten shillings for euerie warder, which it was bound to find: and the owners thereby discharged of their personall seruice and attendance for euer. At which time also he caused the same king to release by his frée charter the custome of forage due to this castell, and that done, himselfe instituted new lawes amongst the watchmen & increased the number of the warders. Which his doing of changing castell gard, cannot vnder correction be attributed to him in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and three, because he was dead twentie yeares before that. For he died in the yere of grace one thousand two hundred fortie and three, being the seauen and twentith of king Henrie the third, as appeareth in my discourse of the protectors of England, in Edward the first, where is more mention made of him. This Hubert as maister Lambard noteth, was deposed from his constablership of Douer castell, which was at such time I gather as Matthew Paris mentioneth, that he fell into the kings displeasure, whereby he lost also the office of chéefe iustice of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, and the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the third: after which manie things were laid against him, the whole discourse whereof is in Matthew Paris, after this order.

First the king did instantlie require of him account of his treasure, paid at the excheker, and of the debts due vnto him in his owne and in his fathers time. Besides which, he demanded account of all his lordships wherof he was in possession from the death of William earle of Penbroke, then the kings marshall and iustice, as well of all such as he held in England, as of such as he had in Wales, Ireland, and Poitiers. Thirdlie, of his liberties which he then had in forrests, warrens, counties, and in other places, how they were kept, or how they were sold. Fourthlie, of the fiftéenths and sixtéenths granted to the king, and of other rents paid at the excheker, and at the new Temple, and otherwise. Fiftlie, of prises made for releasing of law, as well in lands as in moueables. These and manie other articles, whereof part concerned treason, were set downe against Hubert of Burow, the tenure wherof doo fullie appeare in Matthew Paris. Upon the exhibiting of which articles he had daie giuen him to appeare & answer them. But he fearing the kings displeasure, hauing a guiltie conscience, fled to sanctuarie into the college of Periton or Perton, where he hid himselfe amongst the canons: but after by the means of Lucas the archbishop of Dublin he obteined some libertie.

Whereupon he went vnto saint Edmundsburie, where his wife was, who passing through Eſſex, lodged in the bishop of Norwich his house; at what time the same being knowen to the king, greeued thereat, he sent Godfreie de Crawcome a knight with three hundred men after Hubert, to take and bring him prisoner to the Tower. This knight comming to him in the night, Hubert waked out of his sléepe, fled all naked to a chapell there by, out of the which he was by force, and with his legs fettered vnder the horsse bellie, brought vpon a pild iade to London, and put in the Tower fettered. But the bishop of London complaining of the iniurie done to the church, by violent taking him from the chapell, the king sent him to the same chapell againe, the fift kalends of October, and after commanded the shiriffs of Eſſex & Hertford vpon paine of hanging, to compasse the chapell that Hubert might not escape, or receiue anie kind of sustenance from anie man. By meanes whereof Hubert did long remaine in that place, with two seruants onelie that ministred meat vnto him, such as they could get. Whereupon Hubert being in this streict, came forth of himselfe, yeelded his bodie to the shiriffes, who led him prisoner to the Tower, where he was laid in irons. After which, the king restored him all the lands which he had by the gift of his father, or that he himselfe had bought; but yet he was sent into Wise castell, there to be kept in a more large restreint vnder the suretie of Richard earle of Cornewall, & William earle of Warren, Richard earle Marshall, William earle Ferrers, vndertaking for him to the king. But after this, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and three, and the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, on Michaelmas éue, one of the seruants of Hubert, when the kéepers of the castell were asléepe, tooke Hubert fettered, & laid him on his shoulders, got him out at the great gate, with much difficultie brought him ouer a déep and long ditch to the parish church, & then placed him

by the high altar. When the keepers awoke, & missed Hubert, they sought for him, and in the end obteining knowlege where he was, with manie blows toke him and his two seruants out of the church, and committed him againe vnto streicter prison in the same castell. But after (by the meanes of Robert bishop of Salisburie) Hubert was restored vnto the church the fift kalends of November. Whereat the king being greeued, commanded the shiriffe of Wiltshire to besiege the church, till Hubert should be inforced to die through hunger. But after in the third kalends of November, he was by the strength of his freends taken from the church of the Wise, put in armor, fled into Wales, & ioined with the kings enimies. Wherevpon, in the fourth kalends of June, by much intercession he was restored to the kings fauor. But about six yeares after, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and nine, being about the 23 yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, the king afresh laieng great matters to his charge of treason against the king and kingdome; he in the end made peace with the king, and deliuered to him foure castels (by him greatlie esteemed) which were the castels of Blanch, of Grosmund in Wales, of Skenefrith, or Scheafreth (for I find both written) and of Halfield. This man first builded the decaied hospitall of the house of maison de Dieu in Douer (being a statlie and costlie peece of worke) as appeareth yet (although wether beaten) by a scutchion; the arms of the said Hubert there grauen on the vaulted porch built long since the first foundation of the house, ouer the which scutchion is this written: *Scutum domini Huberti de Burgo quondam comitis Cantiæ, procurator: huius domus fundatoris.* Which being almost by age consumed, much troubled me to read & find it out, in this yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six.

Peter de Rinallis.

Peter de Rivallis orde Driall, was by mine account constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, which I gather out of these words of the records, which (amongst other offices that he had) doo leaue to vs in memorie, that he was also *Custos omnium portuum & omnium prisarum in Anglia & Hibernia.* Now if he were in generall (which alwaies inferreth a particular) warden of all the castels in England, and of all the ports of the sea: it seemeth no doubt vnto me, but that incroching vpon all, he would make choise to obteine such as were both most of honor, strength, and commoditie, and therefore would haue to deale with Douer castell. Of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the treasurors of England. But as I will not affirme this man to be constable of Douer, so I leaue it to them which better can either approue or disprooue him so to be.

Bertram de Creoll.

Bertram de Creoll, as haue the records of the exchéker, or Bertram de Criol, as our English histories haue, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fortie and one, being about the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the third; who bare for his arms in a golden field two cheuorons, and a quarter gules. He married Elenor by some termed otherwise, one of the daughters and heires of sir Hamond Creueceure, by whome he had issue one daughter and heire called Ione married to Richard of Rokeslie, of whom the lord Poinings is descended.

Richard Grele.

Richard Grele baron of Codnore, castelleine of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, being placed there by the barons against the king, did in the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & eight, suffer none to passe vnsearched, according to that which he had in commandement. Wherevpon he toke and seized into his hands a great part of tresure that was brought thither to be transported to the Pictauians the kings halfe brethren that were fled the realme. After which in the three and fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, being in the yeare of our Lord a thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, the barons being in armor against the king; Richard king of Almaine brother to king Henrie the third landed at Douer (from the parts beyond the seas) where king Henrie was readie to receiue him, who brought him from Douer vnto Canturburie, because neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a geloulie, least they should go about to infringe the ordinances made in the parlement at Oxford. To which ordinances to be performed most of the nobilitie had set their seales, with the common seale of London. But notwithstanding that this Richard Grele seemed in the beginning to be so faithfull to the barons: yet returning to his dutie, he obeied the kings pleasure. For which in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine he was by the barons removed. The occasion whereof we find to haue beene, because he suffered frier Malacho (comming from the pope, and hauing the kings letters vnder the great seale) to enter the land, not staieng him, nor warning the lords of his landing, contrarie (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouision enacted at Oxford; which frier in truth was sent from the pope, to restore Athelmar or Odomar the kings halfe brother by his mother vnto the bishoprike of Winchester, to the which he had bin long before elected. But the lords were so bent against Athelmar, that vpon such suggestions as they laid forth, Malacho refrained the doing of that for which he came. After which, Hugh Bigot chiefe iustice of England, hasting to Douer vsed this speech to the said Grele: Sith thou Richard wast placed by the whole realme, as a faithfull warden of the ports, as a searcher of all such as go out or come into the land, and that all our trust dwelleth in thy custodie; whie hast thou suffered such a person (though he were supported by the kings grant) to enter the land, not giuing intelligence thereof vnto vs, whereby thou hast gone against the common prouision of the nobilitie, & hast impudentlie broken thine oth: Wherefore we iudge thee to be deprived from thine office, and to receiue iudgement worthie that trespas which thou hast committed to the common danger of the kingdome. By which words he was displaced from his office, and the chiefe iustice toke the same into his owne hands. Of this man is sir John Zouch of Codnore descended.

Hugh Bigot.

Hugh Bigot chefe iustice of England, vpon the displacing of Grele, taking the constablelhip of Douer and the office of warden of the cinque ports into his owne hands, without the kings authoritie, but by the consent of the nobilitie, did kepe that castell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, as haue the records of the exchéker: who in the yeare of Grace a thousand two hundred and sixtie, being the foure & fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, in which yeare he was made chiefe iustice, as some haue, but Matthew Paris maketh him chefe iustice somewhat before, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third by his account, for he writeth of him in this sort vnder the same yeare: *Instante verò festo nativita-*

tis beatæ Mariæ, dum vicecomes Northamptoniæ vestigia prædecessoris sui Willielmi de insula (quondam vicecomitis) tarciuando pluribus insontibus, stimulis agitatus auaritiæ, sequeretur, & super hoc ascenderet querimonia ad capitalem iusticiarium Hugonem Bigot, conuictus de iniurijs complurimis, captus est, & vix à laqueo liberatus, duro ac diro carceri est mancipatus. He married Ione the daughter of Robert Burnell, by whome he had issue (as some do saie) one son Rafe, of whom the erle of Sussex now liuing is descended.

Henrie Braibrooke. Henrie Braibrooke constable of Douer castell, whome some will haue so to be; but I not hauing sound authoritie therefore will not presume (vpon other mens pens, especiallie vpon the notes of parson Dorrell the corruptor of all things which he tooke in hand) either to receiue or reiect him. For I am not easilie led to beléeue that one Braibrooke was in those daies of such credit, as to haue one of the greatest offices of credit in the realme (as the constableship of Douer castell was) committed vnto his charge.

Edward the first. Edward the eldest sonne of king Henrie the third, being then prince and after king of England by the name of Edward the first, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the ports in the time and life of his father. For the said prince Edward (after the subduing of Simon Montfort earle of Leicester) did about the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred three score and six, being the fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, assaile the castle of Douer, and by the aid of the prisoners within (which had taken the great tower to his vse) obteined it, and there left prisoner Guie the sonne of Simon Montfort, but Guie escaped soone after by corruption of his kéepers. During which time that prince Edward was constable of Douer castle, he made his deputie or lieutenant Henrie Cobham; whose sonne & heire called John, founded Cobham college: of which Henrie Cobham sée more vnder the title of the lord Cobhams. This Henrie Cobham, being lieutenant to the prince, was the first lieutenant (as far as I can learne) of Douer castle, which office hath euer since continued to our time.

Roger Leiborne. Sir Roger Leiborne knight, lord Leiborne, & lord of Leiborne castle in Kent (if my memorie deceiue me not) was in the time of king Edward the first, constable of Douer castle, & warden of the cinque ports, of whom my good and learned friend maister William Lambard doth discourse in this sort in his perambulation of Kent, vnder the title of Leds, pag. 264, where he treateth of the first founding of the priorie of Leds; who after that he had ascribed the same to the Creueceurs lords of Leeds castell, goeth on with these words: Howbeit I find an heralds note (who belike made his coniecture by some rote of armes latelie apparant) that one Leiborne an earle of Salisburie was the founder of it. In deed it is to be séene in the annales of saint Augustines of Canturburie, that a noble man called Roger Leiborne was sometime of great authoritie within this shire, notwithstanding that in his time he had tasted of both fortunes. For in the daies of king Henrie the third, he was first one of that conjuration which was called the barons warre: from which faction Edward the kings sonne wan him by faire meanes to his part, and made him the bearer of his priuie purse. Afterwards they agreed not vpon the reckoning, so that the prince (charging him with great arrerages) seized his liuing for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion Roger once more became of the barons deuotion. But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsoones receiued to fauor, and was made warden of the cinque ports, and lieutenant of the shire of Kent. Now though it cannot be true that this man was the builder of this priorie (for the same annales saie that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heire, he might truelie be termed the patrone or founder thereof, for by that name not onlie the builders themselues but their posteritie also (to whom the glorie of their deeds descended) were wont so to be called as well as they. Thus much that learned antiquarie William Lambard. Vpon which, to disproue the note of the herald, it is too plaine that neuer anie Leiborne was earle of Salisburie. For the erldome of Salisburie did alwaies, almost euen from the conquest, remaine in the names and families of Patrike, Longspée, Montague, Neuill, and one woman a Plantagenet euen vntill our time. But here might grow the error to make Leiborne erle of Salisburie, being deceiued with the affinitie of the armes; for that the earls of Salisburie, the Longspées, and the Leibornes gaue all one armes, different onlie in colours; for Longspée bare azure six lions or, three, two, and one: and Leiborne bare argent six lions sable, three, two, and one. The house of Leiborne hath bene great and of good continuance, and matched with noble houses. For John Hastings (the father of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of the name of Hastings) maried Julian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiborne, which Julian died in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the third, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and seuen. Besides which also touching the Leibornes, of whom I suppose that Leiborne castell in Kent was named, I haue séene a charter of one Robert Leiborne, made to the house of nuns in Clerkenwell in this sort: *Sciant præsentes & futuri, quòd ego Robertus de Leiborne dedi Deo & ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de fonte clericorum, & sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus, pro salute animæ meæ & antecessorum meorum, in puram & perpetuam eleemosynā duodecim denarios de Gablo Michaelis filij Hereberti de Luitona. Hanc autem donationem & concessionem ego Robertus de Leiborne & hæredes mei debemus warantizare prænominatæ ecclesiæ & sanctimonialibus contra omnes homines. Vt hæc mea donatio rata & inconcussa maneat, sigilli mei appositione & subscriptorum virorum testimonio eam cōfirmaui; his testibus, Gilone de Badlesmere, Iuone Patric, Radulpho de Hadling, &c.* Which charter I haue set downe, to proue the antiquitie of the name of Leiborne. For this charter being without date, was made (as I gather) for this time in the reigne of Henrie the second, or in the begining of king Richard the first his gouernment.

Stephan Pinchester. Stephan Pinchester, the sonne of Stephan Pinchester (which died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and eightéene, falling in the second and third yere of king Henrie the third) was a man of great valor, well estéemed of the king and of his countrie, by reason whereof he was aduanced to places of great honour, fauour and trust. For he was constable of Douer castell in the two and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred three score and seuen, or one thousand two hundred three score and eight. For the said two and fiftith yeare of that king, fell partlie in that one, and partlie in the other yeare of our Lord, begining the yeare at the annunciation of the virgine, which office he long continued and possessed 6, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, and in Michaelmas terme in the nine and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred foure score and thirteene, at what time Giuolo de monte regali was his seruant,

uant, or perhaps his lieutenant. This man repared the castell of Allington, situate vpon the riuer of Medwaie in Kent, which castell standeth not farre from Medwegstow, now called Maidston, supposed by William Lambard in his perambulation of Kent to be called Duroprouis, and by maister Camden, in his Britannia vnder the title of Kent pag. 168, to be Vaginaca mentioned in the itinerarie of Antonine. Which Pinchester also caused the booke of Domesdaie, belonging to the castell of Douer, to be made, a thing altogether vnperfect, & reaching no further than to the time of Hubert de Burow. Besides which, in the same two and twentith of that king, he renewed a particular charge of ships to be found by euerie one of the seuerall ports and members of the same, as appeareth by record therof made in French; the orders whereof are set downe in the perambulation of Kent, pag. 96, vnder the title of the Cinque ports. He maried Margaret the daughter of John de Burgh, by whom he had issue a daughter called Ione maried to Henrie Cobham of Randall knight, as appeareth in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Randall.

Robert de Burgersh.

Robert de Burgersh or Burwash, was conestable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque ports in the thirtie and fourth yeare of king Edward the first; in which yeare he was sent ambassador into Gascoigne to the court of the pope, about the affairs of the king. He had issue Stephan Burgersh, as appeareth before in a note set downe in the lord Cobhams of Cobham, vnder Henrie Cobham the first baron of Cobham. Touching this name of Burgersh, I find in a vault in the church of Canturburie, being called our ladie Undercroft, an ancient monument of stone, in which a woman of that name was buried, pretending great antiquitie; on which lieth a ladie in rich habit, with this writing round about the tombe twise set downe: Pur Dieu pries pur l'aime Iohanne de Burwash, que fuit dame de Monsieur. At which word it staieth, and againe reciteth, Pries Dieu pur l'aime, &c. Which to explane more fullie, I will not refuse to do in this sort, taken *Ex veteri martyrologio & capitulari libro ecclesiæ Cătuarien sis:* in which is set downe in the yeare of Christ, one thousand foure hundred and fiue; *Obijt Ioanna de Mohune domina de Dunster:* being the same Ione there buried.

Henrie Cobham.

Henrie Cobham knight, the first baron of Cobham, was made conestable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the second, as more largelie appeareth here following, vnder Robert de Kendall which succeeded this lord Cobham in the office of the cinque ports. Of this Henrie Cobham see more in my former discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham.

Robert de Kendall.

Robert de Kendall so called, because (as I for this time take it) he was there borne, and was made conestable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of king Edward the second, as appeareth by this record of Pellis exitus, hauing this entrance therof in Michaelmas terme, in the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand three hundred and ten. *Henrico de Cobham nuper constabulario castri Douer, & custodi quinque portuum 80 libras, 15 solidos 7 denarios & obulũ liberat. eidem, die 17 Nouẽbris in duabus tallijs sibi factis, eodem die, pro tot denarijs sibi debitis à 16 die Octobris, anno regni domini Edwardi patris domini regis nunc 34, vsque 16 diem Decembris, anno regni domini regis nunc primo, quo die idem dominus rex custodiam prædictam Roberto de Kendall cõmisit, per breue de liberate, datum apud Boger in Scotia, 6 die Octobris præsenti* (which was the said fourth yeare of Edward the second) *per præceptum thesaurarij, & persoluitur breue.* In which office this Robert continued vntill the twelfe yeare of the same king Edward the second, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and eightene, but was liuing in the twentith yeare of the same king, as appeareth by records of the exchequer of Pellis exitus, where monie was paid vnto him by the name of Robert Kendall *Nuper constabulario castri Douer, & custodi quinque portuum.*

Bartholomew Badlesmer (the sonne, as I for this time gather, of Giles de Badlesmer slaine, as hath Ioannes London in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, falling in the 43 and 44 yeare of king Henrie the third, in the warres betweene the English and the Welsh) was *Præfectus*, shiriffe, or lieutenant of Kent, and is vntrulie termed by some erle of Kent, by others more rightlie named baron of Leeds: but by the records of the exchequer most trulie called a baneret. Which name I haue obserued by manie of these ancient records, to haue beene attributed to such persons, as chronicles and heralds haue dubbed with the names of barons. This Bartholomew Badlesmer, being in the warres of Scotland with king Edward the second, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fourteene, falling in part of the seuenth yeare, and part of the eighth yeare of the said Edward the second, did by his demeanor in those wars, occasion Ioannem Londonensem to write of him in this sort.

Bartholomew Badlesmer.

Quadam verò nocte ante futurum in crastinum vtriúsque exercitus congressum, inter comitem Glouerniæ & Herefordiæ (quis eorum primam aciem contra Scotorum exercitum obtineret) animosa contentio mouebatur. Porrò in crastino comes Hereford (cuius interest primam habere aciem ratione constabulariæ Angliæ) Scotos aggrediens, eorum exercitum viriliter penetrauit. Quo sic reuerso, comes Glouerniæ aliquid arduum, & quasi probitate dignum facere satagens, præcipitãter in Scotos minùs cautè insiliens, &c: in fronte sui exercitus (qui vulgariter dicitur Sheltrun) infigitur aculeis, & sic confossus de sella sua violenter eripitur. Qui protinus exclamans, quendam militem suum armis strenuum, consilio prudentem, sibi præ cæteris familiarem, & tanquam singulare perfugium, de quo specialiùs confidebat, videlicet Bartholomæum de Badlesmer nomine, in auxilium aduocauit. Sed ille pelli suæ timens, & magis saluti propriæ quàm domini sui defensionem qualitercúnque prospiciens, fugam arripuit, & ad dominum regem à latere properabat. Dictus verò comes auxilio destitutus, à Scotis ibidem miserabiliter est interemptus.

Humfreie de Bohune earle of Hereford.

Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

Which matter I haue beene the willinger to set downe at large out of Iohn de London monke of Canturburie, because there be manie good notes to be gathered out of the same; besides that which concerneth Badlesmer. For, as it is there set downe, that Badlesmer was the knight and souldior belonging to the earle of Glocester, that his conditions be there described, that he was wise in counsell, valiant in armes, and helples to his friend in extremitie: so there is more to be gathered thereout. First, that it belongeth to the conestable of England by vertue of his office, to lead the vantgard in the battell: secondlie, that contention fell betweene the earle of Hereford and the earle of Glocester: and lastlie, at what time, how, and vpon what occasion the earle of Glocester was slaine. After which, this Bartholomew growing in fauor with king Edward the second, the king did make him capteine of

Regist. Roff.

Bristow castell, and gaue vnto the said Bartholomew one hundred pounds by yeare out of the exchéker, as appeareth by the records thereof, in the Pell of Eritus of Michaelmas terme, of the twelfe yeare of the same king, falling in the yeare of our redemption after the account of England, one thousand three hundred & eightéene; where it is thus recorded. *Bartholomæo de Badlesmer, cui rex concessit centū libras percipiendum annuatim ad scaccariū, ad festa Paschæ & Michaelis per æquales portiones, quoúsque manerium de Chatham cum pertinentibus in comitatu Cantiæ, quod Guido ferre tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ, & manerium de Langhton cum pertin. in com. Sussex ac hundred de Sheplake, quæ Ioannes de Vluedale tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ de hæreditate regis, & quæ post mortem eiusdem Guidonis præfato Bartholomeo, & hæredibus suis virtute concessionis regis, sibi inde factæ remanere debeat, &c.* Much about which yeare of our Lord, one thousand three hundred and eightéene, the same king Edward gaue the castell of Leeds in exchange (for other lands, called Ingerlee to the same Bartholomew, and to his heires for euer: being about that time also, as I now take it, made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports: hauing by the kings gift (in the thirteenth yeare of Edward the second) the wardship and mariage of the lands and heire of John de Northwood in Kent; for which he yearelie accounted to the king of three score and six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence; paieng also the like yearelie sum for the wardship of the lands and mariage of John the sonne and heire of John Godhall, or Golhall of Esser.

Bartholomew Badlesmer.

This Bartholomew thus still increasing in the kings fauor was dailie aduanced to greater honors and offices: for besides the great reuenues wherewith the king indued him, the king also (to haue him neere about him in his court) made him steward of his houshold, as appeareth by these words of an annonymall chronicle M.S. which reciting the change of officers speaketh in this sort. *In huius recursus varios temporis lapsentis, & nociui regni, primorum officialium status libera dispositione rex transmutauit. Nam domino Iohánne de Sandal episcopatus honore Winton. ecclesiæ & gloria, thesaurario morientis priuato, dominum episcopum Exonien. rex loco defuncti subrogauit, ad culmen cancellariæ episcopum Norwicen. promouit. In regimine quoque senescalliæ dominum Bartholomæum de Badlesmer stabilinit. Custodem verò sui capitis in officio camerariæ constituit dominum Hugonem Spenserum iuniorem, &c.* In which thirteenth of the same king Edward the second, the king & his quéene Isabell going to Douer, to the end that the king should doo his homage to the French king; this Bartholomew being now the kings steward, receiued them into his castle of Chilham with most glorious shew, where he daintilie feasted the king and all his traine, and at their departure bestowed liberall gifts vpon euerie noble man according to their degrees. After which, when the king was come to Douer, he deuised with the nobilitie to staie his iournie into France, and to excuse the doing of his homage by sending ambassadors thereabout. Wherefore sending Edmund of Woodstocke his brother, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, this Bartholomew Badlesmere, and Adam de Hereford bishop of that place, to Rome; they were honorablie by the waie receiued of the king of France, and so went to Rome; where hauing dispatched their ambassage, & obteined licence to depart, they brought backe with them Henrie Burgherst nephew of sir Bartholomew, to whom the pope had giuen at their request the bishoprike of Lincolne, although the chapter of that house had chosen a diuine to haue that see, before the election, or rather reseruation of the pope of this man. Which the pope the rather did at the request of these ambassadors, because they should not be impediments to stand against Reginald his procurator in England, vnto whom he had giuen the bishoprike of Winchester after the death of John Sandall against the intreatie of the king and nobilitie of England. But although this Bartholomew was thus by the king honored and aduanced: yet shortlie after this, shewing himselfe both vnthankfull for such benefits, & vndutifull for his obedience, did (in the yere of our redemption one thousand three score twentie and one, which fell in part of the fourteenth & fifteenth yeres of that king) ioine in couenant with Thomas earle of Lancaster, and other euill disposed persons, rebelling against their prince. Whereupon (in despight of the kings commandement) he came from Tilleburge or Tilberie in Esser vnto Hengham in Kent, where he was with great pompe receiued of his followers, from whense going to his castle of Leeds (which he had stronglie furnished) he departed from thense with a great traine, and entred his castell of Chilham; who after a little abode there left the same, and came vnto Canturburie with nineteene knights attendant vpon him; so great a person was he, both for honor in the court, and fauor in the countrie: all which persons with their retinue were armed vnderneath their vpper garments. After their entring into Canturburie, some of his people, which were the esquiers attendant vpon him, did with their swords drawne enter Christs church, and came to the shrine of Thomas Becket. Which action in that order performed, troubled and disquieted the whole citie, and occasioned some of the better sort to giue intelligence to the king of the behauior of him and his people in that place. On which date of whose entring into the same citie, John Cromwell and his wife came vnto him, craued his aid and friendship, obteined the same, and with him went vnto the rebellious barons soiorning now at Orford. Afterward the king (as it seemeth, not yet fullie resolued that this Badlesmere besides all reason & dutie would be his enimie, but rather supposing that he ioined with the rebels to vndermine their deuise, and for that cause desirous to make full triall of the said Badlesmere) did send Isabell his wife quéene of England vnto the castle of Leeds. Which being knowne to Badlesmere, at that time remaining with the barons at Whitneie in Orfordshire, he sent certeine souldiors to the same castle, appointing Thomas Aldon to be constable and chiefe ouer the castle and them: giuing streict charge to the same Thomas that they should not open the gates vnto the quéene, but valiantlie resist hir, and defend the castle. The quéene therefore minding hir pilgrimage to Canturburie, and so by the waie to see Leeds, being ouertaken with night, sent hir marshall to prepare for hir lodging. But hir officer being denied anie helpe or satisfieng of hir request, they within the castle proudlie answered, that neither the quéene nor anie other should enter into the same castle, without letters from the lord of the castell. Which answer being forthwith brought vnto the quéenes eares, she came hir selfe in person to demand entrance, but could obteine no hope thereof, for which cause she was driuen to seeke hir lodging in an other place. This matter being greeuouslie taken by hir, she returned to the king, and complained of the iniurie and disgrace which she had receiued. By which speeches the king incensed to further anger, and assembling an armie of manie thousands, did come in person to the same castell, streictlie charging the castillians to deliuer the same to him: but they obstinatlie and rebellioustie withstood him, and would not

Humfreie de Bohune earle of Hereford.

Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

Ex libro dedicato Margaretæ reginæ, which was the wife of Edward the first, and liuing at this time.

Walsingham and his followers call the capteine of the castle, Thomas Culpeper.

Regist. Roff.

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Whereupon Badlesmere being abashed and confounded, departed from them. Which being knowne to those that kept the castell of Leeds, now perceiuing themselues to be in great extremitie, hopelesse of anie succor, and in danger to be all destroied by the kings power, they yeelded themselues to the kings mercie, which was not so great vnto them (considering that he was driuen to such extreme dealing by their malicious minds) as that he pardoned anie of the chiefest, but sent the wife of Badlesmere, his onelie sonne Giles, the daughters of the said Badlesmere, Bartholomew Burgersh and his wife, with Thomas de Aldon constable of that place, prisoners vnto the Tower of London. On the first date of November he sent two knights to the castell of Chilham, with commission to enter the same; who comming to the castell demanded entrance accordinglie, in the behalfe of the king their maister. To whom Henrie de Malois knight and then constable of the castell answered, that he would not keepe the castell against the king, and so surrendered the same into their hands, *Cuius deputatus* (as saith the historie) *erat comes Dathels* or *de Athels*, to whom the castell was deliuered, with all things in the same, which were belonging to Bartholomew Badlesmere.

After which, Walter Culpepper bailiffe of the seuen hundreds, was the second of November miserablie intreated, drawne at a horsse taile, and hanged. Wherupon, Thomas Culpepper and others which were with him in the castell of Tunbridge, hearing of the kings approch, left the castell and fled to Hugh Audleie then being with the barons. Then were Geffreie de Saie, William de Dine or Diue, the kings iustices sent into Kent, to inquire of the fauorers of Badlesmere, and to doo iustice of Hugh Spenser reuoked. At what time, Thomas earle of Lancaster, who was the capteine of the barons, and fallen in displeasure with Badlesmere, would not giue aid vnto the barons, so long as Badlesmere was in their societie: for which cause Badlesmere was forsaken by the barons, & stronglie pursued by the king. Who (after the barons had burned one of the gates of Bridgenorth) granted vnto them a dissembled pardon, with their adherents, Bartholomew Badlesmere excepted. Shortlie after which, Badlesmere was apprehended, and in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and two, being in the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the second, was condemned at Canturburie by the iustices aforesaid. Whereupon, he was on the eightéenth kalends of Maie, drawne from Canturburie (as hath Ioannes Londonensis) vnto the gallowes standing at the Blene; where he was hanged as a traitor: after which, his head being striken off, and fastened vpon a pole, was caried to Canturburie, and set vpon a gate of that citie called Burgate.

This Bartholomew maried Margaret, the daughter & one of the heires of Thomas de Clare, seneschall of the forrest of Essex, by whome he had issue Giles his sonne & heire; who with his mother, as before is said, being committed prisoner to the Tower, was afterward in the yeare of Christ, one thousand three hundred twentie and foure, with his mother in like sort pardoned, set at libertie out of prison, & restored to the kings fauor; beside which son, he had foure daughters, who after being heires to their brother Giles, and their father Bartholomew; one of them called Elisabeth, was maried to William Bohune earle of Northampton. I haue read touching the antiquitie of this man of Badlesmere of one Peter de Batlesmere, witnesse to an ancient dateleslie deed. Wherein Brianus the sonne of Randulph (father to Jordan Biaset the baron, which gaue fourtéene acres of ground to build the monasterie of Clerkenwell neere London) did giue twelue acres of arable land in Steeple vnto the nuns of Clerkenwell. Which thing I thought good not to omit in this place, speaking of Bartholomew Badlesmere: as I must not doo the name of Gilo de Badlesmere, witnesse vnto a like dateleslie deed, made by Robert Leiborne, to the same Clerkenwell, the effect whereof is set downe before, vnder the name of Roger Leiborne constable of Douer Castell. *Liber Clerken well.*

Edmund of Woodstocke (so surnamed of the place where he was borne, not farre from Orford, being the sonne of Edward the first, by his second wife Margaret the daughter of the king of France) was borne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred, on saint Oswalds daie: but as saith William Paginton, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and one, was constable of Douer castell in Michaelmas tearme, in the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the second his nephue, who aduanced the same Edmund to the earledome of Kent in the same fiftéenth yeare of his reigne, the eight and twentith of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie & one. At what time it appeareth to me, that then first began the pensions out of the exchéker, to be giuen to euerie noble man in place, & for his honor of the erldome. For whereas in times past, he which was created an earle, had for his creation and maintenance in honor the third penie of the reuenues of that shire comming to the kings hands: now the created earle had in lieu thereof a pension out of the exchéker. For thus I find recorded in the Pellis of Exitus of Michaelmas tearme, the fiftéenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the second. *Edmund of Woodstock.*

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heires of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester and Hertford, by whom he had issue Hugh that died without issue, Edward lord Spenser, and Gilbert, with Isabell wife to Edward Fitzallen erle of Arundell; he was at Hereford executed, by drawing hanging and quartering, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in the last yeare of Edward the second.

William Clinton.

William Clinton, the sonne of John lord Clinton, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the twentith yeare of Edward the second (if they haue not mistaken that king for Edward the third) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie & six, in which yeare the same king was deposed, and Edward the third his sonne aduanced, who continued his office manie yeares, as in the fift, sixt, tenth, and thirteenth of Edward the third. Which Clinton was in Easter tearme in the ninth yeare of Edward the third, sent into France, and so to Rome, in the companie of John archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of Doze, and sir William Trussell, and is the same person named in a booke belonging to the house of Rochester (which booke my good freend and rare antiquarie maister Lambard hath rightlie intituled by the name of *Registrum Roffense*) who with Robert de Walkefar was dispatcht into Kent to Canturburie, there to heare and determine the breach of the peace in Kent. To whome the king (as appeareth in the records of the exchéker of the Pellis exitus) in Michaelmas terme, of the tenth yeare of king Edward the third, had giuen three hundred markes by yeare, for the sustentation of Laurence Hastings, the sonne of John Hastings, as long as the said Laurence should be in his custodie: which Laurence was afterward the first earle of Penbroke by the name of Hastings. After which, in the ninth yeare of Edward the third, he was created earle of Huntington, of whome in the thirteenth yeare of the same king I find this registred in the register of Rochester before named. The Frenchmen infesting the sea coasts betweene Dwell and Cornewall, there was a councell holden to place a watch to repell the enimie from the sea side, whereunto few regarded to come, although manie popular knights and soldiours were by distresse inforced to come thither. Wherefore the lord William Clinton, earle of Huntington, and constable of Douer castell, assembling a great force of armed men in the countie of Kent to resist the enimies, did bestow manie things of his owne, and sustained greater trauell in labouring thereabout. For when the Frenchmen came to burne Sandwich, the erle with his companie entred the ships which were at Sandwich to subdue their enimies. Whereupon, when the French perceiued therby that they could doo no good, they turned their sailes, and cast anchor at Heath. Whom when the earle with his companie did pursue vnto Romeneie, they forthwith fled, & so from Ester vnto Lammas he continued armed with his people, valiantlie keeping the coasts of England against the enimies. After which, in the yeare following, which was the fourteenth of Edward the third, he attended the king, scowring the seas; as saith the same author, whose words although they be long, I shall not greeue to set downe in such barbarous sort as I find them.

*Rex transfretare cœptus in crastino sanctæ Trinitatis cum paucis nauibus, videlicet 16, ad plus cùm nauigare disposuisset, noua recepit, quòd rex Francie vnam classem ducentarum nauium magnarum cum multitudine armatorum apud Sclusam miserat, ad prohibendum ingressum Flandrie, siue ad capiendum eum siue ad occidendum. Quo audito, rex Anglie totam costeram maris vsque ad Lin, personaliter perscrutans, omnes naues magnas bene paratas in rebus & personis apud Herwich sumptibus patrie celeriter venire fecit. Comes verò Huntington ex parte sua omnes nautas quinque portuũ parari fecit, & scripsit omnibus amicis suis pro hominibus armorum auxilium ferre. Vnde factus est quod * episcopus Roffensis misit octo homines armatos sumptibus suis apud Sandwichum, ad conducendum regem vltra mare.* And so in the end the king passed into the parts beyond the seas in the sight of the French kings armie, which durst not aduenture to set vpon them. After which, to go forth with the words of the historie: *Die sabbati, videlicet in festo sancti Johannis baptistæ intro concilio, sole, vento, & vlda cum aqua regi Anglie fauentibus, ductu piratarum, Anglici Francis grandem insultum dederunt: comite Huntingdonie & domino Roberto Morley admeralis siue capitaneis danibus insultum primum: ceteri verò naues viriliter sequentes cum Francis congredientes, multos occiderunt, seque telis se reddere pepercerunt, & fugientes de nauibus in mare saltare vi armata compulerunt: fugitarij hoc tamen fecerunt.* Besides this, there was a certeine ship of Diepe, whereunto were fled foure hundred men of Normandie, who on a night caried awaie from the fleet of England a certeine ship of Sandwich, in which were the men of the prior of Canturburie. Which this earle of Huntington and warden of the cinque ports perceiuing, forthwith he turned the ship wherein he was, and directed it towards them: *Et* (as the same author further saith) *cùm eos attigisset, tota nocte vsque manè ad solis ortum præliantes acerrimè, pulsis nauibus ambabus vsque ad terram, & deuictis 450 nautis, nauem de Diepe combustam reliquerunt.* In the which conflict there were slaine sir Hugh Airet admerall and one other great man of Flanders called John Ieiuell, with manie other great and small to the number of fiue and twentie thousand persons: at what time there was also taken a hundred and three score ships which remained with the English, who exceeded not aboue sixteene thousand men. After this honorable victorie by this earle, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the third, Robert Auesberie writeth of certeine letters of the French, conteining the destruction of this realme, which this earle deliuered vnto the archbishop of Canturburie; the words of which author are these: *In vigilia assumptionis Marie virginis anno Domini 1346, reuerendus pater dominus Iohannes de Stratford Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ante processionem generalem pro pace & domino rege Anglorum, tunc in Francia militante, à clero & populo London illa die solenniter facienda, verbum Dei ipsius clero & populo London illa die solenniter faciendum ad crucem Pauli London prædicans, exponens inter cetera publicauit, quòd nobilis vir comes de Huntington, qui cum domino rege Anglorum in conflictu habito apud Cadamum, fuerat febribus fatigatus, in Angliam tunc reuersus, litteras quasdam inuentas in Cadamo, continentes præsumptuosam Normannorum confœderationem seu ordinationem, ad subuersionem ipsius regis & regni Anglie, per concilium domini Philippi de Valois ordinatas & callidè adinuentas sibi tradidit vulgariter exponendas.*

Robert. Auesb.

All which matter with the letters he openlie declared (as is before said) at Paules crosse, to moue the people feruentlie to praie for, and willinglie to aid the king. He liuing in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, founded the priorie of Maidstocke, married Julian the daughter and heire of Thomas lord Leiborne, by whome he had a daughter (as some suppose) Elisabeth: whereas the office taken after his death (in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third) saith that John Clinton, the son of John Clinton brother vnto this erle, was heire to the same earle.

Bartholomew de Burgersh.

Bartholomew de Burgersh baneret, was constable

conſtable of Douer caſtell & warden of the cinque
portes, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of king
Edward the third (as ſome note) and in the foure
and twentith and ſixt and twentith yere of the reigne
of the ſame king, being firſt in the ninth yeare of
the reigne of king Edward the third ſteward of
Penteif; and the ſame yeare (or rather the yeare
before) in Michaelmaſſe terme he was ſent into
France in the companie of William biſhop of
Norwich; and likewiſe was diſpatched ambaſſador
vnto Rome about the ſame time, whereof I dow find
this note in the ſame Michaelmas terme in the re-
cords of the exchéker being in forme as followeth:
*Bartholomæo de Burgerſh militi, eunti nuper in negotijs do-
mini regis ad curiam Romanam, videlicet pro diſpenſatione
habenda inter ipſum dominum regem & reginam Anglia
conſortem ſuam, &c.* Who being thus imploied in the
affaires, and by the wiſe cariage of himſelfe there-
in, growing more and more in the kings fauor,
was for the eſpeciall truſt which the king repoſed in
him, in the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of
king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Grace
one thouſand three hundred fortie and nine, ſent with
the earle of Lancaſter, the barons of Stafford,
Greiſtocke, and Furneuall about the feaſt of all
ſaints to Gaſcoigne, to appeaſe the furious vprore
which John de Valois ſonne vnto the French king
had made in that dukedome, greatlie ſpoiling the
ſame. Which thing being well performed, he was
after in the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne
of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our
Lord one thouſand three hundred and fiftie, made
one of the firſt knights of the garter, at the erecting
of that honorable order. Wherwith being honored,
(to make it appeare to the world that the ſame was
not vnworthilie laid vpon him, but moſt iuſtlie for
his martiall proweſſe, who ſtill followed the warres)
in the fiue and twentith and ſixt and twentith yeare
of the reigne of king Edward the third, being
in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three
hundred & fiftie, he went twiſe to Calis in the com-
panie of William biſhop of Norwich. After which,
in the nine and twentith yeare of the reigne of king
Edward the third, being in the yeare of our ſalua-
tion one thouſand three hundred fiftie and fiue he paſ-
ſeth to Burdeaux with the Blacke prince, and follo-
wed his armie, as a companion with him in all his
conflicts and battels: which in the ſame yeare this
Bartholomew, John Chandois, and James Aud-
leie with foure & twentie knights comming to the
taile of the French armie, flieng awaie, tooke two &
thirtie knights and gentlemen priſoners, amongſt
whome was the erle of Romenne. After which it ſee-
meth that he liued not long, for in the Michaelmas
terme in the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Ed-
ward the third there is mention made of the execu-
tors of Bartholomew Burgerſh conſtable of Do-
uer caſtell.

Roger de Mortimer. Roger de Mortimer was conſtable of Douer ca-
ſtell in Michaelmas terme, in the one and thirtith
yeare of Edward the third, being the ſame man (as
I ſuppoſe) which was the ſonne of Edward Morti-
mer lord of Wigmore, and as the Welſh hiſtorie re-
porteth, pag. 317, by king Edward the third, in the
29 yeare of his reigne reſtored to the earledome of
March; or els was Roger Mortimer vncle to Ro-
ger earle of March. But becauſe time ſerueth not to
decide which of them it was, I leaue it to others.

John Beauchampe of Warwike knight, was
conſtable of Douer caſtell, & warden of the cinque
portes, the firſt daie of December, in the yeare of
Chriſt one thouſand three hundred three ſcore & one,
and the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the
third, to whome ſucceeded Robert Yerle knight.

Robert Yerle knight, liuing in the one and thir-
tith yeare of Edward the third, being the ſonne and
heire of William Yerle lord of Kirkbie, who died in
the one and twentith yere of Edward the third, was
in the fiue and twentith yere of king Edward the
third, capteine of Calis, and alſo conſtable of Do-
uer caſtell, and warden of the cinque portes, in the ſix
and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, being
the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred three
ſcore and two, as appeareth by the records of *Pellis exi-
tus*, where it is thus entred in the firſt daie of De-
cember in the *Pell* of Michaelmas terme of the ſame
ſix and thirtith yeare. *Roberto de Herle militi, cuſtodi ca-
ſtri Douer & quinq; portuum, ad totam vitam ſuam eodem
modo quo Iohannes de Bello campo de Warwike dum vixit
illam habuit.* Which Robert (being lord and baron of
Kirkbie) died without iſſue in the eight and thirtith
yeare of king Edward the third, leauing Margaret
his ſiſter to be his heire. Of which Margaret, being
married to Rafe Haſtings, the now liuing earle of
Huntington Henrie Haſtings is deſcended.

Rafe Spigornell. Rafe Spigornell knight was conſtable of Do-
uer caſtle, & warden of the cinque portes, in the fortith
and fortie fourth of Edward the third, to whome
the ſame king gaue fourtie pounds in reward, be-
cauſe that he brought a crowne of gold adorned with
pretious ſtones, as a token from his daughter in
law the princeſſe of Wales: whereof I haue ſéne
this note in the *Pellis exitus* of Michaelmas terme of
the ſix and thirtith of the ſame Edward the third, be-
ing the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred
three ſcore and two, and the fouretéenth of October:
*Radulpho de Spigornell militi, in denarijs ſibi li-
beratis in perſolutionē 40 libra. quas dominus rex
ſibi liberari mandauit de dono ſuo, pro eo quòd idē
Radulphus apportauit domino regi quandā coronā
de auro & lapidibus pretioſis, de dono dominæ
principiſſæ de Wallia, &c.* Now for proofe that he
was conſtable of Douer caſtell, and warden of the
cinque portes, ſucceeding Robert Yerle, I find this
note entred in the records of the exchéker, in Eaſter
terme, in the foure and fourtith yere of the reigne of
king Edward the third: *Radulpho de Spigornell
militi, cui dominus rex caſtrū de Douer & quin-
que portus cum pertinenijs cuſtodiendum ad to-
tam vitam ſuam eodem modo, quo Robertus de
Herle dum vixit cuſtodiam illam habuit, percipi-
ens per annum 300 libras pro ſuſtentatione ſua,
ac capellanorum, ac vnius carpentarij in dicto ca-
ſtro commorantium, & pro robis eorum, &c.*

Richard de Penbrig was conſtable of Douer ca-
ſtell, and warden of the cinque portes, in the fiue and
fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yere of
our redemption one thouſand three hundred three
ſcore and eleuen.

William lord Latimer. William lord Latimer of Corbie knight, the
ſonne of William lord Latimer, and Eliſabeth his
wife, owner of Stratton in Bedfordſhire, was
conſtable of Douer caſtell in the ſeuen and fortith
yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our re-
demption one thouſand three hundred three ſcore and
thirteene, in which office he continued in the fiftith
yeare of Edward the third, whoſe lieutenant was
William de Tidecombe. Which lord Latimer, be-
ing in great credit with the king, performed ma-
nie notable things, wherof mention is made in our
chronicles. For which (as appeareth by record of the
exchéker of the ſecond part of Michaelmas terme,
in the one and thirtith yere of Edward the third, be-
ing the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three
hundred three ſcore and eleuen) it is ſet downe, that
the king gaue to this William Latimer one hun-
dred marks a yeare out of the exchéker, the words

of

of which record be these: *Willielmo de Latimer, cui dominus rex 100 marcas annuatim ad scaccarium percipiendum pro bono seruitio per ipsum eidē domino regi impensum, quousq; terræ quas Elisabeth, quæ fuit uxor W. Latimer mater prædicti Willielmi tenet in dotem, & aliàs ad terminum vitæ de hæreditate dicti Willielmi ad manus eiusdem deuenerint, &c.*

Of the actions of which William, warden of the ports, I meane in some part here to intreat, besides that which I haue spoken of him in my discourse of the protectors of England, pag. 1076. This man in the eight and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and seuen, being in the warres of Britaine, in the feast of S. Michaell, Charles Blois, (betweene whom and John Montfort there was contention for the dukedome of Britaine) did with an armie of three thousand and fiue hundred suddenlie come vpon John Montfort and the lord William Latimer, whilst they did beseige the castell & towne of Dowrate, hauing scarse one thousand and fiue hundred of all sorts, both Britains and English. Whereupon the armies going togither without anie deliberation, there were slaine on the part of the duke Montfort onelie seuen men, and on the part of the intruder, Charles Blois himselfe, the lord of Richford, and William Range knight, and almost one thousand esquiers; at what time there was also taken on the part of the said Charles two earles, twentie lords, and fiftéene hundred valiant armed souldiors. After this, being the kings chamberlaine, he was (in the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and sixtéene) with the duke of Lancaster by parlement remoued from the king, and others placed in their roomes. But after, the duke of Lancaster obteining fauour to be protector of the kingdome, restored this William Latimer, sir Richard Sturie and others, to the kings fauour and to their former offices. Which lord Latimer, after the death of Edward the third, continuing in the yong king Richard his fauour, was before the coronation of the said king Richard, in the first yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and seuentéene, sent with sir Simon Burleie to the Londoners, to set an agreement betweene them and the duke of Lancaster: whereof I will speake more hereafter in the treatie of sir Simon Burleie, warden of the cinque ports. After which, in the same yeare, the Englishmen hearing of a multitude of Spanish ships, which for want of wind were deteined at Scluse, determined to enter the sea with a great power, desirous to requite the wrongs which the Spaniards had done vnto them the yeare before, in aiding the Frenchmen. Wherefore the English hauing assembled an armie by sea, Thomas of Woodstocke erle of Buckingham, William lord Latimer, the lord Fitzwater, sir Robert Knolles, and manie valiant persons were made capteins thereof, who going to sea, felt the crosse of aduerse fortune in the midst of the waues. For by force of extreame tempests, their ships were dispersed, broken, drowned, and almost all lost. After which, in the end gathering their navie together, they returned into England, where anew refreshing and rigging their ships, they tooke another iorneie to the sea and found better successe. He married Elisabeth the daughter of Edmund erle of Arundell, by whome he had issue William which died a child, and Elisabeth his sole heire married to John lord Neuill, of whome sir Fulke Greuill now liuing is descended.

Wallingham.

William lord Latimer.

Edmund Plantagenet.

Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Langleie, the sonne of king Edward the third, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, in the one and fiftith of Edward the third, which office he continued in some of the first yeares of the reigne of king Richard the second, as in his first and second yeare, &c. This Edmund, being in his fathers life made erle of Cambridge, was in the time of his nephue king Richard the second, created duke of Yorke, of whome I haue more intreated in my discourse of the dukes of England, pag. 1231.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, sometime treasurer of England, constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first and seuenth yeres of king Richard the second, falling in the yeares one thousand three hundred foure score and two, and one thousand three hundred foure score and three of our Lord, who gaue the great bell to the church in Douer castell, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the treasurors of England, pag. 1247. He lieth buried in the foresaid church of Douer castell with this epitaph: *Hic iacet Robertus Ashton miles, quondam constabularius castri Douer, qui obijt 2 die Ianuarij, an. Dom 1384 cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

Robert Ashton.

Simon Burleie knight of the garter, and banneret, the sonne of sir John Burleie knight, which liued in the first of Aprill, in the fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and six, was constable of Douer castell, as by this short discourse of him it should appeare. Before the obteining of which office, he was on the two & twentith of June, being the daie after the death of king Edward the third, and the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare of our lord one thousand three hundred three score and seuentéene, sent with William lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, & sir Richard Adderburie to the Londoners, who the two and twentith daie of Julie before, had sent John Philpot a worthie citizen of London, to touch the death of the late king Edward, and to request the kings fauour about the controuersies then depending betweene the duke of Lancaster and the citizens of London. Which sir Simon Burleie and the rest comming to London, deliuered to the citizens from the king, that as they brought them heauie newes of the kings death: so they were also to shew them glad tidings of the yong kings good disposition towards them, who had chosen their citie, and would come vnto them as they had required. Besides which, the king had spoken vnto the duke, who had submitted himselfe vnto the kings pleasure in all things. Wherefore they willed the citizens to doo the like, but they refused the same. Yet at length (after a long discourse had amongst them therabout, for six houres and more) they agreed that if this sir Simon Burleie and the rest would enter into bond, that this their submission should not tend to anie temporall losse or corporall hurt, that they would willinglie agree to the kings command; whereupon these knights gaue their assurance accordinglie. With which securitie the citizens coming to Shene, the king called them before him, and they acknowledged willinglie in all things to submit themselues to the kings pleasure. Which done, the king and nobilitie tooke their iorneie to London towards his coronation, whose horse sir Nicholas Bond going on foot did lead: at what time also this sir Simon Burleie did carrie the sword before the king. Which sir Simon still continuing in the kings fauour, and dailie growing to greater honour, was in the seuenth yeare of king Richard, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred foure score & foure, made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, holding that office during his life, as I for this time doo gather. For he was constable in the

Simon Burleie.

Wallingham.

seuenth and eight yeare of Richard the second, hauing besides that the office of the kings chamberlaine, and manie other great dignities.

Before which, on the foure and twentith of March, in the tenth yeare of the king, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore and seauen, Richard earle of Arundell admerall for that time, and Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham went to the sea, and tooke about one hundred ships laden with wines, conteining one thousand nine hundred tuns of wines. After which he tooke Brest in Britaine, and returned into England. Which deeds of the earls being enuied by such as were with the king, as the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, this sir Simon Burleie, and Richard Stirie or Sturie, deprauing the earle to the king, said: that he had performed no worthie exploit, but onelie inuaded a few merchants, whose amitie it had beene more fruitfull to haue preserued, than so to haue stirred vnintreatable hatred. Of all which persons, the duke of Ireland, sir Simon Burleie, and the rest thus in generalitie writeth Walsingham. *Hi nimirū milites plures erāt Veneris quàm Bellonæ, plus valentes in thalamo quàm in campo, plus linguā quàm lancea præmuniti, ad dicendum vigiles, ad faciendum acta Martia somnolenti. Hi igitur circa regem conuersantes, nihil quod deceret tantum militem informare curabant, non dico tantùm armorum vsum, sed nec ea quæ maximè reges generosos decent in pace, videlicet in venationem, vel aucupationem, aut his similia, quibus regni honor crescit.* Thus much by Walsingham.

By which demeanour of this Simon Burleie, he grew in such hatred with the nobilitie, that at a parlement kept at Westminster in Februarie, he was about the first of Maie following, in the eleuenth yeare of the king, and in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three hundred fourescore and eight, beheaded: notwithstanding that the earle of Derbie labored all he could with the nobilitie (which had taken armes against the king, for supporting of this Simon Burleie and others) to saue his life. For which intreatie there fell great dissention betweene the earle of Derbie and the duke of Glocester. This sir Simon Burleie being a man of great possessions in Kent, was lord of manie manors there; and namelie of the manors of Elham, and Colbridge; whereof he did with force dispossesse the tenants, as appeareth by these letters patents of king Richard the second: the which although they be long, yet for that they conteine manie matters touching the said sir Simon Burleie, and also the names of manie principall persons and officers in the realme liuing at that time, I shall not greeue to set downe in this sort.

The letters patents of Richard the second, wherein he granted manie parcels of land in Kent with the manors of Elham and Colbridge, to the deane of saint Stephans chapell of Westminster, founded by king Edward the third, as by the same letters patents plainelie appeareth.

RIchardus Dei Gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd cùm dominus E. nuper rex Angliæ, auus noster defunctus, collegium liberæ capellæ nostræ sancti Stephani infra palacium nostrū Westmonasterium de vno decano, & 12 canonicis, 13 vicarijs, & alijs ministris ad diuina seruitia ibidem pro animabus progenitorum, & successorum ipsius aui nostri in perpetuum faciendum nuper fundasset, & per litteras suas patentes (quas confirmauimus') concessit eidem decano, & canonicis, & eorum successoribus pro sustentatione sua, quingentas & decem libras, percipiend. annuatim de præfato auo nostro, & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, quoúsque eis de terris, aut tenementis, seu alijs rebus immobilibus valorem summæ prædictæ per annum attingentibus, per prædictum auum nostrum, vel hæredes suos fuisset prouisum: postmodúmque idem auus noster per alias litteras suas patētes dedisset & concessisset charissimo auunculo nostro duci Aquitan. & Lancastr. tunc regi Castellæ & Legionis, Simoni tunc archiepiscopo Cant. Iohan. episcopo Lincolniæ, Henrico tunc episcopo Wigornie, Willielmo tunc domino de Latimer, Iohanni Kneuet tunc cancellario, Roberto de Ashton tunc thesaurario, Rogero de Beauchampe tunc camerario, Iohanni de Ipres tunc seneschallo hospitij, & Nicholao Carew tunc custodi priuati sigilli eiusdem aui nostri, certa castra, maneria, dominia, terras, tenementa, redditus, reuersiones, quæ dictus auus noster adquisiuit de quibusdam personis in com. Cant ac alijs diuersis comitatibus in Anglia, vnà cum toto stauro, bonis, & catallis in eisdem castris, manerijs, terris, & tenementis adtunc existentibus. Habendum & tenendum eidem duci, & alijs personis & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, absque aliqua conditione eis declarata, super liberationem chartæ prædictæ, quæ de recordo existit, vt dicitur siue antea, aut super liberationem festinam inde eis factam, prout coram nobis, ac dominis, ac paribus regni nostri, aliàs in parlamento nostro palam fuerat declaratum, prout sumus informati. Qui quidem auus noster post dictum feaoffamentum sic factum in testamento suo ordinauit, quòd dictum collegium, & aliæ domus religionis, quas fundauit, dotatæ essent, & feoffatæ de manerijs, terris, & tenementis, redditibus & reuersionibus prædictis cum pertinentijs tenendis separatim in perpetuum. Post cuius mortem prædicti, dux, Iohannes episcopus, Henricus, Robertus, Iohannes de Ipres, & Nicholaus, plenam noritiam vltimæ voluntatis dicti aui nostri habentes, volentéque eandem voluntatem, ac ordinationes, & promissa sua prædicta, penes prædictum decanum & canonicos, & successores suos adimplere, prout in testamento suo expressè fuerūt onerati, maneria, terras, tenemēta, redditus, & reuersiones prædicta, inter dictum collegiū & alias domos religionis prædict. secundum discretionem suam departir. fuerunt, & æqualiter proportionauerunt, ac per scriptum suum indentatum concesserunt, & ad firmam demiserunt præfatis decano & canonicis, & eorum successoribus parcellam maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, & reuersionum prædictorum tanquam ratam suam eorundem prout intelleximus; videlicet, maneria de Esshatisford, cum Bartone, Buckwell, Eseling Meere, Langley iuxta Ledes cum aduocationibus ecclesiarum, francheſijs, warrennis, & omnimodis dominijs ad ea pertinent. ac quandam parcellam prati in Einsford in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, vnà cum toto stauro vivo & mortuo in manerijs, terris & tenementis prædictis tunc existent. Nec non reuersiones maneriorum de Elham, & de Colebridge, cum pertin. in dicto com. Cantiæ, quæ Willielmus Streat iam defunctus, tunc tenens ad terminum vitæ suæ, ac etiam reuersionem manerij de Winchfeeld cum pertinentibus in comitatu Southampton, quod Iohannes Kimberley tunc tenuit & adhuc tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ. Habend. & tenend. præfato decano & canonicis, & successoribus suis a festo sanctæ Paschæ, anno regni nostri quinto, vsque ad finem quadraginta annorum, ex tunc proximè sequentium, ad intentionem quòd dicta maneria

John of Gant fourth sonne to Edward the third.

Simon Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie.

John de Buckingham bishop of London.

Eseling otherwise called Northcourt, is now in the possession of Martin Iames of Smarden in Kent esquire, and the other lands in the possession of other men.

ria, terræ, tenementa, redditus, reuersiones, cũ omnibus pertinentijs suis, eisdem decano & canonicis priùs concessa, eisdem decano & canonicis & successoribus suis, infra eundem terminum ad manum mortuam data forent & assignata, tenenda in auxilium sustentationis suæ, ac in partem dotationis suæ prædictæ in perpetuum, prout per dictum scriptum indentatum plenius apparet. Virtute cuius dimissionis ac attornamenti tenentium præfati decani & canonici inde sesiti fuerũt, vt de termino suo prædicto & possessionem suam tam dictorum maneriorũ de Elham & Colbridge, post mortem prædicti Willielmi Streat quàm omnium aliorum maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, & reddituum prædictorum cum pertinentibus in dicto comitatu Cantiæ per tempus non modicũ continuarunt, quoúsq; ipsi per Simonem de Burleie chiualer defuncti inde indebitè expulsi fuerunt, vt asserunt, cui quidem Simoni ad minùs veram suggestionem suam omnia prædicta maneria, terras, tenementa, & redditus, cum pertinentibus in comitatu Cantiæ, habendum & tenendum eidem Simoni & hæredibus suis in perpetuum per litteras nostras patentes concessimus, prout in eisdem litteris plenius continetur. Quæ quidem maneria, terræ, tenementa, & redditus, cum pertinentibus in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, ratione iudicij versus ipsum Simonem in parlamento nostro apud Westmonasterium anno regni nostri vndecimo, tento, reddita in manus nostras tanquam nobis forisfacta, sesita, & ad centum & vndecim libras per eschaetorem nostrum in eodem comitatu Cantiæ extensa fuerunt: subsequentérque ad supplicationem prædictorum decani & canonicorum, pro maiore securitate sua per litteras nostras patentes concessimus Iohanni Sleford personæ ecclesiæ de Balsham, Iohanni de Appulton, Thomæ de Oxted capellano, Iohanni Darg capellano, & Richardo Bret capellano, custodiam maneriorum, terrarum, tenemẽtorum, & reddituum prædictorum, cum pertinentijs in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, habendum & tenendum vsque ad finem triginta annorum ex tunc proximè sequentium, omnimodis exitibus, bladis, fœno, commoditatibus & alijs proficuis, & quibuscúnq; aisiamentis maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, & reddituum prædictorum cum pertinentibus, præfato decano & canonicis & successoribus suis exceptis & reseruatis. Quæ quidem emolumenta per alias litteras patentes eisdem decano & canonicis priùs concessimus, sicut dicunt. Nos considerantes benignum propositum & piam intentionem prædicti aui nostri, de gratia nostra speciali in complementum vltimæ voluntatis suæ, dedimus & concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, præfatis decano & canonicis tam dicta maneria de Asshetisford, cum Barton, Buckwell, Eseling Meere, & dictam parcellam in prato Einsford cum toto stauro vivo & mortuo ibidẽ existent. quàm dicta maneria de Elham & Colbridge cum aduocationibus ecclesiarum, fœdis militum, parcis, warrennis, piscarijs, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, eschaetis, redditibus, leetis, seruitijs, franchesijs, custumis, priuilegijs, & omnibus alijs rebus & proficuis, ad dictum manerium & pratum, vel ad aliquam parcellam eorundem quouis modo pertinentibus siue spectantibus; habendum & tenendum eisdem decano & canonicis & successoribus suis in perpetuum. Concessimus insuper & licentiam dedimus, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quantũ in nobis est, prædictis duci & episcopo Lincoln. quòd ipsi concedere possint, quod manerium de Winchfeeld, vnà cum aduocatione ecclesiæ eiusdem manerij, quæ prædictus Iohannes Kimberley sic tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ, & quæ post mortem eiusdem Iohannis Kimberley ad præfatos ducem & episcopũ Lincoln. eo quòd alij coniunctim fœffati sui dies clauserunt extremos, reuerti deberent post mortem ipsius Iohannis Kimberley, remaneant præfatis decano & canonicis, &c. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras, &c. Teste meipso apud villam Salop. sexto die Februarij, anno regni nostri 21.

This patent thus reciting the death of Simon Burleie, amongst other matters putteth me in mind to saie what followed vpon the death of that man, so intirelie beloued of the king: who (not ceasing to call his death to remembrance, and waiting opportunitie to reuenge the same) did in the one and twentith yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and seuentéene, giue licence to sir John Bussie, to accuse Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie, and sometime chancellor to this king Richard the second of threefold treason: whereof the third article was, that by the said traitorous vsurping (meaning of the duke of Glocester, of Richard earle of Arundell, and other noble men, vsurping the gouernement of the realme, by a commission granted vnto them therefore by the said archbishop, then chancellor) sir Simon Burleie, and sir James Barnes knights, faithfull men vnto the king, were traitorouslie murthered and put to death. Wherevpon the king, although for a time he fullie granted not that the motions of sir John Bussie tooke place, yet afterward in reuenge of the death of sir Simon and others his frends, the archbishop was banished, the duke of Glocester murthered, the earle of Arundell beheaded, and the two Cobhams in like sort forbidden and exiled England. So hard it is for the greatest power of the nobilitie to contend with their prince, who being the god of the earth, and carieng the sword, can and will either by force, policie or authoritie iustlie with the same distribute the reward of rebellion.

This sir Simon died without issue, leaning his brother sir Roger Burleie his heire, of which sir Roger these persons now liuing are descended. Sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, Philip Howard earle of Arundell, Edward de Uære erle of Oxford, and John Thin of Longleat in Wiltshire esquier, the sonne and heire of sir John Thin of Longleat knight, the sonne and heire of Thomas Boteuile (otherwise surnamed Thin) and of Margaret his wife, the daughter of Thomas Einus esquier and of Ioise his wife, the daughter of John Gatacre esquire and of Ioise his wife, the daughter of sir John Burleie knight, sonne vnto this sir Roger Burleie knight (in the chronicles and bookes of the law called Beuerlæ) brother to this sir Simon Burleie, as is before said. To which also may be added, as descended from this sir Roger Burleie these worshipfull persons now liuing, that is to saie Corbet of Lee, Ploiden of Ploiden hall, Mitton of Shropshire, Littleton, Einus, and others; whereof I haue not as yet the full and true descents, and therefore cannot lineallie conueie them, as I haue done some of the others before recited.

Sir John Denros knight, of diuerse chronicles diuerslie named (for by some he is called Deuereux, by some de Euros, and by others de Euers) was constable of Douer castle and warden of the cinque ports, being sometime appointed to the custodie of Calis, as appeareth by Walsingham in these words, pag. 243. *Anno dominicæ incarnationis* 1380, *qui est annus* 3 *Rich.* 2, *hoc tempore circa festum natalis Domini redijt à Calisia dominus Gulielmus de Monteacuto comes Sarum, qui annualem custodiam egerat illius villæ, cui subrogatur dominus Iohannes Enros miles, ab antiquo xercitatus in armis.* After which, for his worthinesse, he was made constable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque Sir John Denros.

ports, which office he held in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second in Michaelmas terme, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, as appeareth in the records of Pellis exitus of that terme; where mention is made that the king gaue him yearelie during his life, to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, foure score and eight pounds six shillings and eight pence out of the exchequer for the sustentation of himselfe, of a chapleine, of seruitors, of wardens, and one carpentar, in the same castell of Douer; which office of warden of the cinque ports he likewise held in the fourteenth yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and nine. To this man (as some haue) was Gefferie Clinton esquier lieutenant. Besides which office of the wardenship of the ports, he was the kings steward, and possessed both those offices at the time of his death, which suddenlie fell vpon him after the manner of an apoplexie in the feast of S. Peters chaire: to whom (as hath Walsingham) Thomas Persie, brother to Henrie earle of Northumberland, and vicechamberleine succeeded in the office of steward; and John Beaumont, by some (but not rightlie) called Thomas, obteined the honor to be warden of the cinque ports.

John de Beaumont. John de Beaumont was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the sixteenth, seuentéenth, eightéenth, & nineteenth of the deposed king Richard the second.

Duke Edmund. Edmund duke of Aumerle and Yorke was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, which office it séemed that he continued all the time of the gouernement of the same king Richard, vntill his deposition by Henrie the fourth, who comming to the crowne, not onelie deposed the king, but also remoued this duke of Yorke from the wardenship of the ports and Douer castell, placing sir Thomas Erpingham therein, as some haue. In which yeare of the one and twentith of that king, Arnold Sauage knight was lieutenant of the castell to this Edmund duke of Yorke, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England, page, 1231.

Sir Thomas Erpingham. Sir Thomas Erpingham knight was constable of Douer castell, in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and two: in which office he continued vntill the tenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and nine, who amongst others (as hath Walsingham) was one, before whome king Richard the second, in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine, resigned his kingdome, and released his subiects of their oth of obedience vnto him.

Prince Henrie. Henrie (eldest sonne to king Henrie the fourth, being prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall and erle of Chester) was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie his father. Of this Henrie prince of Wales I néed not speake anie more, bicause he was after king of England, by the name of Henrie the fift.

John Beaufort. John Beaufort, marquesse Dorset, whome some appoint to be constable of Douer castell, in the reigne of king Henrie the fourth: which John I suppose for this time succeeded Henrie prince of Wales.

Thomas erle of Arundell. Thomas erle of Arundell was constable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque ports, in the second and third of the most valiant king Henrie the fift. This man being at the same time also treasuror of England, occasioned me to sale more of him in my discourse of the lord treasurors of England, pag. 1250, whereunto I do refer thee.

Humfreie duke of Glocester was constable of Douer castell, and lord warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, then being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and two: which office he continued in the two and twentith yeare of the after deposed king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure. Of this man is more spoken in my protectors of England, pag. 1078, & in my discourse of the dukes of England, pag. 1233. Beside which that is there set downe, I thinke it not amisse in this place to recite somewhat of him. Humfreie duke of Glocester

This duke, in the seauenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nineténe, accompanied with the earle Marshall, and a goodlie troope of other men, was by the king being in the wars of France, sent to laie siege to the towne and castell of Yuorie, which the duke (after manie assaults) tooke by force, but the castell thereof was not yéelded vntill the thirtéenth date of Maie following: shortlie after which he also tooke the towne of saint Germans. About the feast of Simon and Jude, in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue, there arose grieuous contention betwéene this duke protector of England, and Henrie Beaufort his vncle bishop of Winchester; whereby great force was assembled one both parts. But that dissention was afterward somewhat appeased, by the meanes of the prince of Portingall, who rode eight times in one daie betwéene the armies of these two great persons.

Sir James Fines. Sir James Fines knight, lord Saie, the sonne of sir William Fines, was chamberleine to the king, constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six and twentith and seuen and twentith of king Henrie the first: of whome I haue more liberallie discoursed in the treasurors of England, as may appeare, pag. 1251, and of whome I will also further hereafter intreat in the edition of my other trauels.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham. Humfreie duke of Buckingham was constable of Douer castell in the seauen and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nineténe, which office he continued in the seauen and thirtith of the reigne of the same king; further holding the same office (as I for this time suppose) vntill his owne death, which happened in the eight and thirtith yeare of that king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, or thereabouts; of whom is more spoken in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Richard Neuill. Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Salisburie lord Aburgauennie, great chamberlaine of England, and deputie of Calis, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fours hundred three score and one: of whome I will speake somewhat, before that he came to be aduanced vnto this honorable place of warden of the cinque ports. This earle, taking part against the king, followed the faction of the familie of Yorke against the house of Lancaster; and in the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, on the twentith daie of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue, lieng at Watford or Wadeford beside S. Al-

bons

bons, did come to the part of Richard duke of Yorke, who with his companie pitched his campe in Keie-field besides saint Albons; at what time the king fixed his banner and power in a place called Gollow, sometime called Standforth in saint Peters street in saint Albons. Whereupon a battell being had, the king was taken, to whome the duke of Yorke, this earle of Warwike and diuerse other came, submitted themselues, craued pardon, and went with the king to London, where the king and this earle were lodged in the bishops palace. Shortlie after which, a parlement began the ninth daie of June, & the said earle was made capteine of Calis, who after he had sometime remained there, he left the same; and on the seuentæenth daie of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and seuen, being the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, came from Calis to London with a great band of men, all attired in red iackets with white ragged staues vpon them, and toke vp his lodging at the Grey friers. This doone, the king and quæne comming to London on the seuentæenth daie of March following, there was on the fiue and twentith daie of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred fiftie & eight, a feined reconciliation betweene the king, the quæne, and the duke of Yorke, this erle of Warwike, and others; who at a generall procession made in S. Paules church in London were thus placed to go in the same procession. First the king in his roiall habit with his crown kept the state, before whom went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, and the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Excester, and this earle of Warwike, and so one of one faction, and another of the other sort. And behind the king, the duke of Yorke led the quæne, whome the other states and companie followed orderlie.

But these hot coles of dissention for a time thus coldlie couered with cinders, did in the end breake forth againe. For shortlie after this, in the same yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and eight, in the seuen and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the sixt, when the king and quæne were lodged at Westminster, there did on the ninth daie of Nouember a heauie quarrell arise betweene this earle of Warwike, and such as were of the kings house, growing to such malicious furie, as that they would haue taken awaie the life of the earle, who hardlie escaped their hands to his barge. But hauing so recouered himselfe out of danger, he sailed to his charge of Calis. Then not being there suffered fullie to settle (for what will not malice and desire of reuenge seeke to doo in prosecuting the effect of his intent) the duke of Summerset, by the quænes persuasion, and the kings authoritie, which was alwaies vsed as it pleased the stronger part, was aduanced vnto the gouernment of Calis, and a priuie seale directed to this erle of Warwike to giue place vnto him. But the earle, whose valiant mind could neuer stoope to his enimie, nor brooke anie iniurie by his superior, no not by his king, refused the same as well for that the duke was then his enimie, and placed by that faction which he hated; as for that the erle was appointed to that place by parlement; which caused him to thinke that he ought not to be remoued by anie other authoritie but such as came from a parlement: whereupon by force and will he kept the same office. After which, in the moneth of October, in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, and in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie & nine, comming from Calis, he ioined with the duke of Yorke, and with the earle of Salisburie, who all togither directed a letter vnder their hands to the king from Ludlow, dated the tenth daie of October, excusing them of all their misdemeanors. But they not finding things to succeed to their minds, seuered themselues, and this earle of Warwike returned to Calis, where he still remained: but yet not in such safetie for himselfe and his liuing as he desired. Who after that he had thus presumptuouslie lifted vp his hand against our annointed king (an action of plaine rebellion, with what shadow soeuer he and his complices couered the same) was shortlie after, amongst others, at a parlement holden the same yeare attainted of high treason: wherby his liuings being taken from him, he prepared for preie and spoile. For the obteining whereof he rigged a great nauie, kept the narrow seas, fought with the Spaniards, killed manie of them, and toke their great vessels, with one carricke of Jeane, by which he obteined great riches. Whereupon in the yeare of Grace a thousand foure hundred and sixtie, being the nine and thirtith and last yeare of the deposed Henrie the sixt, the duke of Excester admerall was sent with a great nauie to distresse this earle of Warwike; but he durst not set vpon the earle now returning from Ireland, where he had bin to haue conference with the duke of Yorke. These things doone, and king Henrie the sixt deposed by king Edward the fourth, the same king Edward, the seuenth of Maie, in the first yere of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1461, made this earle (as is before said) constable of Douer castell: who being thus honored with the same, did (on the tenth daie of Maie following) constitute Otwell Worslie his lieutenant of Douer castell, as appeareth by a deed which I haue abridged in this sort.

The grant whereby Otwell Worslie *is made lieutenant of Douer castell* by Richard erle of Warwike.

Richardus comes de Warwike, dominus de Burgauenni, magnus camerarius Angliæ, capitaneus villæ & castri de Calis ac marchiarum circumuicinarum locum tenens, necnon constabularius castri Douorensis, custos & admerallus quinque portuum: omnibus, &c. Cùm nuper christianissimus princeps ac metuendissimus dominus noster Edwardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ quartus, per litteras suas patentes datas septimo die Maij, anno regni sui primo Angliæ, prout in eisdem litteris, &c. Nos, &c: de fidelitate, &c: dilecti & fidelis seruientis nostri Otwelli Worsley armigeri ad plenum informati, &c: prædictum Otwellum locum tenentem nostrum castri prædicti, ac portuum prædictorum substituimus, &c. Datum decimo die Maij prædicti, anno prædicti domini regis Edwardi quarti primo.

After which, about foure yeares, to wit, in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, this earle of Warwike did by the like grant dated the first daie of Julie, being the fift yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, substitute John Guilford knight his lieutenant of Douer castell and the cinque ports. Thus much of this earle for this time, of whome I will make a full discourse hereafter, not hauing leisure now to deliuer both what I know, and haue collected touching him: onlie at this time more setting downe, that he married Anne sister and heire to Henrie Beauchamp duke of Warwike: by whome he had issue two daughters, Isabell married to George Plantagenet duke of Clarence; and Anne married first to Edward prince of Wales sonne to king Henrie the first: after whose death she was married vnto Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester, after king, by the name of Richard the third.

William Fitzallen earle of Arundell, the son William Fitzallen,

of John earle of Arundell, and of Elenor the daughter of sir John Berkleie knight, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the ninetæenth, twentith, and two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth; but after being displaced, he left the same to another.

Richard duke of Glocester. Richard duke of Glocester vncle vnto king Edward the fift, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the first and last yere of the reigne of the same yong but neuer crowned king Edward the fift. This Richard was after king of England, by the name of king Richard the third, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 869, and of the protectors, pag. 1080.

Henrie duke of Buckingham. Henrie duke of Buckingham constable of England, was also constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, after that the duke of Glocester had atteined the crowne; which office he kept vntill the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and thre, in which he was beheaded in the first yeare of the same king Richard the third. Of this man I haue spoken more liberallie in my treatise of the constables of England, set downe before, pag. 874.

William earle of Arundell. William earle of Arundell, as I gather the second time made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, about the first of king Henrie the seuenth, after that the same king had slaine king Richard the third at Bolworth field. Which William married Jone the daughter of Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, by whome he had amongst manie other children, Thomas earle of Arundell, and Jone maried to George Neuill lord Aburgauennie.

Henrie prince of Wales. Henrie prince of Wales, duke of Yorke, and marshall (as some saie) of England, and the kings lieutenant in Ireland, being second sonne to king Henrie the seuenth, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, about the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth: of whome, being after king of England by the name of king Henrie the eight, we meane not here to speake anie more.

Arthur Plantagenet. Arthur Plantagenet, bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, was (as I haue read) made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports in the time of king Henrie the eight, and was at Bridewell in the right of his wife the ladie Elisabeth daughter & heire to John Greie vicount Lisle, created vicount Lisle, in the fiftæenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and thre. Which doone, in the thre and twentith yeare of the same king, he attended on the king, when he met the French king betwæne Bullogne and Calis. Then in the foure and twentith of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and thre, he serued as pantler, of right belonging vnto him, when the ladie Anne Bullen was crowned. Which Arthur being committed to the Tower for matters of treason, where he a long time remained, being after cleared and to beset at libertie, conceiued such great ioie thereof, that he died presentlie thereupon in March, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one, being the thre and thirtith of king Henrie the eight. He married as before is said, and died without issue.

Sir Edward Poinings. Sir Edward Poinings knight, the sonne of Robert Poinings was made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, about the seuentæenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and one; which office he continued, vntill the fiftæenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, falling about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and thre. During which his constableship of Douer castell, he had two lieutenants, whereof the first was Rafe Tuckeie of Bere esquier: after whose deth succeeded John Cowpeldike esquire. But before this sir Edward Poinings was constable of Douer, he was in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and fouretæne, about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, made capteine, or (as some haue) deputie of Ireland, and sent with Henrie Deane chancellor of that Iland, amongst the Irish, to purge the realme of such as fauoured Parkin Warbecke; but when he could not bring things to passe there as he would, he caused the earle of Kildare, whom he suspected to be an hinderance vnto his purpose, to be brought into England, but the earle purging himselfe was returned into Ireland and made deputie.

After this, in the 12 yere of Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of Christ 1497, he was with the earle of Kent John Lord Cobham, and sir Richard Guilford at Blackeheath field, where James lord Audlie, and the Blacke Smith were ouerthrowne. Next, when king Henrie the seuenth died, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and nine, he was (when K. Henrie the eight came to the crowne) made one of the priuie councell. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and ten, being the second yeare of king Henrie the eight; this sir Edward Poinings, being knight of the garter, and controllor of the kings house, was as capteine generall sent with one thousand and fiue hundred archers to helpe Margaret duches of Sauoie, and regent of the low countries, against such as molested hir gouernment. Which ladie receiued him with great honor, and so they ioined themselues with hir armie; which after manie other exploits performed, came at length to a towne called Strawlie, of great defense, and double ditched, where they planted their siege: at what time sir Edward Poinings, who euer was in the fore-ward with his armie, caused such spedie trenches and passages to be made, that within thre daies after the towne was surrendered, and sir Edward Poinings with the admerall of Flanders and others entered the same. This doone, they besieged Uenlow, & when the English were quiet, and that sir Edward Poinings was at dinner with monsieur de Romie, they of Uenlow issued out, set vpon the English, hurt some, and tooke two prisoners; whome after the English rescued, & got the victorie of their enimies. This doone, they left the siege of Uenlow, and sir Edward Poinings departed to the court of Burgognie, where he was honorablie interteined, and richlie rewarded. Wherewith he passed into England, not hauing lost one hundred men in all that iourneie.

But within thre yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtæne, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, this noble knight went with the king to the warres of France, commonlie called the winning of Turwine & Turneie: at what time in the battell there, sir Edward Poinings with six hundred men kept on the kings right hand, as the king went out of Calis to the siege of Turwine: and when Turneie was taken, this knight was made the kings lieutenant of that towne, hauing the custodie thereof committed vnto him; who valiantlie kept it in good order and iustice. After this, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the eight, he attended vpon the king of England, meeting the French king at Ard. Shortlie after which, he returned into England, & died in the Lent following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, suspected to be poisoned

poiſoned in the banket at Ard. Who in his life time hauing two hundred pounds penſion yearelie of the emperor, going out of the houſe of Burgognie, began to build a moſt ſtatelie houſe at Oſtenhanger, now commonlie called Weſtenhanger; which being by him left vnperfected, did after come to the hands of hir maieſtie, who gaue the cuſtodie thereof to ſir Thomas Sackeuill lord Buckhurſt; and is now in poſſeſſion of Thomas Smith of London eſquier, cuſtomer of the ſame citie: whoſe wealth in ſhort time hath raiſed him to great reuenues of lands in the countie of Kent, and likewiſe elſwhere. This ſir Edward Poinings did marie Iſabell the daughter of ſir John Scot of Kent knight, by whome he had iſſue.

Henrie Fitzroie.

Henrie Fitzroie earle of Richmond, & duke Sommerſet, the baſtard ſonne of king Henrie the eight, (by the ladie Tailboiſe) in the abſence of this ſir Edward Poinings, was conſtituted conſtable of Douer caſtell, and warden of the cinque ports; of whom I haue ſpoken more in my diſcourſe of the dukes of England, pag. 1237.

Sir Edward Guilford.

Sir Edward Guilford knight (the eldeſt ſonne of ſir Richard Guilford knight, & brother to ſir Henrie Guilford knight of the noble order of the garter, controllor of the houſe, and one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight) was conſtable of Douer caſtell, and warden of the cinque ports; of whome I am to intreat, after that I haue ſet downe this note of his father ſir Richard Guilford: who aſſiſting king Henrie the ſeuenth in the atteining of the crowne, was after controllor of the houſe, and one of the priuie councell to the ſaid king Henrie the ſeuenth. Which ſir Richard did after take his iourneie into the Holie land, where he died, and was buried beſides the temple or church of our ſauior in Ieruſalem; of whom I thought good not to omit this ſpeach, becauſe that he was father to three ſuch worthie gentlemen; as were ſir Edward, ſir Henrie, and George Guilford, of all which we onelie meane to intreat.

This ſir Edward Guilford conſtable of Douer caſtell, which office he continued vntill the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and three, which ſir Edward dwelling at Halden in the countie of Kent, in the parith of Rowlenden, was alſo one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight, as was alſo his brother ſir Henrie Guilford, as is before touched. This ſir Edward, being marſhall of Calis, did with fiftie men of armes richlie beſeene, and one hundred archers on horſſebacke, receiue the emperor Charles the fift at the Turne pike, in the lordſhip of Marke, and brought him to Calis, on the fiue and twentith of Maie, and the fourteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption, one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two. After, in the ſame ſummer, whileſt the wars were vehementlie purſued betweene the Engliſh and French on both parts; the capteine of Bullogne called Faiet, ſent ſcoffing letters to the garriſon of Calis, affirming that if the Caliſians would iſſue out, he would incounter them halfe waie with foure thouſand men. Whereupon this ſir Edward Guilford as yet marſhall of Calis, whome the capteine of Bullogne called the firebrand, becauſe it was his cogniſance, ſet forth from Calis the 11 daie of June, with one thouſand two hundred, ſending a purſeuant to the capteine of Bullogne, to aſcerteine him that he was come with his firebrand, and willing him to keepe promiſe, which the officer did accordinglie: but monſieur the French bragger came not. Whereupon ſir Edward Guilford came to Morgiſon, where he yet a while remained, expecting the comming of the capteine of Bullogne.

But when he ſaw that Faiet failed his word, he ſet fire on Morgiſon, burnt the villages about them, forraged the countrie, and returned with a preie of beaſts and other pillages. The next daie following, this ſir Edward deliuered a priſoner freelie without ranſome, on condition that he ſhould tell the capteine of Bullogne that he had beene at Morgiſon with his firebrand: which meſſage the priſoner did accordinglie; in recompenſe wherof, the capteine of Bullogne brake his head. But ſir Edward not contented with this, but ſtill looking for monſieur Faiet, did on the fiue and twentith of June, ioine with ſir William Sands treaſuror: and they togither hauing a troope of one thouſand & foure hundred men, iſſued out of Calis, went to the French pale, ſet fire on Whitſandbaie, and tooke the church, whervnto the people were fled, and caried manie priſoners to Calis. Againe, in the ſame yeare, about the two and twentith daie of Auguſt, in the battell which the lord admerall led into France, ſir Edward Guilford was appointed capteine of the horſſemen, by whome the currers and bewers of the countrie were placed and named. Then in the yeare following, in the end of Auguſt, in the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and three, this ſir Edward was againe appointed to aſſiſt Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, going with an armie roiall to make war in France: at what time alſo, as he had beene before in the armie of the admerall, ſo was he now againe made capteine of the horſſemen, ſtill continuing the office of marſhall of Calis. During the continuance of which wars vnder the duke of Suffolke, he with the campe about the thirteenth daie of Nouember, remoued two miles from the caſtell of Bowhen, which was iudged impregnable: at what time there was a great froſt which continued long.

Notwithſtanding which, ſir Edward Guilford capteine of the horſemen, viewed the caſtle of Bowhen or Boughan, which he ſuppoſed might be woone; notwithſtanding that the caſtell was inuironed with mariſhes, which by our mens iudgements made it inuincible. But ſir Edward perceiuing the froſt ſo ſtrong, ſaid that they might well beſiege it. Wherupon obteining licence of the duke therfore, he ſet forth with the ordinance ouer the marith, which being eſpied by ſuch as were in the caſtell, they were greatlie diſmaid. At length ſir Edward Guilford diſcharging three great ſhot againſt them, the caſtillians requited them with the like. After, as the Engliſh gunners were preparing to the batterie, the capteine perceiuing that his caſtell could not beare it out, yéelded the ſame to the behoofe of the emperor and the king of England. Thus leauing this knight (who had for his lieutenant of Douer caſtell, after the death of Cowpledike, Richard Dæring eſquire) continuallie increſing his fame in wars, and his honour in peace, with great fauour of the prince for his worthie deſerts. We ſaie that he married Elenor, the daughter of Thomas Weſt lord Laware, by whome he had iſſue one onelie daughter and heire, married to John Sutton of Dudleie after duke of Northumberland: which noble knight ſir Edward Guilford died and was buried at Halden before named.

George Bullen.

George Bullen knight, lord Rochford, the ſonne of Thomas Bullen earle of Wiltſhire, was conſtable of Douer caſtell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the ſix & twentith yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thouſand fiue hundred fiue and thirtie, in which office he continued vntill the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the

ſame

same king, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, hauing for his lieutenant of Douer castell the forenamed Richard Dæring.

Thomas Cheineie. Thomas Cheineie knight, after the death of the lord Rochford, was in the foure and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports: which office he continued in some part of the time of foure princes, longer (as far as my memorie serueth) than anie of his predecessors had done before him. For he held the same in the time of king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quéene Marie, and some small time in the begining of the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, in whose first yeare by death he left the same; hauing for his lieutenants the foresaid Richard Dæring and William Cripse esquire. And yet this sir Thomas Cheineie, possessing that office about the space of eightéene yeares, did not inioie it so long as the worthie lord Cobham his successor hath possessed it. For the same lord Cobham (as after shall appeare) hath honorablie inioied the same by these eight and twentie yeares. But passing ouer that, we are here to talke of sir Thomas Cheineie: who being a toward yong gentleman, and full of courage, but not yet knighted, obteined of the king in the first yeare of Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foureteéne, to passe ouer with the duke of Suffolke and others into France, to answer a iusts proclamed at Paris, and challenged by Francis duke de Valois, at the coronation of Marie quéene of France, daughter of king Henrie the seuenth, and wife to Lewis the twelfe of that name: at what time this sir Thomas Cheineie behaued himselfe right valiantlie. Who being after a knight, and the kings ambassador in France, did in the foureteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two, send letters to the king his maister being at Calis with the emperor: in which were conteined, that sir Thomas Cheineie had moued the French king to peace with the emperor, and restitution of the Englishmens goods, which he had wrongfullie deteined and spoiled: but the French king denied it. At length sir Thomas Cheineie with Clarenceaux, who denounced war against the French king, hauing a safe conduct from the French, departed, and came to Bullogne, where he was staied, vntill the ambassador of France which had laien at Calis, were clerelie deliuered out of Calis.

Then in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, this sir Thomas Cheineie being of the kings priuie councell, was sent by the king his maister to the French king as an ambassador congratulatorie, in that the king of England greatlie reioised at the libertie of the French king, & the end made betwixt him & the emperor, who had taken the French king at the battell of Pauie. After which, in the one & thirtith yeare of the same Henrie, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, he in the Christmasse time receiued at Deale vpon the Downs the ladie Anne of Cleue landed in England to be maried to king Henrie the eight, from whense this lord warden of the cinque ports, with diuerse dukes and ladies, brought hir to Douer castell, where she for a time did rest hir selfe. Beside which in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, he with the earle of Surreie, sonne and heire to the duke of Northfolke, did take a towne in the dominion of France called saint Requiers.

Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, being the third yeare of king Edward the first, he amongst others of the councell, (for now he was one of that number, and treasuror of the household) set his hand vnto a letter directed to the maior and citizens, wherein certeine of the nobilitie praied their aid against the duke of Summerset protector of the realme; which done, in the first yere of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, this sir Thomas Cheineie, in a muster of horssemen before the king at Grenewich of the nobilitie, did shew himselfe equall in number of horsse with the most of them, hauing of his retinue a hundred persons well horssed vnder his banner of the rose, with the sun beames. But king Edward not liuing long after, this lord warden did in the seuenth and last yeare of the same king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, among others of the councell set his hand to a letter sent vnto quéene Marie, wherein quéene Jane was allowed quéene; and quéene Marie sister to king Edward reiected from the crowne. After which being in the Tower (with quéene Jane whome they had proclamed) and misliking of the successe of things which they had attempted, he with others sought to get out of the Tower, to consult in London with such others of the councell as were there assembled, but he could not haue anie passage from thense. Yet in the end quéene Marie preuailing, and he escaping without anie danger for that which he had done against hir, he did in the first yere of the reigne of the same quéene oppose himselfe against Wiat, and such as succoured that rebellion. Wherefore he not onlie sent defiance vnto the said Wiat, but also came to Rochester with his power against him, at what time he shewed himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto quéene Marie: notwithstanding all whatsoeuer before done by him against hir. He maried two Wiues, the first was Fridelwide, the daughter and one of the heires of Thomas Frowicke knight, chefe iustice: by whome he had issue John Cheineie (slaine at Mutterell, after that he had maried Margaret the daughter of George Neuil lord of Aburgauennie) Katharine married to Thomas Kempe knight, Francis married to Nicholas Cripse, the sonne of sir Henrie Cripse knight and Anne married to sir John Perot knight. His second wife was the daughter and heire of Broughton knight, by whome he had issue Henrie, after in the fourteenth yeare of the quéene now liuing, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seauentie and one, called by writ to be one of the barons of the parlement house, by the name of the lord Cheineie of Tuddington in Bedfordshire. This worthie knight sir Thomas Cheineie died in the first yeare of the reigne of the noble quéene Elisabeth, and was buried at Minster in the Ile of Sheppeie, whereof he was the greatest lord.

Sir William Brooke knight, lord Cobham, was made constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and chancellor of the same, after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie, in the first yeare of the quénes reigne that now is; being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine: of whom because I haue spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, I will not here saie anie thing but this; that he hauing possessed this place by the space of eight and twentie yeares, being much longer time than anie of his predecessors, hath (in executing that office) caried himselfe with such honor and loue, that he worthilie deserueth, and his countrie hopeth he shall inioie the same manie following yeares, to his owne honor, and his countries benefit: whome I will here leaue in his princes fauor, and set end to all my discourses inserted in the new augmented chronicles of Holinshed, with the succession of the lord wardens of the cinque ports. Sir William Brooke.

¶ In

The note of Reynold Scot esquier concerning Douer hauen.

¶ In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, certeine of the lords of hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell made an appointment to haue met at Douer, to suruete a notable pece of worke there latelie performed about the hauen, to the benefit of the whole land. Howbeit the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that iourneie. Neuertheleſſe the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties priuie councell, repairing thither (accompanied with diuerse knights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the view both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the buſineſſe then in hand. Now for so much as that which is alreadie done, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintnance of a hauen in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in anie record, it might seme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and buſineſſe thereabouts imploied hath not bene vnneceſſarie, may appeare by the reasons insuing.

Considerations whie the building of Douer hauen is here recorded.

First, Douer hath bene euer reputed the keie and locke (as Matthæus Parisiensis reporteth) or (as rather he should haue said) the verie doore and entrance into the realme of England, either for frend or fo, and also the readie passage vnto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whense it is not distant aboue thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in fiue or six houres at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most conuenient place of all this land to offend the enimie, and to defend either domesticall or forren frend. Thirdlie, a meane harbor would be there (in the opinion of all skilfull mariners) more beneficiall and commodious for the nauigation of England, than an excellent hauen placed anie where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narrow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconuenience of piracie, or else by force of the common enimie in the time of warre, might there haue present succor and refuge, and both speedie and easie passage thereinto, or otherwise be best rescued. Fiftlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid haue moued some noble princes of this land, to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harbourough or hauen in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderfull contentment of all their subiects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adioining, and strangers passing these narrow seas. Finallie, it hath pleased our most noble quene Elisabeth to vndertake it, who in all good actions and neceſſarie workes, for the benefit of the realme, and commonwealth of England, hath bene so liberall, carefull, and prouident, as thereby hir glorie and renowme is spread ouer all the face of the earth, and reacheth vnto heauen, where the King of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and praiers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians liuing in hir behalfe, for whose good (it seemeth) she was brought forth and preserued in this world.

Douer the nerest place of England to France.

Douer the most conuenient place of England for a hauen.

Reasons whie a harbor at Douer would be so beneficial

A true commendation of quene Elisabeth.

Sir William Brooke.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highneſſe hath at this present time taken order for the building of a new hauen in this place, and bountifullie imploied great summes of monie vpon the same (being begun with more probabilitie, iudgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better succeſſe than euer anie of hir highneſſe predeceſſors haue heretofore had in this case, wherein the most difficult and dangerous worke is alreadie accomplished, so as there is now and euer hereafter will be a verie good hauen, except extreame negligence be vsed in maintaining the same) I thought it a most neceſſarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetuall fame, and partlie also to giue light & incouragement to hir succeſſors in the crowne of England, to attempt and vndertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of farre leſſe importance are made memorable by historiographers, as in euerie chronicle may appeare.

In this discourse I thought met to passe ouer the antiquitie of the towne and port of Douer, with the liberties thereof; which togither with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Kent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Douer castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largelie discoursed thereupon in his booke, which is likelie to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him thereunto; and onelie giue this note (to wit) that whereas he iustlie complaineth of the miserable ruines therof; it hath pleased hir maiestie (in respect of the neceſſarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in reparing and reedifing of it; than hath bene spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were done by Julius Cesar the Romane emperor, or by Aruiragus then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as Iohn Rosse reporteth) did throughlie repare it, bestowing thereon 10000 pounds, insomuch as it is now reduced to be a pece of great force and importance, and verie beautifull to behold. Wherin the honorable disposition of the lord Burleie lord high treasuror of England is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, & whose forwardneſſe in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the beſt souldiours of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most graue councellor. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castle of Douer, &c: I should doo him great wrong. For by his prouidence and mediation, togither with the diligent trauell and industrie of Richard Barrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the wals whereof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Douer, I will now passe to my purpose.

In peramb Cant. tit. Douer.

Douer castell reedified by quene Elisabeth.

Edward the fourth bestowed 10000 pounds vpon reparations of Douer castell.

But yet, before I enter into these last works, I must giue you to vnderstand, that the verie situation of the place miniſtreth incouragement to the execution, and yeldeth great fauor and occasion to the attempt. For Douer cliffes stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne cliffes, the castle on the top of the easterne cliffes, called the Castell Kaie: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north issueth a proper riuer entring into the same baie: and thense runneth through the hauen into the sea. In times past, vntill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath serued them for a rode, and at manie times in some sort hath stood the nauie (but especiallie the fisher botes) in good sted. For in a great northernlie and westernlie wind, the ships were driuen from the Downes and the foreland to repaire thither, where they might lie safelie vntill the wind blew great from by east or south, and then were they driuen to depart thense vnto the Camber at Rie (which then was a notable good rode, though now vtterlie decaied) or into the Isle of Wight. For in a sudden flaw or storme of wind at southeast, there hath bin seuen or eight ships broken all to peces in one daie vpon

The situation of Douer harbour.

A naturall rode for ships at Douer.

The hauen of Rie decaied, whereby more need of a harboure at Douer.

Ships lost for lacke of sufficient harbour at Douer.

The pent at Douer will maintaine a hauen there for euer.

the

The first benefit bestowed on Douer harbour.

the said cliffes. To relieue & amend the same harborough, and somwhat to mitigate the foresaid inconuenience, there was a round tower built by one John Clarke, priest, maister of the maison de Dieu, about the yere one thousand fiue hundred at the south west part of the said baie, which serued somewhat to defend the ships from the rage of the southwest wind, but especiallie to moore the ships which were tied thereunto. For manie great ringles were fastened to the same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be seene, sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that part of the baie was made so pleasant, as euer after that corner hath beene named, and is at this daie called Little paradise. Neuertheless this was thought verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safegard of such a multitude of ships as vsuallie laie for harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes which commonlie repaired thither, it appeareth in the booke of Domesdaie, that Douer armed yearelie at his proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the space of fiftéene daies, with one and twentie able men in ech ship.

Little paradise.

In the reigne of Edward the Confessor.

Now about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, one sir John Thomson clarke parson of the parish of saint James in Douer, being a man ingenious, and séeing the conueniencie and possibilitie of a good hauen to be made in that place, consulted with the chiefe and best mariners of the towne. Among whom it was agréed, that humble suite should be made to the kings maiestie by the state of the towne, for his gratious fauor and aid toward the making of a good hauen there. And it was also by them all thought meet, that the said sir John Thomson should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: whereunto he agreed, and drew a plot, and prepared a supplication in the name and behalfe of the towne, conteining the necessarie causes and reasons, deuises and instructions, for the erection and building therof. But he told them he was poore, and therefore vnable of his owne proper charges to follow the suite. In which respect they collected among themselues, and deliuered vnto him foure pounds ten shillings, which he accepted, and forthwith repaired to the court; where he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present accesse to the king, who heard his suite with great fauor, and debated with him about the contents of his plot, and liked so well of his informations that he willed him to repaire home, & without delaie to returne to his presence accompanied with some of the best mariners or seamen of the towne, and so with commendations dismissed him for that time. When the maister of the towne vnderstood his graces pleasure, they immediatlie assembled themselues, and made choise of Edward Maie, Robert Justice, Richard Cowchie, and John Steward, as the fittest and skilfullest persons to vse conference, and to be imploied in that cause, being all mariners of good experience. These foure and the said sir John Thomson without further staie resorted to the court, with whom when the king had communed, he conceiued of the necessitie of a hauen to be there had, and of the probabilitie and likelihood of good successe in the enterprise to be performed according to their suggestion. And because his maiestie vnderstood the poore estate of the towne, he granted his gratious aid for the supplie of their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of his owne cofers vnto them the summe of fiue hundred pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a beginning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the said sir John Thomson the maistership of the maison de Dieu of Douer, which was a hospitall, valued at one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the custome and duke of the which house was (as the ancient townesmen informe me) to interteine and relieue souldiors, and others which came from beyond the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some relefe there by the space of certeine daies gratis: which though I find not directlie set downe in record, yet dow I know assuredlie the same to haue béene put in execution, wherewith the verie name of the house is agréable, and as it were a credible witnesse. The king at that time also appointed the said sir John to be principall surueior of the works, and vnder him the other foure to be ouerséers of the same.

Sir John Thomson priest his supplication.

Fiue hundred pounds giuen by Henrie the eight towards a beginning of Douer works.

The maison de Dieu of Douer.

Surueiors and ouerséers.

Now am I to giue you to vnderstand, that the drift and deuise of the said sir John Thomson was to erect a huge wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre) from Arcliffe chapell being the southwest part of the baie directlie towards the east into the maine sea, about 131 rods in length: so as by that means the harborough was to be garded from the rage of all weather, comming from the north, northeast, northwest, and southwest, and so the entrance onelie at east southeast, wherinto when the ships were once brought, they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by 530 foot so farre as the foundation thereof (which is called the Polehead) was laid, which foundation consisted of great rocks, brought from a place nére hand, called Yakcliffe, or the castell Raie & Folkstone. This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, and great piles, of fiue or six & twentie foot long, set at each side close togither, which were let downe and put in certeine holes hewed in the great rocks, laid for that purpose: but some of those piles were shod with iron, and driuen into the maine rocke of chalke, with a great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were combined and held togither with iron bolts, and were filled with mightie stones of chalke and with beach and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogither of great rocks of stone, which if they had not béene brought thither by a speciall deuise, must néeds haue béene extreame chargeable, for manie of them were of twentie tun a péece, and few vnder.

Sir John Thomson discouered.

The Polehead.

Douer pierre when it was taken in hand, and whereof it consisteth.

The practise of this cariage is now common, but it was before that time rare & vnknowne in England, and inuented there by a poore simple man named John Young, who first with a nutthell, and after with an egshell, & lastlie with a small vessell, made proue what weight those things could raise & beare in the water; and hauing by that experiment made triall, or at least a probable coniecture, that stones of great weight might be raised and carried in the water by greater vessels: he discouered his experience to such as were officers in the worke, who presentlie put in practise and execution the same deuise, & making prouision of great & strong barrels and pipes of wood, caried them to Folkstone, and at low water fastened thereto with chaines such huge stones as laie on the shore nére the low water marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so as when the flood or full sea came, the said vessels with the stones therto fastned rose vp & swam. And if the stone were of such quantitie as two or three emptie casks could not lift it vp, then did they ad a barrell or two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they drag with small botes the casks and stones thervnto tied, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them, and so the worke wherein consisted the greatest difficultie (in appearance) was with most ease & least charge accomplished. And for this deuise the said John Young had a yearelie stipend giuen vnto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this meanes was the greatest worke done, and with great cost and labour these piles were filled vp.

A notable deuise to carrie great rocks by water.

Foure pence a daie.

The chalke and filling therof being brought from the north pierre, was conueied thither in a great bote called a Gaboth, which had nine kæles. There stands yet of the timberworke of the old pierre eightie foot in length, & ioines vpon that part of the pierre where stood a fort named the blacke bulworke.

Gaboth.

Now that which was done on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent rode or harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am credible informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did forbeare anie trauell which might further the worke. For in person he purposelie repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least; yea his highnesse had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water works, either on this side, or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the worke, the kings coffers seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the worke present, that the prouision for the future maintenance thereof was vtterlie neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Bullongne, his sickenesse at his returne, and finallie his death meeting with the nonage of his son king Edward the first, made an end of all this worke: which being once in the state of decaie, there was no reparations nor further proceeding therein, till the time of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigne (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the workmen and officers were not well paid; and after bad paiment, no paiment, & so all was giuen ouer. Sir Anthonie Aucher was treasurer in these works, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks.

The charge of the pierre.

The kings care for Douer pierre.

The kings repaire to Douer.

The cause of the decaie of the pierre.

Officers about the pierre.

But now I am to declare vnto you the lamentable ruine and decaie of this worke, before the end and finishing whereof there was brought along the coast from by southwest a marueilous quantitie of beach and bowlder stone, wherof there had beene neuer anie seene before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested vpon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the blacke bulworke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoiance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preseruation of the said worke, but it fell out otherwise. For beside that, that an easterlie great wind would remoue and driue it from that coast, and consequentlie from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, vntill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decaieng, especiallie at the blacke bulworke (where the greatest abundance of beach vsuallie rested) it passed through the decaid places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a shelfe of beach from that point of the pier to the east part of the baie, butting to the Castell Rade: so as no entrance thereunto for anie ship remained. And the more that the furthest point of the pierre decaied and wared shorter, the nearer was the shelfe brought vnto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not bin preserued, that shelfe would soone haue beene brought to the verie towne, and so haue choked vp the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of euer hauing a harbor in that place.

Stone called bastr or bowlder choked vp Douer hauen.

The decaie of the pier grew now more and more, partlie (as is said) through want of prouidence and cost to be imploied thereupon, and sufficient prouision to maintaine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the power sort of the townesmen, who dailie purloined timber, iron, and all that was anie thing worth, which they could pull or catch from the decaieng places of the pierre. And now by means of this shelfe) the hauen waxed worse than euer it was, insomuch as oftentimes, a bote that drew but foure foot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime none at all: for the baie was altogither shut vp, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, saue the water that soked through the beach. But the riuer, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the northeast end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their hauens mouth, vntill a contrarie wind did stop it vp againe, and then had they no entrance at all, vntill the riuer had made a new fret, or that they had digged a chanell through the beach, which manie times they were driuen to do.

Sometime no harborough at all at Douer.

The losse of this hauen, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and wonderfull to behold. For of a braue, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poore and desolat village, reteining onlie the name and liberties of the famous port of Douer. Neuertheless, the necessitie and expedience of a good hauen in that place did still remaine, and a conuenient meane also was left for the accomplishment therof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall help and furtherance to a new hauen of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For as you haue heard) Douer cliffes naturallie defend this baie from all tempests comming from northest and northwest; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and southwest winds; and the shelfe of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Raie, had made such a close pent, as if anie ships could be conueied therinto, they might there rest in great safetie.

Douer hauen made desolat.

That beach which destroied the pierre helpeth now the hauen.

The roome within this close baie conteineth almost fortie acres, and the riuer as I haue said) runneth quite through the same immediatlie into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euerie high water, & lieng almost bare at euerie ebbe, the ouze or sleech grew to be foure tæne or fiftæne foot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chalke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceits were exhibited thereabouts, wherof some seemed verie probable; and were the rather heard and commended, for that the worke was so necessarie and beneficiall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the quenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Douer, towards the reparing of their hauen, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barleie and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paieng either custome or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

A bountifull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the reparing of Douer hauen.

For (beside great summes of monie alreadie leuied & imploied vpon the beginning of these works) the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named John Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of three shillings & foure pence for euerie quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight pence for euerie quarter of barleie and malt;

The patent of the queenes gift sold vnto two merchants.

and

Sir John Thomsons deuise discouered.

Surueiors and ouerseers.

The Mole-head.

Douer pierre when it was taken in hand, and whereof it consisteth.

notable deuise to carrie great rocks by water.

Foure pence a daie.

and the licence of bere being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skilfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessell, or craier, whereof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part owners, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or vpwards, loding or discharging within this realme, or passing to or fro anie forren countrie, during the space of seuen yeers then next insuing from fortie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such voiage by the maister or owner of all such vessels, &c: the summe of three pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

The act of parlement for Douer hauen 23 Elisab.

Three pence the tun of euerie vessell allowed towards Douer hauen.

Hereby there grew great summes of monie to be yerelie leuied toward these works, amounting to 1000 pounds yerelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yeres. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and twentith daie of March, in the foure and twentith yeare of hir reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c: sir Thomas Scot, sir James Hales knights, Thomas Wotton, Edward Bois, the maior of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Henrie Palmer, Thomas Digs, Thomas Wilford, and William Partrige esquiers, all which were of the shire, and men of great wisedome and iudgement, and no small trauellers in matters concerning the commonwealth: some of them maruellous expert in affaires and matters of the sea, some in fortifications, some hauing trauelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of forren seaworks & hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissionated and authorised by those presents, to doo, and foresee to be done from time to time, all things needfull and requisit to be imploied about the reparing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice; and to choose officers, & assigne their stipends, and the seuerall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, speedie, and cheape doing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said works most expedient.

The tunnage amounted to 1000 pounds yearelie.

The tenure of the queens commission for Douer hauen.

Now for the performance hereof, manie plots by sundrie persons were deuised, and first of all one John True was commended, or at the least commended himselfe to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert engineor, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall surueior of the works, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolutelie promised the speedie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie nere to the shelfe of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulwarke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to be made of excellent stone at Folkstone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose alredie perfectlie hewed of the same stone seuen thousand foot, and six thousand foot more was scapled; he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred foure score and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurors for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that hitherto hath come to anie profitable vse. But this wall if it had beene, or rather could haue beene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds, and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

John True surueior generall of Douer hauen.

The deuise of John True.

Stone hewed at Folkstone amounting to 1288 pounds.

Infinit charge to haue compleated the stone wall.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, whereof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allowed vnto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and finall purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a good hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certeine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters with his negligence, delaies, and vntowardlinesse of his works, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties councell, he was dismissed.

True had ten shillings a daie for his fee.

John True is dismissed.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had beene conuersant & acquainted with water works in the low countries, & had dealt much about Woolwich and Erith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these works; affirming, that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should sone be a good harborough; refusing not to haue taken the worke to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the councell. But this Ferdinando Poins, though he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be preuented by some other that would vndertake to doo it by his deuises, better cheape than himselfe could afford it, and so he to loose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Howbeit, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Woolwich works did so sticke in his fingers, as monie was verie palpable and plausible vnto him.

Ferdinando Poins.

In fine, he vndertooke to make certeine groins or knocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie at a low water, whereby the works about the wals might the better and more conuenientlie be performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded, that there should be made a perfect pent within the baie, conteining in quantitie about sixteene acres, which should be inuironed with a long wall, reaching from aboue the water gate nere to the Castell Raie, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods along within the shelfe of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulwarke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about fortie rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the shore at the northerne cliffe, not far from the towns end. And this should make a perfect pent to conteine and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the sluse standing in the crosse wall should be opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the rode, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

Poins his groine.

The pent is 16 acres.

The length of the long wall.

The crosse wall.

The rode for ships.

In this worke there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continuallie sur-

rounded, and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoiance, the crosse wall also must crosse the riuer, the course whereof could not be diuerted anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whie this harborough was continuallie surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conueie thense into the sea (more spædilie and abundantlie) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the hauen. To the execution hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Douer hauen, to Thomas Smith of Ostinhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customes inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southhampton, and Ipswich, with their creeks and members, and the creke of Woodbridge, being a member of the port of Yarmouth, who is neuertheless called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yeeld account thereof, as other customers vsuallie dow, hauing for his fee one hundred and three score pounds yearelie. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of free transportation of corns and beere, the which summes as need required, were by him to be deliuered to the treasuror for Douer harborough vpon the councels direction, and a warrant of six of the said commissioners hands.

Stone hewed at Folkestone, amounting to 1288 pounds.

Infinit charge to accomplish the stone wall.

One thousand pounds to Ferdinando Poins.

Customer Smith.

There might be much written in the renowme and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallie knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred; yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall fauorer and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie paiment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwards the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had 200 more, as it appeareth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriouslie, and performed some thing profitablie for the drayning of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue bene performed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had done, I would more willinglie haue published his praises. By the premisses it maie appeare, that the life of the hauen consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as wals must be erected. But now the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be wrought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a riuer, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and reteine a mightie weight of fresh at the other, so as no water might soke through or vnder the same.

True had ten shillings a day for his fee.

John True is dismissed.

Ferdinando Poins.

Poins his groine.

The pent 16 acres.

The length of the long wall.

The crosse wall.

Barres of wales.

Maister True (as you haue heard) would haue made stone wals verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ouze and beach shoueled and cast together without anie more adoo. An other would haue made a coffin dam, whereof the cost would haue bene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certeine other coparteners, thought a woodden wall most conuenient; and presented to the commissioners a module thereof, deuised and framed (for the most part) by one Andrew a carpentar, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Burroughs, a verie expert seaman, greatlie liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reiected as impossible and intolerable. Maister Poins his workemanship was easie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and performe: but verie few could be persuaded that his wall would be tight inough to make a pent, consisting onlie of slub and beach shoueled together, and lieng so howeer: for that was his deuise. Neuertheless, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Douer by the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, with maister William Burroughs and others, to suruew and confer about that hauen with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the inning of Woolwich & Erith marshes, being also willing to dow him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platforme, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well performed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest preferrer of that bill in the parlement house, and yeelded the best reasons for a hauen to be there placed.

Sir W. Winter sent to Douer to suruew the harbor, &c.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namelie, of one Thomas Brewer gentleman, John Stoneham carpentar, Bedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delaies, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and vaine attempts, and contrarie proceedings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romneie marsh matters (the greatest businesse whereof consisteth in making and reparing of wals to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and dailie seeing the nature and effects therof, weieng also in his mind, that Romneie marsh wals are of greater bulke and force than these need to be, for that they lie more open to the maine sea, and without comparison more subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh wals are placed not farre from thense vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not worse (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a dozzen or twentie foot, and not find or feele the bottome) and after he had compared these workes together, perceiuing no impediment whie one rule should not direct two workes of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romneie marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterward readilie attended on him to Douer, there to approue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to vndertake and performe what soeuer he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The residue of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scot reasons, ioined and confirmed with experience not far fetcht, but ratified by neere neighbours, being persons of good account, which were expert from their childhood in the practise of those kind of workes) inclined greatlie vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not seeke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the woodden worke, could not well conceiue hereof, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them more fit to preferre their owne worke, than to make some offer to dow it by great, which the lords of the coun-

Sir Thomas Scot.

The wals of Romneie marsh subiect to the raging seas.

All the commissioners ioine with sir Thomas Scot, and allow his deuise.

cell greatlie desired, as whereby they might vnderstand the vttermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the wodden wall grew to be so large (for fiue thousand and fiue hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall onelie) that it was much misliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibilitie that the same should be set fast and vnmoueable wher the slub or sleech is fifténe foot déepe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatlie vnderneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the flood, that through the vnstedinesse thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and slub was thought to be so different from the condition of wodden words and planks, whereof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or wether that could impech the stedie standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme coniunction betwixt them, but that the verie weight of the wall it selfe must néeds cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would draine betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the slub or sleech, which could minister no certeine staie thereunto, nor likelihood that the same should so vnite with the wood, as to stand stedie, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staid the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or stedie. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decaie, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repared (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intollerable. Fiftlie, the delaie of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixtlie, they being demanded whether they had euer séene (either on this side or beyond the seas) anie such wall or worke; they answered, No: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would aduenture to vndertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seuenthlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Kent and Sussex (without vnrecouerable hurt in depriuation of their timber) was not able to yeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a prouision could haue béene by no meanes procured, without the vndoing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force inough to ouerthrow a wodden wall. The deuise neuertheless deserued commendation.

Seuen inuincible reasons against the wodden wall.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the councell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surueior of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to vndertake this wodden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conceiue good liking thereof. But the lord treasuror, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the swaie, allowed rather of the marsh works; saieng that if he erred therein, as not séeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the reasons of the commissioners; who had séene and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

The lord treasurors resolution.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in déede the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue béene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executioner in Woolwich breaches, being workes defensatiue against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue béene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marsh land, lieng seuen miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Erith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie, to the vndoing of manie, but especiallie of sir Edward Boulton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good engineer; partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie, for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would vtter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was finallie reiected; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was commended to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir highnesse; to whome was happilie referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works; wherein he dealt from time to time, with as great care, trauell, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoeuer was thought necessarie to be done thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without good conference and probabilitie would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Woolwich and Erith breaches.

Secretarie Walsingham the chiefe referer and furtherer of Poins deuise.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, requiring him to send vp some sufficient person, acquainted & exercised in Romnete marsh works, to satisfie the lords of the councell in all such doubts as should be obiected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the shipwrights maner of worke, than either of the Romneie marsh works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, & his owne good liking of the earthen wals; onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would throughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marshmen, to answer certeine obiections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the shore, the higth and tightnes of the same, the conueniencie of the foundation, the maner of stuffe, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the vndertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent vp, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfied thereby. Concerning the doing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scots aduise was, that (séeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daieworkers and good ouersées, than by great; wherein no man would aduenture, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certeintie of great gaines. Neuertheless, if it were so set downe by the lords of the priuie councell, that it should be done no other waie but by great; he himselfe would vndertake it better cheape than anie other had profered to do it by fiue hundred marks, and to that effect would

Maister Secretaries letter to sir Thomas Scot.

Do dealing by great, in matters of charge and danger.

would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had bene deputed a surueior of Romneie marsh by the space of foure yeares togither; and Reinold Smith, who had bene clearke of Romneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about these wals by the space of thirtie yeares. These two repairing first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer hauen, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and nerest hand be had, with pasture for horsses which should be imploied for carriage thereof, proceeded to the court at Richmont, where they attended on maister secretarie Walsingham on the mondaie and tuesdaie before Easter daie 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from sir Thomas Scot, conteining necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the erection of these walles, imitating as nere as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Romneie marsh works: wherein he remembred or rather required a yeerelie assemblie of commissioners at Douer in Easter weeke, as is by the lords of Romneie marsh at Whitsuntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of ech officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stuffe should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, faggots, nedels, keies, bettels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall sums of all officers fees, of all stuffe and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the cariages: which estimat was little or nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, sauing that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yeere, beyond promise or expectation.

Sir Thomas Scots notes.

Douer pent finished in three monthes.

Maister secretarie Walsingham (hauing perused these notes, & seene the maner of the works & rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbeit, he strictlie examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and especiallie, how so manie courts could be prounded without commission, or griefe to the countrie, euerie court hauing a horsse and a driuer, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but especiallie victels extreame dere. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot & Reinold Smith, he thought good neuertheless to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with sir William Winter, the said Ferdinando Poins, & the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Wolwich and Erith breaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made anie wals, whereby water hath bene pent to anie highth, and vpon what foundation or soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could remedie such wals if they leaked, or could worke in water: and finallie, what they would aske for a rod doing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Reinold Scot and Rafe Smith examined by maister secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins and the Plumsted men.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortable to euerie question, they seemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoeuer was required, sauing assurance. But they knew not the order of Romneie marsh works, neither could they possiblie haue accomplished this: for they were oneie good dikers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent hereunto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his pioners of Plumsted shewed themselues in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of: the worke by themselues was anie thing at all doubted of, thought it not amis to aduertise the residue of the lords of the councell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by anie thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuertheless, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a finall conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewhat at the least imploied in those businesses. And therefore maister secretarie sent down to sir Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, vpon conference with the marshmen of Romneie, touching the proceeding in the plot of Douer hauen, and had both well considered & allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesdaie after Easter weeke, maister Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to meet and confer further with him about the going forwards with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agreed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

Sir Thomas Scots deuise allowed by the lords o the councell.

On the ninth daie of Aprill next insuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordinglie, where all the commissioners for that harborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lords of the councell to set downe a finall resolution; after long debating of matters, agreed that Romneie marshmen should vndertake the worke; and for the better and more speedie proceeding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasuror, which was sir James Hales knight, to haue for euerie fiftie pounds receiued and disbursed, six shillings eight pence, and for his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. John Smith the expenditor twentie pounds yearelie, his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. The common clearke twentie marks, and each sworne man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Mudge his deputie.

The resolution at a conference at Douer.

Officers elected at Douer.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueiors, the expenditor, and clearke, should take present order for the inlarging of the waies for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, bettels, nedels, keies, piles, baun, and carriages for them, before Whitsuntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by purueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to doo otherwise than they could well ouercome. Hauing now discouered the first & second estate of Douer harborough, euerie mans deuise for the amending, or rather erecting of a new hauen in that place, with declaration of hir maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the manner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterprise.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a hauen could be there erected, there must be made a pent, to conteine abundance of water issuing

ing from the land, which being let out at a sluse, should open & maintaine the hauens mouth; the violence whereof should scowre it so, as neither beach, sand, nor slub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the channell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath beene before said. The discouerie therefore of these workes will not be vnprofitable to posteritie, nor vnnecessarie for the time present. Herein I will omit all contentions & factions concerning these proceedings, as also all iniurious practises against those works, whense soeuer they sprang: but I would gladlie giue to euerie one his due commendation, which cannot be done; because therein I should grow too long. I thought meet also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellentlie disputed betwixt persons of good acount.

The rare mediting of the pent.

The question was, whether were most conuenient a more readie and speedie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in anie harbeurough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in these cases should be excluded: or a deeper hauens mouth in an other place more conuenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easterlie, and therefore not so good to enter into at a southwest wind, which distresseth men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbeare to repeate the arguments of ech side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and ouerruled) in such sort as I doo the works of the pent, the description whereof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to doo either in hauens or great water breaches. For both Plumsted & Erith marshes, or anie like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recouered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserued commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, sith the better sort imploied their trauell with great charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poorer people their labor at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingnes of mind, as the like hath not beene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed anie man vnacquainted with Romeneie marsh works, from whense the patterne hereof was fetcht, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Douer. These works were digested and ordered by them, euen as a battell is marshalled by officers of the feeld. And trulie it was expedient that good direction should be vsed on this behalfe, for there were to be imploied fiue or six hundred courts about a wall of small bredth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the works an incredible hinderance.

Woolwich breach recouerable.

Euerie degree willing to set forward this worke.

Six hundred courts imploied at once in these works.

The nature and names of the offices and officers hereunto perteining you haue alreadie heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these works were so great, and required such expedition, as the expenditor was ouercharged with busines, though an expert man trained vp in Romneie marsh in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and euerie waie sufficient: vnto whose office naturallie belonged the purueiance of all necessaries, anie waie apperteining to the maintenance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe purueior) a gentleman of good sufficiencie named John Reies, by whose countenance and discreet dealing men were brought to yeeld willinglie anie of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their iust values, which was duelie answered vnto them, so as no man was seene to complaine of anie iniurie or hard dealing. But when the works, or rather the workers grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workemen, who proffered their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures neere the towne being imploied that waie, manie men were content to make their owne prouision, conditionallie to be admitted into the works, insomuch as some hired pasture for their working horsses seuen or eight miles from Douer, and neuertheless came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinarie causes in preuenting inconueniences of great and fowle tides caused them to worke longer. Diuerse brought thither courts from beides Maidstone and Seuenocke, being thirtie or fortie miles from Douer; and in the end the officers were driuen to put backe and refuse such as made suite to bring courts into the works: and yet had they for their horsse, their court, and their driuer but onelie twelue pence a daie. Which because it seemeth incredible, I thought good to discouer and vnfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolued and satisfied in the certeintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

John Reies gentleman chiefe purueior.

A horsse, a court, and a driuer for twelue pence the daie.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done, must be considered, which was intended, and by proclamations in certeine market townes notified to haue had beginning the thirteenth of Maie (when in those parts barleie season is ended) and from that time till haruest or haieng time little is to be done in husbandrie; and allowne as haruest should begin, their purpose was to leaue this worke vntill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till haruest, the seruants, & speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anie waie gainefull vnto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double aduantage. Neuertheless, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to looke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he see that it was requisit to haue two courts: for one boie might driue them both, because whilest the one was driuen, the other was filled, & the same being vnloden or discharged, he went for the other, leauing that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to euerie man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his driuer, his two horsses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to seuentene shillings the weeke. He paied out of the same for the bord of his filler and driuer six shillings weekelie, and so had the owner of cleere weekelie gaine for his two seruants and two horsses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horsses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were specialie imploied about the cariage of fleech, a more weightie mould than either the chalke or the earth. A single court contemed in length fiue foot, in bredth two foot, and in depth sixtene inches: whereunto the expenditor

The quantitie of one court of cumbrell.

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looked verie narrowlie, as also to the sufficiencie and diligence of euerie workeman and horse, so as vpon euerie default their wages was totted and defalked, or the offendors excluded from the works, or some times punished with stocks and other imprisonment.

The first entrie into the works.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Maie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and three, in the fiue and twentith yeare of his maiesties reigne, with six courts onelie at the crosse wall; & such was the towardlines thereof, as yelded so great a brute & promise of good successe, that from that daie forward there were continuallie cariages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 27 of June, there were assembled in those works 542 courts, and almost 1000 workemen. And truelie, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, or be impediment to others worke) as without the paterne of former experience the worke could hardlie haue bene performed.

Romneie marshmen chefe directors in the works.

Herein Richard Coast and William Norris iurats, and the aforenamed Reginald Smith clearke of Romneie marsh were chefe directors, and as it were marshals, as hauing dailie experience in the like works. For in Romneie marsh there are euerie yeare commonlie imploied at one time about making or mending of some one wall 200 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two oxen, for whome the owners hire feeding in the marsh, as they can agree with the landholders, and yet haue had hitherto for their court and dinner but ten pence the daie. And this togither with their manner of working would be wonderfull, famous, and much spoken of throughout England, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangenesse and admiration of it. For here (though at Douer it could not be so, because they wrought altogither with horsbeasts) the nights feeding preuaileth so much ouer the daies working, that bullocks brought to those works leane and out of flesh, are returned from the works most commonlie in verie good plight.

A horsse, a court, and a dinner for twelue pence the daie.

A benefit to man & beast.

The stuffe or substance of the wals.

The stuffe carried by these courts for the erection of the walles at Douer, was earth, being of a haselie mould, chalke and sleech, whereunto the carriages were seuerallie imploid, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalke, which mingled and beaten togither with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for sleech, which serued for the out sides onlie.

The disposing of the works.

For the same being beaten with beetles to the sides of the wall, would by and by cleaue so fast and close thereunto, as thereby the wals were strengthened; and therevpon also the arming might be set much more firmelie than vpon anie other mould. This also preserued the walk from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

Henrie Guilford esquier, capteine of Arcliffe castell.

There was prouided nere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henrie Guilford esquier, being one that toke especiall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capiteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the prouision of earth for the walles: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score tailors yards, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recouer to be as good as euer it was. At an other place also called Horsepoole sole, lieng behind S. James his church, was more earth prouided, which was altogither imploied vpon the long wall, as being nearer thereunto. Hereof euerie court brought commonlie to the walles in one daie about twelue lodes. The chalke was had from diuerse places of the cliffes, somwhat nearer to the wals than the earth, and these brought about seauentéene or eightéene lode a daie. The sleech was for the most part had at the west part of the hauen in a place called Paradise. And to these seuerall sorts of stuffe were seuerall cariages appointed and disposed, as might most conuenientlie serue the turne, and as occasion serued; for sometimes more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imploied. Sometimes also the sleech was had close at the side of the wals, and therefore fewer cariages imploied that waie.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the daie limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, & therby a pent to keepe the water in or out of a peece of the hauen called Little paradise, which place conteineth about three acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the ouze & sleech was twentie foot deepe at the least. Herin also was laid first a pinstocke, and afterwards a sluse of great charge, the streame whereof meeting with the course of the great sluse increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the hauens mouth.

The beginning of the great works at Douer.

On the thirteenth daie of Maie, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, when the courts, which (by proclamations made one moneth before in diuerse market towns) were to come to begin the works, there were more of them prepared and readie furnished for the purpose than were expected. Howbeit, the same was brought to passe by the meanes of sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both their owne and their neighbors cariages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and giue incouragement to the execution of these works. But Romneie marshmen, and such as knew those works, were they indeed which onlie gaue light to others of the true & right maner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; & they in effect supplied those works, vntill the countrie did see which waie to saue themselues, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude alreadie assembled, that (to auoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working togither at the beginning, and to doo the better and greater seruice afterwards) the whole course was altered by sir Thomas Scot, by whome it was thought most meet to enter into the execution of both walles (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) togither, & to diuide the courts into two parts: with whome the said Richard Barrie esquier lieutenant of Douer castell willinglie ioined, vndertaking the charge or ouersight of the long wall, as sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that meanes all the workmen & courts did with much more conueniencie and speed accomplish their worke.

Reasons for the difficultie of the crosse wall.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth nearer to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that meanes this worke more violentlie impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanell (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirdlie, the ouze and sleech was deeper vnder the crosse wall than vnder the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made deeper or higher, and broder or wider than the long wall. Fiftlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approching sooner, by rising higher,

ter, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Sixtlie, the weight of the pent water was to lie altogither vpon this wall, and consequentlie the water would search thereinto more dangerouslie. Seuenthlie, in this wall there was a sluse to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue indangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie vndertaken, & of more importance. For vnder fiftéene thousand pounds none euer made offer to dw it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a péece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be performed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall? Trulie, had not the other commissioners bæne comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with good comfort and confidence entred vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: insomuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie, they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long Kentish miles from Douer, yet did he seldome faile to come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that daie vntill saturdaie in the euening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behoued him so to dw, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was vndertaken, and all other deuises reiected. He laie in one John Spritwels house, who kept an inne in Douer, called the Greihound, and there did he and his followers and seruants, togither with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a dére hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as nére to the towne; yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from fiue of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse & extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to sée them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defraied. Besides that, they did (not seldome times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poore workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions were driuen to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times wrought in danger of life, & ofttimes in the waters vp to the waist or shoulders. And among the rest (to whome I could rather wish a liberall recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poore man named John Bowle, borne and brought vp in Romneie marsh, whose dexteritie of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult workes, and whose willing mind and painfulnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incouraging of others, ought in some calling to haue bæne honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten. As touching the residue of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost dailie visit the workes, with as great care for the good procéedings thereof as was possible.

This worke vndertaken and other reiected by sir Thomas Scots means.

Bowle a notable good workman.

Commissioners.

Sir James Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the good allowance of the lords of the councell, treasurer for the workes (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie discharge the office and dutie thereof with commendation and iust account, which amounted almost to fiue thousand pounds: but beside his often repaire at other times during the works, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sickenesse taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bountifull table, and vsed great diligence, in continuall ouersight and furtherance of the works, whereof Thomas Digs esquier was generall surueior commended thervnto by the lords of the councell, who although he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the works, and seriouslie bent himselfe to set forward the same there, being also a carefull sollicitor in that behalfe. Certeine of the iurats & chiefe magistrats of the towne, were by two at once dailie assigned to be directors and setters forth of the carriages, and to sée the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being eight pence the daie, and did neuertheless verie diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were John Watson, John Garret, William Willis, Thomas Brodgat, &c.

Treasuror.

Two iurats called directors.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight seuerall stations, or places of most danger, to guide and helpe the driuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them forward: for the default of one did make staie of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the daie. There attended also at the wals eight men called vntingers, to lose and vndo the tackle of euerie court immediatlie before the vnloding or shelving thereof, and were allowed eight pence the daie. Then were there eight shelvers, which pulled downe the courts as soone as they came to the place where it was needfull to vnlode, and these were chosen of the strongest and nimblest men, hauing ten pence the daie. There were also eight tingers, whose speciall office was to lift vp the courts immediatlie after they were vnloden, and to make fast their tackle; for the driuers hasted forth without making anie staie, otherwise all the companie must haue tarried for them; these had eight pence the daie. The number of the labourers which were to shouell abrode and laie euen the earth, chalke, and flæch, as soone as it was vnloden was vncerteine, they had six pence and eight pence the daie. A great manie marshmen were assigned to laie the flæch vpon the sides of the wals, and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence the daie. The number of bætlemen also were vncerteine, who serued to beat or driue the flæch to the sides of the wals, and to breake the great stones of chalke laid on the wals; as also to leuell the earth, and to worke it close together, hauing for their wages eight pence the daie. Manie marshmen also were appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they were flæched, & had twelue pence, and some sixtéene pence the daie.

Eight guiders

Eight vntingers.

Eight sheluers.

Eight tingers.

Labourers.

Scauelmen.

Bætlemen.

Armors.

The order of arming.

The order of arming was in this maner. First beginning at the foot of the wall, they laid downe a row of fagot, through euerie one of the which they driue a néedle or stake about foure foot long, hauing an eie or hole at the great end. Then dw they edder it with thorne and other prouision for that purpose, and lastlie driue a keie or wodden wedge (being one foot and a halfe long) through the eie of the néedle to kéepe downe the edder, which staith downe the fagot. Also there was an inferiour purueior for fagot, thorne, néedles, keies, &c: who for his horse & himselfe was allowed for euerie daie he trauelled two shillings. The clerke of the works, who kept all the reckonings of the expenditor (through whose hands all the monie passed) he at fiue a clocke in the morning, togither with the expenditor, called euerie one that wrought

Inferiour purueiors.

Clerke. Expenditor.

that

that daie, and saw euerie court furnished, and recorded all this in his booke, and such as were absent, had no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wages was totted at the expenditors good discretion.

The groine keeper.

There was one Iuline appointed to attend vpon Poins his groins, he was a Dutchman, and more expert in these kind of water workes than Poins himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Poins his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit) whilest these workes were in hand, and better husbandrie was vsed, he had but foure grotes a daie. And thus much touching the offices and officers duties.

The manner of [illegible] hir

Euerie court was most commonlie filled ouer night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they all approched orderlie to the place where the wall should be made. The first driuer for good consideration was chosen to be a sufficient and a diligent person, and that court to haue a good gelding: for as he lead the danse, so must they all follow. When the first court came nigh to the place where he should vnlode, one vntinged it, and the driuer proceeded with his court, either into the ouze or water, or as neere thereunto as they could; and bringing his horse about in his returne, when the taile of the court was turned to the water side, the shelues plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanell as he could. The driuer neuer staied, but went forth for a new lode: the tinger runneth after and pulleth vp the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth presentlie with speed to dow likewise to another; and so doth the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being about two hundred) were vnloden, the labourers with their shouels and beetels plied to make euen the wall against another course came.

Two tinrats called directors.

Eight guiders

Eight sheluers.

Eight tingers.

labourers.

Scauelmen.

Beetlemen.

Sometimes they wrought a whole daie or two, and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and chalke, and no increase seene at night of the worke, either in higth or length; in so much as manie supposed that the earth was rather washed awaie than sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was carried awaie with the flood in a rough tide; for all the water in the hauen was manie times discoloured therewith; especiallie, vntill sir Thomas Scot tooke order, that before euerie flood, not onelie each side of the wall, but the end also should be armed with fagot; & in the morning or after noone (when returne was made to the works) the end where they were to proceed, should be vnarmed againe: which needed not be done to the sides, for they carried the whole breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the weight of the wall, with the continuall passage thereupon, made the whole worke to sinke to the verie rocke; being from the top of the chanell sixteene foot, and from the face of the water at the flood, almost as much more. But in the end, it was a wonder to see how the multitude of carriages (being well plied) preuailed, euen ouer the flood: which though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the verie brinke or vpermost lane of the wall, a new course of courts came from time to time and supplied the want; which if it should haue staied a minute longer, would haue turned to great losse: for they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

How the wall was saued from being wasted.

More.

The order of arming.

Inferior purueiors.

Clerke. Expenditor.

In this maner they proceeded, vntill there was made of the crosse wall about fiue and twentie rods, which they wrought alwaies (as they went) aboue the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer haue beene performed) and so they passed through the chanell or riuer, and caried the wall beyond the same three or foure rods, so as the backe water or chanell had no issue to passe downe into the sea; but as it rose aboue the flats, and ran awaie before the end of the wall; whense they continuallie droue it further and further by lengthening the same. Howbeit, by this meanes they wrought alwaies in the water, which was verie discommodious. This riuer therefore manie men would haue had turned some other waie; otherwise it was thought, that this wall could not haue beene made, the turning whereof would haue beene diuerse waies inconuenient. First, for the extreame charge; secondlie, the hauens mouth would (for want hereof) haue soone beene swarued vp; thirdlie, Poins his worke, which cost one thousand & two hundred pounds, should haue bin hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the hauen (all that time) and all passage vnto Douer had beene vtterlie taken awaie, to the great hinderance and vndoing of the townsmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who imploied his head and mind to seeke all aduantages for the setting forward of this worke, and had conceiued a perfect plot for the finishing of the same, caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small sluse to be laid in the verie place where the chanell did first run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue naturall passage to the riuer, and to maintaine the hauens mouth: but as a bridge also for the courts to passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall; which now by this meanes remained drie and free from water vntill the flood, to the great aduantage and commoditie of the worke.

The inconuenience which would haue followed the diuerting of the riuer another waie.

A sluse made of diuerse good purposes.

This sluse was composed with two arches, in length sixtie foot (besides the splaies) at each end, in breadth eight foot, and in depth also eight foot, and the charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred marks. In truth, the laieng of this sluse was a verie dangerous and difficult peece of worke, and the executioners thereof worthie of commendation, for with great courage to dow their countrie seruice they aduentured their liues in more perill than I can well expresse. Manie were astonied to behold the dangerous case of the workemen, and diuerse departed from the place as being loth to see the poore mens destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and the Romneie marshmen dealt with great dexterisie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it ouer, persisting in continuall and extreame trauell thereabouts, by the space of two daies and one night without intermission.

A difficult and dangerous worke.

After the cut was digged through the wall, the sluse was laid by peecemeale, at the direction of him and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Norris, and John Bowle, whose hands were as busie also as anie others in the dooing thereof. And as they were trauelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench thereunto, and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon, made a clift or crase therein, consisting of manie hundred lodes of earth, which declined towards the cut where they wrought to laie the sluse, and was redie to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to sustaine the side therof with shores which they supported chéefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not done with great art & labour, by the space of diuerse hours together, the wall had fallen into the place where the sluse should haue beene laid, to the destruction of sundrie people, and to the discomfort of manie belonging to the works. But these marshmen neuer gaue ouer, till euerie sticke thereof was laid, at what time ech man reioised that meant well to the works, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the workemen, and praise was giuen to God for his fauour shewed in that behalfe.

This worke being thus performed, the courts (which during that time were altogither set to worke at maister lieutenants wall) did now diuide themselues againe, and returne to worke as before at sir Thomas Scots wall, and at euerie side wrought with

Gods blessing and fauour shewen to the works of Douer.

with singular diligence & great facilitie. And God so fauored those works, as there were not lost in all that summer by meanes of foule wether aboue three daies and a halfe, wherein either courts or labourers were put from their worke, and in all those businesse not one person slaine, and yet almost in euerie action belonging thereunto there was imminent danger, as first you heard in the taleng of the sluse. And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in the cliffe and vndermined it, so as sometimes an hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their feet, and sometimes from aboue their heads; and yet through Gods goodnes, & their diligent care, all escaped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom great chalke rocks and much abundance of earth did fall, and yet were recouered without losse of life or of lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe amongest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I my selfe haue seene a court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie or stomach of the driuer, and yet he not hurt at all therby.

Dangers happilie escaped.

Manie courts also being vnloden (for expedition) were driuen at low waters through the chanell, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horsses with their courts and driuers which rode in them were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some tooke pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselues naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and eares: but they knew their horsses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which ministred to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, was verie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through England than in manie yeares before, and that towne verie much subiect thereunto, by means of throughfare and common passage, and had bene extremelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men; yea of some of the inhabitants themselues for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection either of townsmen or workmen, which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

Boies plaie.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was a flag vsuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower, except the tide or extraordinarie businesse forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delaie & staie therof. And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workers: and whersoeuer anie court was at that instant either emptie or loden, there was it left, till one of the clocke after noone or six of the clocke in the morning, when they returned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered into a song, whereof although the ditie was barbarous, and the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, & all but a iest: yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe note of remembrance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their ditie, the words whereof were these:

The flag of libertie.

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, t'is eleuen * a clocke, * Or six.
and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,
my foot is sore, I can worke no more.

This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workemen, or diligence of officers, nor prouided for with more carefulnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contriued with more circumspection of the deuisers and vndertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort: sauing that vpon the seuen & twentith of Julie, being S. James his daie, the verie daie when the crosse wall and the long wall met, and were ioined together, and in effect finished (for both wals were brought aboue the high water marke, and nothing remained to be done of the same but highthening, which might be done at anie time after) sir Thomas Scot the principall pikler of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was conueied thense in a wagon to his house, where he remained six weeks, more likelie to die than to liue, whose ladie and wife (being a most vertuous and noble matrone, & a liuelie paterne of womanhood and sobrietie, the daughter of sir John Baker knight, and the mother of seuentéene children) vsed such diligent attendance and continuall care for hir husbands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought hir selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great with two children, she fell sicke; and after hir vntimelie trauell, being deliuered of a sonne and a daughter, she ended hir mortall life.

A commendation of them which wrought or had anie charge about Douer works.

Sir Thomas Scot fell sicke in Douer works.

The death of the ladie Scot.

This sicknesse of sir Thomas Scot, and that which fell out thereupon, was no small discomfiture to him and all his. And the workmen at Douer made such mone for his sicknesse, and also for his absence, that euerie street was replenished with sorrow and greefe; and the people would be comforted with nothing more, nor anie waie be better incouraged to worke lustilie, than to be told that sir Thomas Scot was well recouered, and would shortlie be amongst them againe. And in truth, they translated their barbarous musicke into a sorrowfull song, and in steed of calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to God for the good health and returne of their best frend sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall and continuall outcrie, euen in their old accustomed tune & time. But the courts proceeded in highthening the wals, vntill they were raised about two foot higher than they were on S. James his daie, when the wals met togither; so as the crosse wall is ninetie foot broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foot in the top. The long wall is seuentie foot in the bottome, and almost fortie foot in the top, in so much as vpon either wall two courts may meet and passe, or turne without troubling eche other. The length of the crosse

The bredth, depth, length, and charge of the long and crosse wall, with the arming, &c.

crosse wall is foztie rods, the length of the long wall a hundzed and twentie rods. The charge of these two wals, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thousand and seauen hundzed pounds, as appeareth in the expenditors books. If there were anie issue oz draining of water vnder the wals, it was soone stopped by the peise of the wall it selfe, which neuer left sinking till it came to the foundation of the rocke, except by some ouersight of the workemen some part thereof were set vpon the beach, which should by order haue bene first removed, & in that case they benched it, digging a trench at the foot of that part of the wall, and filling the same with earth, they made it verie tight, and so might anie such place be perfected and amended if need should require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water vnder oz through anie part of the wall that anie man maie perceiue oz see: so as a full pent shrinketh not anie whit at all betwixt tide and tide, whereas the allowance of one foot leakage oz fall at the least was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the woodden wall, which being measured from the top oz face of the high pent diminisheth almost one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the first of Maie and midst of August, this pent, which was thought vnpossible to be done in three yeares, was perfectlie finished in lesse than three months, and remaineth in so good and sure state, as the longer it standeth, the better and tighter it will be.

A necessarie remedie if water draine vnder the wall

Expedition necessarie and profitable.

The state of the wals.

If neuer anie thing should be added herevnto, this pent (by reason of the abundance of water reteined therein, and issuing out of the sluse) would mainteine a good hauen in that place; for the violent course therof will alwaies open the hauens mouth, and make a fret there, euen downe to the rocke, although it be distant from the same three score rods; in somuch as at this instant there maie come in at quarter floud a barke of foztie oz fiftie tun, and at full sea a ship of three hundzed tun and vpwards. But when the two iuttie heads are once finished (which are now in hand) so as the hauens mouth be perfected, anie ship whatsoeuer maie enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good safetie.

A sure triall latelie made of the good effect of the pent.

But as at manie other times heretofore there hath bene sure triall had of the good effects of this pent, so now in this last moneth of October one thousand fiue hundzed foure score and six, one gate of the sluse being by mischance broken, so as by the space of foure daies there could be no water reteined within the pent, to scowze the mouth of the hauen, the same was so choked and swarued vp with sand and beach in that space, as no bote could enter in, oz passe out of the same: insomuch as Edward Wootton esquire, being then at Douer to passe thense in an ambassage from hir maiestie to the French king, was forced to send to Sandwich for a crater, to transport him to Calis, because no bote of Douer lieng within the rode could passe out at the hauens mouth. But assoone as the said gate of the sluse was repared, euen the next tide following, a vessell of three hundzed tun might and did easilie passe in and out thereat, one pent of water had so scowzed and depthened the same. Whereby it maie appeare, that neither the cost bestowed, nor the worke performed, hath bene vnprofitablie imploied, oz vnnecessarilie vndertaken.

A gate of the sluse broken.

Edward Wootton esquire ambassador into France.

The effect of the pent.

Now you shall vnderstand, that the small sluse which was first made and laied in the crosse wall in such sort, and for such purpose as hath bene declared, was taken vp after the said walles were finished, and a sluse of far greater charge was made by the aforesaid Peter Pet, who vndertooke to do it by great, and had for the same foure hundzed pounds, the laieng whereof did cost two hundzed pounds more at the least. This sluse conteineth in length foure score foot, in bredth sixteene foot, in depth thirteene, and hath in it two draw gates. It was one whole moneth in laieng, all which time the said lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a most honorable and costlie table, furthering those works not onelie with his continuall presence and countenance, but also with his good direction, and that not at starts, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, vntill the full accomplishing thereof.

Of the sluse.

The lord Cobham remaineth at Douer one whole moneth.

And in the meane time sir Francis Walsingham hir maiesties principall secretarie was not vncarefull of this action, as being the man without whome nothing was done, directing the course, and alwaie looking into the state thereof, and gaue continuall life thervnto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when anie want approched, he neuer failed to see oz rather to send a sure supplie. Since the finishing of these wals and sluses, there hath bene much worke and charge imploied about one of the iuttie heads, and beautifieng of the harborough, wherin one George Carie of Deuonshire esquire, and one John Hill an auditor, haue bene the principall directors. But because that worke remaineth as yet vnperformed, the report thereof shall also remaine to be made by others that shall hereafter haue occasion to write of such affairs.

Sir Francis Walsingham principall friend to these works.

Of the late works.

¶ At the assises kept at the citie of Excester, the fourteenth daie of March, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, before sir Edmund Anderson knight lord chiefe iustice of the common pleas, and sargeant Fizedale one of the barons of the exchecker, iustices of the assises in the countie of Deuon and Cron, there happened a verie sudden and a strange sickenesse; first amongst the prisoners of the gaole of the castell of Cron, & then dispersed (vpon their triall amongst sundrie other persons: which was not much vnlike to the sickenesse that of late yeares happened at an assise holden at Oxford, before sir Robert Bell knight, lord chiefe baron of the exchecker, and iustice then of that assise; and of which sickenesse he amongst others died. This sickenesse was verie sharpe for the time, & few escaped, which at the first were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not so violent, as commonlie the pestilence is; neither doth there appeare anie outward vlcer oz sore.

The note of John Hooker alias Vowell concerning the sudden and strange sickenesse of late happening in Excester.

The originall cause of this infection whereto imputed.

The origen and cause thereof diuerse men are of diuerse iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it proceeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reason of the close aire, and filthie stinke, the prisoners newlie come out of a fresh aire into the same, are in a short time for the most part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole sickenesse, and manie die thereof. Some did impute it to certeine poore Portingals, then prisoners in the said gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Drake esquier (afterwards dubbed knight) had bene at the seas, and meeting with certeine Portingals, come from New found land, and laden with fish, he tooke them as a good praise, and brought them into Dartmouth hauen in England; and from thense they were sent, being in number about eight and thirtie persons, vnto the gaole of the castell of Cron, and there were cast into the deepe pit and stinking dungeon.

Barnard Drake esquier.

The mischiefe of nastie apparell.

These men had bene before a long time at the seas, and had no change of apparell, nor laine in bed, and now lieng vpon the ground without succor oz relefe, were soone infected; and all for the most part were sicke, and some of them died, and some one of them was distracted: and this sickenesse verie soone after dispersed it selfe among all the residue of the prisoners in the gaole; of which disease manie of them

them died, but all brought to great extremities, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their triall, manie of them were so weake and sicke, that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some vpon handbarrowes, and some betweene men leading them, and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pitifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger starued than with sickenesse diseased, mooued manie a mans hart to behold and looke vpon them; but none pitied them more than the lords iustices themselues, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion tooke a better order for keeping all prisoners thenceforth in the gaole, and for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be posted anie more ouer, as in times past vntill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had béene staied, and pausedawhile in the open aire, and somewhat refreshed therwith, they were brought into the house, in the one end of the hall nære to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accustomable place where they do stand to their trials and arreignments.

The assise at Excester appointed to be quarterlie kept.

And howsoeuer the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were nerest to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceiued, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seized, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sickenesse: wherein more died that were infected than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of good account, and of all other degrees which died thereof: as by name sargeant Flowredaie who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir John Chichester, sir Arthur Basset, and sir Barnard Drake knights; Thomas Carew of Haccombe, Robert Carie of Clouelleigh, John Fortescue of Wood, John Waldron of Bradfield, and Thomas Kildone esquires, and iustices of the peace.

This sickness was contagious & mortall.

Principall men that died of that infection.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie: but none more lamented than these two knights, sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset; who albeit they were but yong in yeares, yet ancient in wisedome, vpright in iudgement, and zealous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman striken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had béene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie séene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his speech, effectuall in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his doings. The more worthie were these personages, the greater losse was their deaths to the whole common wealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, réeues, and tithing men, and such as were iurors, and namelie one iurie of twelue, of which there died eleuen.

Sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset bemoned and commended.

Eleuen of the iurie with other officers die of this sicknesse.

This sicknesse was dispersed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing hereof in the fine of October, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, it is not altogither extinguished. It resteth for the most part about fourétéene daies and vpwards by a secret infection, before it breake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismaid, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendement of life. So long as the plague was hot and feruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfulnesse of the other; euen as it is with a companie of shrewd children, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, conformitie, and obedience.

Affliction draweth men to God, &c.

¶ In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of seruice in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidneie his saiengs and doings, where promise did passe (by means of discoursing his death) that the reader was to looke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties gratious gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitlie openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the nærenesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

An introduction to the historicall remembrance of the Sidneis, the father and the sonne, &c.

This right famous, renowmed, worthie, vertuous and heroicall knight, by father and mother verie noblie descended, was from his infancie bred and brought vp in the princes court, and in nærenesse to his person vsed familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this yong prince was inuested in the kingdome and imperiall crowne, he aduanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it séemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his priuie chamber. For he was then reputed for comelinesse of person, gallantnesse & liuelinesse of spirit, vertue, qualitie, beautie, & good composition of bodie, the onelie od man & paragon of the court. And from time to time this good and most godlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would sildome or neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last breth that he departed this life in his armes at Grænwich. Such exceeding expectation & hope was conceiued of this honorable gentleman in his yonger yeares, as he was specialliechosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisedome, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was employed in ambassage both in France & Scotland, yea somtime twise in one yere.

The noble of Edmund Molineux touching sir Henrie Sidneis life and death.

His education in his youth.

His employment in ambassage.

He was foure seuerall times lord iustice of Ireland, and three times by speciall appointment and commission sent deputie out of England: at each which seuerall time, he by his wisedome and good gouernement appeased and suppressed a great and an actuall rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sowen and the fire kindled (though smothlie and cunninglie hid and couered) before his comming, or in the time of his absence. In his first deputation he suppressed the rebellion of Shane Oneill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archrebels head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the third the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, & his two graceless hopefull sonnes Shane and Ulike Bourke.

Foure times lord iustice, & twise lord deputie of Ireland.

He suppressed by force and policie three actuall rebellions.

reuiued and put in execution the lawes for the abolishing of coine and liuerie.

Immediatlie after his first arriuall deputie, he caused the old statutes and ordinances for the abolishing of coine and liuerie (the ancient festering sore and creeping canker of that countrie and commonwealth) to be reuiued and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countrie, and a speedie releefe to the poore oppressed people of that realme. He deuised that the remoter prouinces should be gouerned by presidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whense he tooke his patterne, being himselfe at that time president, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a more expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countrie to perfect obedience and ciuilitie, than planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces, to the end vniuersall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poore might be deliuered from the wonted exactions and tyrannes of the lords and great ones (by whom they were dailie spoiled and oppressed) and taste the sweet benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelie singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wise, politike, and discreet gouernement.

He deuised the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces.

He both first deuised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the diuision and distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground, whereby insued the currencie of hir maiesties writ, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer vsed amongst them. He in his gouernment aduanced and increased the reuenues of the crowne by waie of custome, impost vpon wines, compositions with the Irishrie for rent and seruice, and other direct and commendable means, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds yearelie. And by good deuise and policie he had both intended, and would haue brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if enuie, spite, and malice of that vnhappie countrie had not crossed him, and opposed themselues all that they could, by purse or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable seruices & desseins: an example of rare note to be duelie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in short time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repaired the castell of Dubline, being vsed a long time before as a ruinous, vncleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt, stored onlie with mechanicall persons, and some of worse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a conuenient and fit house for the gouernour to lie in, to which vse it now serueth and is imploied.

He deuised the lawes for the distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground.

He increased the reuenues ten thousand pounds yerlie.

He builded the bridge of Athelon ouer the riuer of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and free stone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, togither with that spaciousnesse and breedth, as two carts may (in maner) meet afront. By building of which bridge ouer so swift & great a streame, the passage was set open and made free out of the pale into Conaught, which before (by reason of the strenablenesse of the water) was not passable, which dawnted and appalled the rebells and traitors more, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie deuise or policie before had done, or other plot lightlie could then doo. He likewise began the walling and fortifieng of the towne of Carickfergus in Ulster, reedifieng of the towne of Athenrie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the bridge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Molingar, and walled the same about with stone, to imprison rebels, theeues, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundrie other places which tended to the great furtherance and aduancement of seruice, but he left them *Quasi opera inchoata*: for he being called awaie so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finish and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countrie deserueth so great a good and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

His builings fortifications, and other necessarie works for the benefit and good of the countrie.

He found hir maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whither anie man (that vouchsafed his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected, that they serued now and then (as I haue by good men and good meanes crediblie heard reported) in stead of better litter to rub horse heeles, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dubline, well trimmed and boorded with a chimneie in the roome, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor vnseasonablenesse of the weather, nor other meanes they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit & conuenient places and seuerall diuisions to laie them apart, according to their seuerall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke to them, who also for his better incouragement was assigned a conuenient fee for his labor. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinances of that realme, which laie hid and not knowen to manie (though not destroied but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and ouer viewed, by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme, giuing them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discerne to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knowen, to the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thensforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, & ordinances of his owne countrie where he was borne, which euerie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kinred, affinitie, corruption, parcialitie, as otherwise; he deuised, and earnestlie sought to haue Englishmen sent ouer to supplie the cheefe places of iustice. And for the better increase of hir maiesties reuenue and profit, he praied the like to serue in the roomes of hir highnesse attorneie generall and sollicitor.

He built conuenient roomes for the keeping and preseruation of the records which before were neglected.

He caused the statutes of Ireland to be imprinted which neuer before were published.

He procured some Englishmen to be sent ouer, for the better administration of iustice.

No man had a greater desire to aduance the publike euerie waie than he had, and in opinion greatlie magnified & esteemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie, that those were things memorable, of perpetuitie, fame, and last, where all priuat things died and perished with their priuat persons. Whersoeuer he was bestowed to serue, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behauior, and comlinesse of person, as he gained the harts of manie, and such vniuersall liking and louing of all sorts of people to ward him, as they were euer desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was reuoked to haue him returne and continue againe amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumspect, and carefull in the seruice of the state, not onelie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all businesse of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, hauing such readinesse and facilitie of speech, flowing eloquence, sweet deliuerie, and passing memorie (for he seldome or neuer forgat anie thing he either read or heard) as he was speci-

A great furtherer of all publike works. The great loue he got him in all places where he serued.

His carefulnesse in the seruice of the state.

allie

allie noted a moſt rare man of all that did heare him. Such ample inſtructions he would giue for the framing and writing of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be conceiued and put downe in writing, and diſpoſe the ſame in ſo good order and fine method, as a verie ſimple man, if he reteined and remembred but a part of that he ſaid and deliuered, might ſupplie himſelfe with matter inough to the purpoſe to write of.

And when by occaſion he happened vpon ſome dull conceipted ſpirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales now and then bred ſome ſuch) to whome he had giuen inſtructions to write, who afterwards brought him the ſame to ſigne, not couched in ſort as he liked or would haue it; his temperance, courteſie, and diſcreet modeſtie was ſuch, as he would neuer ſhew choler and impatience, rent the paper in peeces, or publikelie diſgrace the writer, but bid him not be diſcouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like inſtructions againe he gaue him before, but willed him then to marke and remember them better. At ech ſeuerall time he was ſent deputie into Ireland, he was by occaſion, and as time fell out, furniſhed with a new ſecretarie. The firſt was maſter Edward Waterhouſe, now knighted, and one of hir maieſties councell in Ireland. The ſecond maſter Edmund Tremaine, who after was preferred to be a clearke to hir maieſties councell on hir highneſſe perſon attendant. The third (who although it was thought of manie, who were in that caſe well able to iudge neither in paine, deſert, birth, nor breeding was much inferiour to the other two that were before him: yet in fortune, reward, or other recompenſe ſo far behind them, as this noble gentleman (who trulie honored vertue) maſter to them all three, would manie times in ſort lament, and deepelie bemone to his good friends, commending highlie this mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap to his owne miſhap, the time ſo ſerued he could not doo him good, which manie times & by ſundrie means he had earneſtlie attempted to doo; affirming often in ſolemne and earneſt proteſtation as well to him as others, that it greeued him not a little, his fortune was ſo bad, to come to him now in the declination and wane of the moone: for he was the ſole onelie man he had imploied about him in that neereneſſe and credit of ſeruice, wherein he had vſed him, that euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the terme he vſed) howbeit, he well hoped time or ſome good man (in reſpect his ſeruice was publike and not priuat) would repaire that then he could not doo. For he deemed the man right worthie regard and conſideration, that had ſerued him ſo long (and that in his great and roiall ſeruices, in ſo painefull and toileſome a place) without anie great wages, fee, or other interteinment growing to him in perpetuitie or other wais; which was either burthenous to his purſe, or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to the gentlemans benefit, increaſe of credit, or further aduancement, in recompenſe of his long ſeruice.

Verie expert and able he was of a bad clerke in time to frame a good ſecretarie.

Of great facilitie in diſpatch of common cauſes.

He had both a ſpeciall care & likewiſe a ſingular gift in diſpatch of common cauſes, and the people in like manner had a paſſing maruellous deſire to be heard & diſpatched by him. Therefore as well in part to ſatiſfie their humors and affections, as more completlie to performe the due and full meaſure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as neere as he could) he applied himſelfe greatlie thereunto, and would ſpare no paines, but indure maruellous toile and trauell to rid and diſpatch awaie ſuitors: which he could doo with ſuch dexteritie and wonderfull facilitie, as the ſame might ſeeme no wearineſſe and tediouſneſſe at all to him (that was halfe a hell to ſome others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of recreation and paſtime. He made manie beholding vnto him, for he (as much as laie in him) did benefit manie, and had more than an ordinarie deſire to doo for all his friends and faithfull followers; and ſo carefullie, earneſtlie, and painfullie he would trauell to aduance their particular ſuites, were it ſometimes to ſpeake to hir maieſtie hir ſelfe, or to the bodie of hir graue and honorable councell, or to anie priuat councellor apart, as though he had purpoſelie followed his owne moſt weightie cauſes.

A great deſire to doo for all men.

And as he was a moſt deere, kind, tender, and louing father to his children (for none could loue and eſteeme his children more than he did) and noting in them great minds and hautie courages, which drew them by degrees to exceſſe in expenſe, and more than an ordinarie liberalitie, he would ſometime fatherlie aduiſe them thus; that if they meant to liue in order, they ſhould euer behold whoſe ſonnes, & ſeldome thinke whoſe nephues they were: ſo he was an affable, gentle, courteous, conſtant, and honourable maſter to his ſeruants. For he would often ſaie, it was an eaſie matter for them to keepe him, but hard to recouer his loue and fauour, if they had once loſt him. And when anie of his noble and moſt louing friends would commend him greatlie (as manie times they would) that he made much of his old ſeruants (for few that came to him euer went from him, but ſuch as were firſt aduanced by him to better preferment) he would anſwer pleſantlie after his wonted mirth; Lord I giue thee thanks, that of thoſe thou gaueſt me I haue not loſt one. He was marueilous affable and courteous of nature, of eaſie acceſſe, and pleſantlie familiar with anie that had occaſion to repaire vnto him, & ſtrict and preciſe in the obſeruation of good order. For he would ſeldome breake it in anie reſpect, but vpon euident, knowne, and moſt iuſt cauſe, or when he was ouerruled (as ſometimes he was) by ſuch as had ſouereigne power to direct and command him. Extraordinarie courſes he alwaies vtterlie miſliked, eſpeciallie when order was peruerted, or iuſtice hindered, whereby the common ſocietie of mans life is onelie preſerued and maintained; which two things ſpeciallie purchaſed him ſuch vniuerſall goodwill euerie where (and namelie amongſt the officers of hir maieſties moſt honorable houſhold, with whome he would manie times be familiarlie conuerſant) as they haue often wiſhed he might haue beene honored with a white ſtaffe, to haue borne office with authoritie amongſt them.

A tender father to his children and a louing maſter to his ſeruants.

Solitario homini atque magno vitam agenti omnia inſtitia neceſſaria eſt.

He was inwardlie beloued of the officers of hir maieſties houſhold.

His nature was ſo tempered with modeſtie, pietie and patience, as he ſeldome ſhewed heat or choler, how greeuous ſo euer the offenſe was which was giuen him. He was a faſt friend where he profeſſed friendſhip, and no reuengefull ſo when he was offended; & hardlie would he be remooued in friendſhip from his friend or follower, but vpon moſt iuſt, certeine, and knowne cauſe, which he could not ſmulther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue manie times heard him ſaie, and by occaſion haue ſeene the ſame written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince king Edward) the ſelfe ſame daie ſir William Cecill (then principall ſecretarie, now lord treaſuror of England) was, by meanes whereof and that ſir William Cecill was (yea euen in thoſe daies) eſteemed a moſt rare man, both for ſundrie and ſingular gifts of nature, learning, wiſedome, and integritie: and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courteſie, ſir John Cheeke, then ſchoolemaſter to the king (a choiſe deare friend to them both) that there began ſuch an entrie of acquaintance, knowledge, loue, mutuall goodwill, and intire friendſhip betwixt them, as continued alwais

He was dubbed knight the ſame daie ſir William Cecill was.

ſted-

stedfast, firme, and vnuariable after till his dieng daie. *Nihil autem est amabilius, nec copulantius, quàm morum similitudo bonorum. In quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eademque voluntates, in hijs fit vt æquè quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso.* So that manie times in his life time he would acknowledge & confesse how greatlie he and his were bound in good will, and tied in dutie and friendship, to this right worthie and noble personage, *Verus pater patriæ*: to whome manie ages nor worlds can scarse once affoord a fellow or pere. For speciall fauours, louing courtesies, and amiable benefits & good turns they had receiued by his meanes, and at his owne hands sundrie waies.

Fortunat in warre, and no lesse happie in peace.

He was of that euen temperature, commixtion, and perfection, as it was hard to iudge, whether to attribute more commendation and praise to his gouernement in the time of peace, or to his good hap and policie in warre, he was in both so fortunat. In his iourneis he would comfort his souldiors with these words; My good friends and most louing companions: and where soeuer he came, his chiefe and principall care was to foresee their wants, and to prouide for their necessities. And when it so fell out (as sometimes it did) that he had not wherewithall to supplie the same, he would bestow vpon them so good countenance and honorable kind speaches, as the same would haue contented and satisfied them much better, than some other gouernor could haue done with halfe a supplie of that he would: so great a conqueror he was of hearts, and of the goodwils of all men, that serued with and vnder him. He was alwaies most vpright in iustice, yet of himselfe naturallie inclined to mercie (where he hoped it would worke amendement.)

Passing well beloued of his souldiors.

He was vpright in iustice, yet withall inclined to mercie.

He greatlie honored all men of science and skill, in what good art soeuer, and was most apt and readie to pleasure them: for he would manie times saie, Science was to be honored whersoeuer it was to be found: *Nam nemo nascitur artifex*. He was so zealous in all vertue and godlinesse, as he neuer omitted in court nor campe, at home or abrode, publike morning and euening praier; which he did attend deuoutlie vpon his knees, besides his other priuat praiers & meditations euerie daie he did arise, and go to bed, which he seldome failed. He would neuer in publike assemblies, consultations, field, or feast, omit anie thing that apperteined to his office or honor: & alwaies delighted to keepe an orderlie liberall and honorable house (greatlie to the releefe & comfort of the poore) according to the reputation & degree of his place and calling. He had steward, treasuror, controllor, auditor, clearke controllor, clearke of his kitchen, and maister cooke, besides other ordinarie clearks and inferior officers and ministers of houshold, who could in their degrees well and skilfullie execute their seuerall rooms and places; and knew in honor, state, and ceremonie in assemblies, solemnities, and feasts, how to serue him as he should be. His knowledge in Ireland was far greater than anie one mans of our time hath beene, aswell touching the naturall conditions, guise and maners of the people generallie, as each particular prouince seuerallie: and for the perfect and sound gouernement of the whole vniuersallie, no one man could saie more. Others that haue succeeded him, haue built vpon his foundations, and framed their plots of gouernement after his deuises: but the originall came from him, it must be confessed by them all, if they vouchsafe him but onelie that apperteineth vnto him by iust desert, and most meere right.

He reuerenced all men of science.

He omitted not morning and euening praier.

Liberall and honorable in hospitalitie.

His skill far exceeded other mens in knowledge and secrets of Ireland.

And here due place is offered (although hapilie to some it maie seeme a digression) to speake somewhat of the planting of presidents; because the same hath beene vnder hand obscurelie and cunninglie carried, and according to mens fansies and imaginations diuerslie reported; and some of his shadows haue seemed to cloth themselues with his vertues, and attribute his onelie seruices aswell in that, as in some other things, to their owne priuat and peculiar praises. To repeat the matter from the beginning, after this noble knight & right worthie gouernor, had found how necessarie a thing it was, the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces of Ireland; he certified his opinion ouer: which was well conceiued, liked, and digested; both of his highnesse, and also of his graue and right honorable councell. So that not long after, certeine speciall men were thought of to be chosen, and spedilie sent thither, as in deed there were; and sir John Perot appointed president of Mounster, and sir Edward Fitton for Connagh. The first by reason of his sicknesse, feblenesse, and that some parts and lims of his bodie were suddenlie become benummed, neuer possessed the place he was assigned vnto; but sir John Perot was forthwith sent, and presentlie succeeded in the roome he should haue had. At whose seuerall arriuals (for the one came somewhat after the other) ech was immediatlie dispatched to his seuerall charge, with ample authoritie, commission, and instructions deriued from the deputie for their seating and placing in those two offices. And after he had in this sort stalled them both, he made his present repare into England, before whose returne againe, these two presidents were (as it seemed) for vrgent cause, and by speciall fauour, licenced to come ouer againe. So that their roomes in their absence were supplied (in a sort) by interchange of commissioners; whereby not long after insued great hurt, wast, spoile, and disorder in either of those two prouinces.

He placed sir John Perot and sir Edmard Fitton presidents.

Sir Edward Fitton was afterwards made treasuror at the warres, and in that roome paied the due debt to nature; and sir John Perot returned no more to his former office. By meanes whereof, a supplie of others was thought of, and sir William Dzurie was appointed president for Mounster; and captaine Nicholas Malbie, a gentleman hir maiesties seruant, was assigned for the seruice in Connagh. Howbeit, the name of lord president being thought a little too high and great for this gentleman, in respect of the meanesse of his liuing and hauiour; he bare the name onelie of colonell, and chiefe commissioner of Connagh; hauing neuertheless equall authoritie as sir Edward Fitton, late lord president there had in the said prouince. These two discreet, worthie, and expert marshall men, were placed by like authoritie, instructions, and commission, as their predecessors had beene; the lord deputie in person accompanieng them to their seuerall charges, and so left them setled. And maister Malbie, for the better credit and countenance of the place he was to enter then into, was dubbed knight in the church of Athelon, and with that addition and increase of title was left in his charge, who after did acceptable and commendable worthie seruice.

He placed sir William Dzurie president of Mounster, and sir Nicholas Malbie colonell of Connagh.

But now to returne to the place where I left: as for the view and knowledge of the soile, hauens, ports, promontories, necks of lands, and creeks, or whatsoeuer secret or mysterie else was to be vnderstood; take it from the north to the south, from the east to the west: no one man (yea although he were of that countrie birth) had seene more, or obserued so much as he had done. His manie, long, and painefull iourneis compared and laid togither (if they maie be well sorted, and truelie and sincerlie reported) testifie no lesse than I haue said. For better manifo-

He had seene and knowne more of Ireland than anie one, yea of that countrie birth.

station whereof, his circular discourses (as he named them) put downe, and written with his owne hand, which are extant and to be seene, will make the matter more than euident and apparent.

The loue and affection the Irishrie bare him, shew manie of them to ciuilitie.

He often inuited the gentlemen of the better reformed Irishrie, newlie reclamed to ciuilitie, to comelinesse in habit, and clenlinesse in diet, house, and lodging; which partlie in respect of the great loue & affection they bare him, and partlie of frendlie feare to offend him, manie afterwards obserued and followed. This one thing, amongst manie others, was noted verie rare in him; that being a big, well liking, and complet full bodie; he could content nature, and satisfie himselfe with so little sleepe as he did. For he seldome kept his bed aboue six houres (if he were in health) neither after he arose would he take in the daie time anie kind of repose. And when he had occasion to trauell, were it in post for speciall seruice, or other ordinarie iourneie; he would manie times rise vp, and throughlie wearie most of his traine and companie: for he had that abilitie and strong constitution of bodie, that none could lightlie indure the continuall laborsome toile and trauell at all times and seasons as he could; nor that hardnesse of diet for the time as he himselfe would doo. Nothing euer offended him more than vnkindnesse and ingratitude; speciallie where he hoped (and the world thought) he had deserued otherwise (whereof sometimes in the course of his life he had his part) and when he was vexed and oppressed with that extreame, vnnaturall, and most cruell corrosiue fit, his reuenge was commonlie vpon himselfe, it went no further; which he could not so cunninglie hide, but manie times amongst his friends he would outwardlie bewraie it, by some shew and outward action: so that the greefe and passion of his inward tormented mind would manifestlie appeare, which was to him (as it seemed) for the time some ease and contentment.

Summa & perfecta gloria constat ex tribus hijs: si diligit multitudo, si fidem habet, si cum admiratione quadam honore nos dignos putat.

Little giuen to repose and ease in the night.

He would in his iourneis wearie and late vp most of his companie.

Nothing offended him more than ingratitude.

When he had occasion offered to deale in matters great or small; his sinceritie, plaine, and naked dealing was euer such, as he would commonlie knit vp his speeches with this phrase; My word is my worke, & so they should find it. He had that passing readinesse of speech, and delectable sweet oratorie deliuerie (when he was yong) as now and then (as occasion fell out) that he was forced to speake at length in solemne sittings or publike assemblies (as sometimes he was) that he would readilie make and coine words out of his owne forge, and could in such good sort, so apt, fashion, fit, and grace them; as albeit they were neuer either heard, vsed, or receiued before: yet his mouth seemed a sufficient warrant to others for their naturalization, admission, and common vse afterwards. He was naturallie pleasant, and verie merilie conceipted; yet withall graue, wise, discreet, expert, readie in matters of councell, both inuentiue and iudicious, a good antiquarie, skilfull in storie, pedegree, and armes, languaged (for he profited greatlie both by trauell and conference) and not meanelie learned. Which noble vertues and excellent qualities he manie times did and could well shew, as time, place, and occasion required, with an heroicall presence and maiestie. He was so stored with such sound grounds and principles for ciuill policie and gouernment, as it would greatlie haue delighted, yea the best and ripest wits to haue heard him discourse at length in those matters: and he was a speciall rare man, that learned not at euerie time somewhat from him he had not heard before worth his comming. So friendlie, courteous, and sociable he was with all his assistants, collegues, and companions; as they intirelie loued and greatlie honored him.

In his dealings his word was his worke.

He would now and then coine words.

Some description of his vertues.

Sociable with his assistants.

In Ireland he made speciall choise of two worthie councellors, whom for their faithfulnes in councell for the state, good will and frendship towards him, and for their integritie & sinceritie euerie waie, he intirelie loued and assuredlie trusted. One was sir Lucas Dillon who yet liueth, the other maister Francis Agard who is now departed: both these so agreed and concurred in opinion with him, and applied their wits and indeuors so dutifullie, and with so great zeale and affection to the aduancement of seruice, and the good and quiet of the countrie, as ech in emulation frendlie contended with other who should doo the best seruice. To the one he would saie, *Lucas mihi solus relictus est*: the other he commonlie called *Fidus Achates*. Much more might be said (though a great deale too little) of this complet, honorable, and right worthie gentleman, who priuat and publike carried himselfe alwaies so iustlie, vprightlie, and euenlie, as (for the most part) noble fame went afore him, and loue followed and accompanied him as a shadow whersoeuer he went. He had an intention, which proceeded by degrees to motion in parlement, to haue erected some publike schooles and nurseries of learning, which by degrees and in time might haue growen to an vniuersitie, for the better reformation of the barbarisme of that countrie, and offered a large yeerelie portion of his owne to the furtherance of so good a purpose. But I know not how, *Nondum venit hora*, it tooke no place in deed, though in the beginning great apparance & shew in words was made to haue verie manie venerable fautors, and more worthie and rich furtherers.

He made speciall choise of sir Lucas Dillon, and Francis Agard.

Much more might be said of this honorable gentleman.

His intention to haue erected certaine nurseries of learning.

In one thing his fortune was most hard, & he more than twise vnhappie, that his seruice (for the most part) was subiect to the eare, and not obiect to the eie, by meanes whereof his noble vertues and deserts were manie times suppressed, and seldome or neuer seene, but his faults often told and willinglie heard; and so consequentlie his seruice obedient to great misreport, slander, & calumniation. As it fell out among other matters for his last seruice in Ireland, that manie gaue out how he had taken that realme to farme, in respect of the composition he made with the queene: so that whatsoeuer paine and trauell he tooke, either for the aduancement of the reuenue of the crowne, or maintenance and defense of the prerogatiue roiall, it was giuen out and spread abroade, that what he did was for himselfe and for his owne gaine and benefit: where in truth in that seruice he spent his yeares, sold his lands, & consumed much of his patrimonie to the hinderance of his posteritie, without anie great recompense or reward (though others perhaps that were both before him, and since haue succeeded him, haue gained by the place and countenance of that seruice.) He held both the cheefe offices of Ireland and Wales togither at one time, and was likewise companion of the most honorable order of the garter (such was his speciall fauor and grace with hir maiestie) which no one priuat subiect hath held at once, and inioied so great titles and dignities togither, at the least that I haue heard or read of; were he not a kings sonne, vncle, or nephue: so that his fortune in shew and apparance was great, though in respect of gaine & benefit to himselfe, nothing equiualent with his vertues. Which ample authoritie & large scope of dominion & gouernement procured him (and not his owne deserts) manie enuious, heauie, and potent enimies. Howbeit, his innocencie was euer his buckler and shield of defense against them: so that their complaints (though for a time they might and did a little hinder him) yet seldome or neuer they preuailed against him. And when he had passed ouer such cloudie mists and ouerthwart storms, he would pleasantlie saie vnto his frends;

His priuate was subiect to the eare, and not to the eie, whereby his vertues manie times were suppressed.

He was deputie of Ireland and president of Wales both at one time.

friends; *Salutem ab iis qui oderunt nos*: for the more they contended to ſuppreſſe him, the more (like the camomill being foiled and troden) his vertues roſe vp and appeared, and their malice was both vnfolded and controlled.

This noble knight, graue councellor, complet gentleman, and moſt worthie and rare ſubiect, departed this life at the biſhops palace at Worceſter, the fift daie of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and ſix (being 57 yeares old complet, wanting onelie one moneth and fiftéene daies) about foure of the cloke in the morning, after he had continued ſeuen daies ſicke of a kind of cold palſeie, as the phyſicians decréed of the diſeaſe, which happened vnto him (as it was of manie ſaid, and of mo thought) by reaſon of an extreme cold he tooke vpon the water in his paſſage and remoue by barge betwéene Bewdlie and Worceſter, not long after he had béene purged, and his bodie not fullie ſetled, but his pores remaining ſtill open (as it is moſt like) by reaſon of an extraordinarie loſeneſſe which conſequentlie followed the taking of his phyſike which could not be ſtopped; hauing then béene lord preſident of hir maieſties councell eſtabliſhed in the dominion and principalitie of Wales ſix and twentie yeares complet, without anie change or alteration, or abſolute tranſferring the roome or authoritie to anie other in the meane time. For whoſe death there was great mone and lamentation (eſpeciallie by thoſe vnder his gouernement) as hauing loſt that ſpeciall noble man, whome for courteſie they loued, for iuſtice amongeſt them they highlie honored, and for manie other his rare gifts and ſingular vertues they in his life time greatlie eſtéemed, and at his death maruellouſlie bémoned, lifting vp both hands and hearts to almightie God, and heartilie wiſhing, and humblie praieng a like might ſucceed in the place as he had béene.

And like as he liued and continued euer in much fame, great countenance, credit and honor; ſo his buriall was prepared & performed accordinglie. For his bodie by eaſie iorneies and ſhort remoues was conueied from Worceſter vnto his houſe at Penſhurſt in Kent, verie honorablie and well attended with great traine, ceremonie, and all other things apperteining to funerall order, honor, and ſolemnitie: where he was honorablie interred the one and twentith daie of June following. He was before imbowelled, and his intrals buried in the deans chapell in the cathedrall church at Worceſter; his heart brought to Ludlow, and buried in the toome with his déere beloued daughter Ambroſia, in the little oratorie he made in the ſemicollegiat pariſh church there, wherein he erected this monument. To this towne of Ludlow eſpeciallie, and ſo in like maner to Tikenhill houſe he carried euer good liking and affection, as might appeare by his often reſort & abode at thoſe two places in the time of his preſidencie, as by ſome other tokens & worthie remembrances he left in perpetuitie to remaine vnto them that ſhould come after, as certeine demonſtrations and ſignes of his former good will.

Neither muſt I here forget (except I ſhould herein forget my ſelfe) to ſpeake of the church of Hereford, whome (when by occaſion of iuſtice he was reſident there with them) as they intirelie loued and greatlie honored, ſo he in like ſort accepting and acknowledging their kindneſſe and good will (ſuch was euer the ſetled vertue and paſſing bountie of his good nature) that he preſented them, and left to continue and remaine to poſteritie amongſt them, a ſpeciall note of remembrance. By meanes of which honorable and friendlie gift and courteous token ſo louinglie beſtowed, and left to that ſocietie & companie (as the laſt pledge of his former affection & good will borne towards them) he hath béene ſince manie times honorablie remembred, and (no doubt) is and ſtill hereafter maie and will be both eſtéemed, loued, honored, & held (as he alwaies deſerued) in freſh and freſher memorie amongeſt them. With this report concerning ſir Henrie Sidneie (a noble man neuer ſufficientlie commended) accordeth that of C.O. ſet downe in his *Eirenarchia*, where amongſt diuerſe honorable perſonages, I find this note of coherence:

Quid cunctos memorem, ſupereſt tamen vnus, & ille Henricus Sidneus.
Vndique non minima memorandus laude, parentum
Stemmate ab antiquo, ſed & illis clarior ipſe
Henricus Sidneus, eques gemino ordine ſplendens,
Quem ter legatum dominæ vice ſceptra tenentem,
Iúſque miniſtrantem iam vidit Hibernica tellus,
Nec vidit modò, ſed ſenſit, verita eſt, & amauit,
Vt nemo vnquam alius (vulgo notiſſima res eſt)
Intrârit maiori illas cum gentis amore,
Rexerit obſequio, luctúque reliquerit oras.
Sola nec illius teſtatur Hibernia laudes,
Verùm etiam Albionis pars altera Cambria, curſu
Interlabentis rapido diuiſa Sabrinæ,
Præfecti illius præconia grandia narrat.
Cuius præſidio iam multos tuta per annos
Floruit, vt dubium ſit, eo fœlicior almo
Præſide lætetúrne, an iudice gaudeat æquo.
Iampridem diues legatum Gallia vidit
(Eliſabetha) tuum, præſtanti corpore pulchrum, &c.

The ninth daie of Auguſt next following died the moſt noble, worthie, beneficent, and bounteous ladie, the ladie Marie Sidneie, his onelie ſpouſe and moſt déere wife, who was eldeſt daughter vnto that renowmed duke John late of Northumberland, and ſiſter to the right honorable and moſt worthie the earles of Warwike and Leiceſter, moſt zealouſlie, godlie, & penitentlie, as by the teſtimonie of ſome honorable & other graue perſonages is well auouched, and was interred at Penſhurſt, in the ſame toome with hir déere and honorable huſband. During the whole courſe of hir ſickneſſe, and ſpeciallie a little before it pleaſed almightie God to call hir henſe to his mercie, ſhe vſed ſuch godlie ſpéeches, earneſt and effectuall perſuaſions to all thoſe about hir, and vnto ſuch others as came of frendlie courteſie to viſit hir, to exhort them to repentance and amendement of life, and dehort them from all ſin and lewdneſſe, as wounded the conſciences, and inwardlie peared the hearts of manie that heard hir. And though before they knew hir to exceed moſt of hir ſex in ſingularitie of vertue and qualitie; as good ſpéech, apt and readie conceipt, excellencie of wit, and notable eloquent deliuerie (for none could match hir, and few or none come nére hir, either in the good conceipt and frame of orderlie writing, indicting, and ſpédie diſpatching, or facilitie of gallant, ſweet, delectable, and courtlie ſpeaking; at leaſt that in this time I my ſelfe haue knowen, heard, or read of) yet in this hir laſt action and ending of hir life (as it were one ſpeciallie at that inſtant called of God) ſhe ſo farre ſurpaſſed hir ſelfe, in diſcréet, wiſe, effectuall, ſound, and grounded reaſons, all tending to zeale and pietie, as the ſame almoſt amazed & aſtoniſhed the hearers to heare & conceiue ſuch plentie of godlie and pithie matter to come from ſuch a creature. Who although for a time ſhe ſéemed to the world to liue obſcurelie, yet ſhe ended this life, & left the world moſt confidentlie, and to God (no doubt) moſt gloriouſlie, to the exceeding comfort of all them (which are not few) that loued or honored hir, or the great and renowmed houſe whereof ſhe was deſcended. They left behind them yet liuing moſt déere pledges noble and worthie reſemblances deſcended of them, three ſonnes, all forward, martiall, and valorous

The time of my ladie Sidneis death.

Sir Philip, ſir Robert, and maiſter Thomas Sidneies.

Marie countesse of Penbroke, William lord Herbert of Cardiffe.

gentlemen, and one onelie daughter, matched in marriage vnto the right honorable Henrie earle of Penbroke, whome God hath alreadie blessed with goodlie, rare, and towardlie issue: sir Philip Sidneie his sonne and heire, *Ad quem hæreditas gloriæ & factorum imitatio pertinet*, a gentleman of great hope, and exceeding expectation, indowed with manie rare gifts, singular vertues, and other ornaments both of mind and bodie, one generallie beloued and esteemed of all men, who matched in marriage with the daughter and heire of sir Francis Walsingham knight, hir maiesties principall secretarie, by whom he hath alreadie a goodlie babe, but a daughter. And if his good fortune by almightie Gods good appointment answer his noble deserts & worthinesse, he is most like to prooue a famous, great, and rare personage for the seruice of his countrie & commonwelth. And the glorie, renowme, & fame of so worthie a father can neuer die, hauing left so noble a son, not onlie to continue, but rather (in sort) to surpasse his fathers worthinesse, fame, and vertues; and therfore to be well hoped & vndoutedlie almost expected) he may in time succeed him in his offices, or if it please God in some better and greater. To the atteining wherof he is thus farre in good degree alreadie aduanced (imitating therein his fathers perfect paterne) that he hath bin imploied ambassador to the emperor when he was not aboue one and twentie yeres old (as his father at like age was to the French king) in which iorneie by the waie, he had on hir maiesties behalfe to visit and treat with sundrie princes, other potentats, and great ones: which he performed in such exquisit order, and aduised wise course, omitting nothing he should doo, nor suplieng anie thing he should not doo in ceremonie or otherwise, as he exceedinglie therein satisfied hir maiestie, both by his letters and report, and wan to himselfe great credit and singular commendation.

The commendation of sir Philip Sidneie.

Quidam autem ad eas laudes, quas à patribus acceperunt, addunt aliquam suam.

He was sent ambassador to the emperor.

Not long after his returne from that iorneie, and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie, at his vacant and spare times of leisure (for he could indure at no time to be idle and void of action) he made his booke which he named Arcadia, a worke (though a mere fansie, toie, and fiction) shewing such excellencie of spirit, gallant inuention, varietie of matter, and orderlie disposition, and couched in frame of such apt words without superfluitie, eloquent phrase, and fine conceipt, with interchange of deuise, so delightfull to the reader, and pleasant to the hearer, as nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it, as few works of like subiect hath béene either of some more earnestlie sought, choislie kept, nor placed in better place, and amongest better iewels than that was; so that a speciall dere frend he should be that could haue a sight, but much more dere that could once obteine a copie of it. Which his so happie and fortunat beginnings so amplie set out both his sufficiencie for the publike, and what he can doo in exercise priuat, that manie mens eies are drawen into exceeding hope and expectation of his spedie further aduancement, which to the honor of himselfe and his house I dailie praie for, and most heartilie wish him.

His Arcadia.

An additament.

¶ This note you find here before set downe, touching sir Philip Sidneie, being a member of the discourse made of his father, was brought and deliuered to the impression before there was either speech, or could be imagination of his fatall end, which some after happened: who for that he was reckoned for his modestie, courtesie, affabilitie, and other speciall vertues, amongest the verie prime gentlemen for his yeares that this age hath bred, or our countrie affoorded; and so complet a man to euerie perfection, as the memorie of him ought not to be forgotten, I haue entred the note verbatim, without adding or altering as it came first to my hands.

Nihil laudabilius, nihil magno & præclaro viro dignius plagâilitate, & quasi ornatus vitæ est temperantia & modestia.

This right worthie, and thrise renowmed knight sir Philip Sidneie lord gouernor of Ulissingen, hauing spent some time in hir maiesties seruice in the low countries, with great honor, speciall credit, and estimation; and withall, hauing obteined by his vertue, valor, and great policie such an entrie of entire good will, trust, and authoritie with the states, as his counsels and persuasions could much more preuaile and worke singular effect with them than anie one mans could doo in anie cause whatsoeuer that happened to fall in question or debate amongst them: therefore earnestlie following the course he then tooke in hand for the aduancement of that seruice, and to win fame (the onelie marke true nobilitie either doth or ought to leuell at) he imbarked himselfe at Ulissingen, accompanied onelie with three thousand footmen, & bending his course to Arell, which lieth in the countie of Flanders, vsed both such diligence and secrecie in this expedition, as he surprised the towne, before they could haue intelligence of his comming, without losse or hurt of anie one of his companie. By meanes whereof, the forts and sconses there nere abouts adioining, being striken vpon the sudden into such a feare & amazement, as doubting some further perils to them intended, than anie at the present well appeared; voluntarilie and simplie gaue themselues and their holds into his hands, and yelded to his disposition and mercie. And so after he had well refreshed himselfe and his companie in this towne he had thus new taken, he departed thense, and remained in the countrie not far off, ten or twelue daies next following, till he had vittelled the same and put in a garrison, and left monsieur Pernon there gouernor.

Lord gouernor of Ulissingen, commonlie called Flushing.

He surprised Arell in Flanders.

Now in the meane time of his staie attending these seruices (and because he would alwaies be occupied in some honorable action) he brake a sluse, forced a trench, & cut out a banke, that made such an open passage & entrance into the sea, as since it hath drowned & destroied the whole countrie (being well nere now worne into a chanell) the same hauing béene the best & most fertill soile in those parts, & far exceeding anie territorie nére thereabouts, to so great a preiudice and annoiance of the enimie, as by common & well grounded opinion, neither by sluse, or lightlie anie other draine or deuise, that countrie can possiblie be recouered or regained. And this enterprise was atchiued without making head or other offer of offence, inuasion, or resistance by Mondragon, who was of purpose imploied with sufficient force to defend the countrie, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

He drowned the countrie by making entrie into the sea.

No resistance made by Mondragon.

Moreouer, his aduise for the seruice intended at Graueling (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert capteins and best renowmed and forted souldiors) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwise by treacherie had béene most likelie to haue béene intrapped. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an incounter with the enimie not far from Sutphen, where he that daie most valiantly serued (for he bare the inuincible mind of an ancient worthie Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little aboue the left knée, which so brake and rifted the bone, and so entred the thigh vpward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding he

Graueling.

His hurt the occasion of his death.

The date of the death of Sir Philip Sidnete.

he liued (though in great paine and extreame torment) six and twentie daies following, and died the seuentéenth daie of October betweene two and three of the clocke in the afternoone at Arnam in Gelderland. By whose vntimelie death (to the hartie and inward sorow of manie) in the most flourishing and prime time of his yeares (for he was scarslie complet one and thirtie yeares old) there is presented vnto vs a verie rare example, and that in no common case; that father, mother, and sonne (in line of bloud and societie in that nèreneslie, as none can be nèrer) should come to their fatall ends and fall of name and familie, within the compasse of lesse than six moneths: and that each died so far off by distance of place one from another, as where they died they were but strangers, where by birth and propertie they could pretend no interest. Whereby we maie note a notable lesson to our good (though in this example we be taught to our griefe) the variablenesse of fickle fortune, and the small securitie in all humane and worldlie things whatsoeuer: *Et quid Deus folus est in omnibus suspiciendus.*

Trans societas in ipso communis proximus in mari.

A state for three lines done determined.

The night before he departed, leaning vpon a pillow in his bed, he wrote a line or two by waie of letter to Wierus, a verie expert and learned physician, to praie him to come vnto him. And because it maie thereby the better appeare, how sound and perfect he remained in sense and memorie (notwithstanding his most extreame griefe and paine) till he rendered his debt to nature; I thought it not inconuenient in this place to remember: *Mi Wiere veni, veni, de vita periclitor, & te cupio, nec viuus nec mortuus ero ingratus, plura non possum, sed obnixè te oro vt festines. Vale.*

Wierus of Claue a learned physician.

Tuus P. Sidneius.

Not manie daies before he sent these few words here before recited, he wrote a large epistle to Belerius a learned diuine, in verie pure and eloquent Latine (in like sort as manie times he had done before to some great ones (vpon occasions) and to others of learning and qualitie) the copie whereof was not long after, for the excellencie of the phrase, and pithinesse of the matter, brought to hir maiesties view. And surelie rare he was, aswell in that kind, as in manie other qualities of equall raritie. Yea most rare and rarest vndoubtedlie he would haue proued, if so it might haue pleased God to haue left vs so rare a iewell of vertue and courtesie. A testimonie of diuerse most famous and lerned men, who had him in speciall liking and admiration, allow him no lesse than I write of him. And amongst others, here I will remember Henrie Stephans in his epistle before his Greeke testament dedicated vnto him, who writeth thus: *Factum est enim nescio quomodo, vt quibus te videre & tua consuetudine frui datum fuit interuallis, magis ac magis propensam meam in te voluntatem senserim. Heydelbergæ primùm vidère te mihi contigit, aliquanto pòst Argentorati: longo pòst tempore, Viennæ Austriæ: sed Argentorati magna facta est accessio ad illum amorem quo te Heydelbergæ prosequebar: Viennæ rursum, is etiam quo te Argentorati prosequutus fueram, magnum incrementum cepit. Nec mirum sanè meum illum in te amorem ita creuisse, quum tuæ, quæ eum excitauerant ingenij dotes, non parum creuisse viderentur. Atque vtinam crescere non desinant, donec talis tantúsque euaseris, vt tuæ etiam Angliæ celebritas incrementum à te accipiat.*

Omnis virtus nos ad se allicit, faciúque vt diligamus eos in quibus inesse videatur, tamen nullius & literalibus id maximè efficit.

He greatlie abounded in sundrie good vertues, which euer, where he came, procured him loue, but chieflie in iustice & liberalitie (a worthie & most speciall note in a gouernor) which gained him heartie loue coupled with fame & honor. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, estéemed, honored, and in a sort adored him, when he was aliue; as they made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; & promised, that (if they might obteine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. As his life was most worthie; so his end was most godlie. The loue men bare him hath left fame behind him, his friendlie courtesie to manie procured him good will of all. God hath taken him, we hope to his comfort; we haue lost him, we feele to our greefe: his diuine will is done, our humane minds must be satisfied, and humblie wish (for it were a presumption to hope) to haue his life. For he had that great care and regard to the conseruation of his fame and honor entire, when he was gone; that he made a most bountifull and liberall will, which if the same be performed according to his simple, sincere, and good meaning; it will appeare he died not indebted to anie, neither to those that were nere his person, familiars, or domesticks, nor to anie other he was indebted vnto by bond or borrowing, nor otherwise in credit for wares or merchandize, or in other degrée whatsoeuer, he had to treat or deale with him in; yea not so much as for common courtesie and goodwill: but he ordered and appointed him satisfaction, and honorable contentment. His bodie was most honorablie conueied from Arnam to London, where it remained at the Minories certeine daies, and from thense brought and remoued to the place of his interrement; where with great solemnitie and funerall ho[illegible] amongst the monuments of his most renowmed [illegible]rents and worthie ancestors, he was buried.

His bountifull will.

And here behold the end of two worthie persons, who for that their deuises answered in a sort the state of both their fortunes, I thinke it not impertinent in this place to speake of. The father bare for deuise, placed vnder his armes: *Quo me fata vocant*, applieng the same to his good hap in his yonger yeares when fortune smiled, & time and friends flattered, and none more accounted of and estéemed than he. The sonne, suspecting future haps, and not trusting ouer much in present fortune, bare for his deuise, placed in like maner vnder his armes: *Vix ea nostra voco*: signifieng thereby, that he would not call those his owne, which he knew not how worthie he was to beare, nor how long he should inioie and kéepe them; sith that both states and persons are subiect to time and mutation, as by his vntimelie death appeared. And albeit this was his last word and deuise, which accompanied his funerall; yet not sealed before as occasion fell out, & as time wrought alteration in his déepe and noble conceipt, at iusts, torneis, triumphs, and other such roiall pastimes (for at all such disports he commonlie made one) he would bring in such a liuelie gallant shew, so agréable to euerie point, which is required for the expressing of a perfect deuise (so rich he was in those inuentions) as if he surpassed not all, he would equall or at least second the best. Wherein (as he rightlie deserued) he euer gained singular commendation.

Their words and deuises.

There are fiue speciall points required in euerie deuise to be perfect.

There grew some diuersitie of opinion (amongst their well affected friends) in one point of comparison touching the helps of nature, that were distinctlie placed in them both. Some gaue commendation to the father for his gallant tong, and others to the sonne for his readie pen; both were rare gifts in them both, and both two gifts placed in both. And when some of the fathers familiars would tell him, how men were of opinion that he could nothing so well frame his mind in writing, as he could deliuer the same in speaking: he would saie that it seemed so onelie to them, that neuer heard him reade his owne letters.

The father commended for his tong, and the sonne for his pen.

He left (beſides his other fatherlie blеſſings and liberalitie for increaſe of patrimonie) to his yonger ſonnes, that happie and rich inheritance Cicero ſo highlie commendeth; whoſe words here I will recite, for better impreſſion of the matter hereafter in their minds to whome of right it apperteineth.

The happie inheritance he left to his yonger ſons.

Optima autem hæreditas à patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio præſtantior gloria virtutis rerúmque geſtarum, cui dedecori eſſe nefas & vitium iudicandum eſt.

And thus far goodwill hath led me, and dutie bound me, to remember and commend theſe two noble and worthie perſons the father and ſonne, as perfect examples for vs to follow (for they now dwell too far off to heare their owne praiſes) who as when they liued, the one I long and faithfullie ſerued, the other I dærelie loued and greatlie honored, euen from his yonger and tender yeares: ſo in regard of mine owne meane fortune, albeit I muſt acknowledge it my great miſhap and verie heauie croſſe (almoſt at one inſtant) to loſe two ſuch noble patrons and furtherers of my good and benefit, on whome onelie I depended, and to whome wholie I had dedicated my good will and humble ſeruice: yet in reſpect of them now departed, to whome both dutie and courteſie bindeth me to wiſh and praie all happineſſe (for ſeeking their fauours and good wils aliue with diligence: reaſon willeth me to eſteeme their images dead with reuerence) this conſideration then greatlie ſtirreth me vp to exceeding comfort, to ſpeake in

Bleſſed are the dead from henſeforth, now ſaith the ſpirit, that they reſt from their labors.

ſaint Johns words: *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur; amodò iam dicit ſpiritus, vt requieſcant à laboribus ſuis: opera enim illorum ſequuntur illos.* Thus as in their liues they had great honors, ample credit and authoritie heaped vpon them, the better to grace them amongſt vs: ſo being departed henſe from vs, noble fame and good report ſoundeth forth both their praiſes euerie where to accompanie their memories, to dwell & remaine ſtill euer freſh & liuelie flouriſhing with vs. And they haue (by the ſcale of their vertues) atteined (I hope) the higheſt type and degree of honor (which all men in this world ſhould mightilie contend for) which is the crowne of eternall life, wherewith (I truſt) they be now both decked and crowned in great glorie, ioy, bleſſednеſſe, and eternitie. And here to end the memorie of them, it ſhall not be amiſſe, to record an epitaph made and publiſhed, for the perpetuating of the name of ſir Henrie Sidneie, neuer ſufficientlie commended.

¶ In mortem illuſtriſſimi viri domini *Henrici Sydnei, Edwardi ſexti in Galliam,* Mariæ in Hiſpaniam, & ſereniſſimæ noſtræ reginæ E*liſabethæ in Galliam & Scotiam, legati, aureæ periſcelidis* & Sancti Georgij equitis aurati, vicémque olim regiæ maieſtatis Hiberniæ ter gerentis, & Walliæ 26, annis præſidis, & regiæ maieſtatis à concilijs: Henricus Dillon,

Vminibus mentis perluſtrans ſæpe ſtudebam,
Paruum quàm filum cuncta caduca tenet:
Sicut enim multis tribuit fortuna ſecunda,
Sic donat multos iſta nouerca malis.
Inſula noſtra dijs ſuperis inuiſa videtur,
Fortunæ lapſu labitur illa ſimul.
Nullus patronus fidus, nec verus amicus,
Quin ſubito caſu morte ruente perit.
Clarius hoc luna monſtrat dignиſſimus ille
Sydneus Henricus, nominis ille decor.
Qui nos protector viuax defendit & autor,
Qui fuerat patriæ, ſpéſque ſalúſque ſuæ.
Ter patriam curua petijt comitante carina,
Aduentus dignus laudibus ille fuit.
Palladis imbutus muſis hic armipotentis,
Hoſtes imperio ſe dedidere ſuo.
Legibus inſtituit priùs armis omnia vinci,
Legibus expulſis attamen arma tulit.
Hoſtes ſub pedibus calcauit Marte feroce,
Sedibus in ſummis conſtitutúſque bonos.
Henrici virtus valuit plus omnibus armis,
Aſpectu primo quiſquis amaret eum.
Oſtendit vultu naturæ dona ſereno,
Verbis erexit docta Minerua virum.
Conſtans & lenis minimè permobilis ira,
In bello nullis ille ſecundus erat.
Dapſilis in cunctos, ratio tamen omnia rexit,
Qui vulgi famam ſpreuit habere leuis.
In patriam tandem curſu felice reuerſus,
E medio lapſus culmina ſumma rapit.
Wallicus en conſul ſuperis præconia fudit,
Magna ſic pompa terra tegebat eum.

Laus Deo.

Suſtulit è ſacro me nudum fonte poëtam
Henricum Dillon Sydneus ipſe manu.

Ioannes Cawell in eundem.

MOtibus aduerſis verſatur machina rerum,
Quolibet & moles voluitur iſta breui.
Gignitur inſtanti quod creſcit tempore longo
Diuerſas formas inde ſubire ſtudet.
Culmine fatali ſenſim deflectitur ipſum,
Interitus falcat lubrica fata ſua.
Illis inſeritur porro motúſque localis
Omnes amplexu continet ipſe ſuo.
Sydneus his heros fauſtum produxerat æuum,
Fluctibus & nullis exagitatus erat.
Summis hic attauis cretus natione Britannus
Extendit ſtirpem viribus ille ſuam.
Poſthabuit partum ſemper ſectando decorum,
Maiorum laudes auxit honore ſuo.
Muſarum teneros ſtudio deuouerat annos
Auſpicijs miris inde beatus erat.
Quæſtor fiſcalis ſignatus munere primo,
Térque vicem regis geſſit amore loci.
Per multos præſes regnauit Wallicus annos,
Diſtribuens æquè iura cuique ſua.
Aurati fulgens equitis ſignitus honore,
Conſilio princeps illius vſa fuit.
Tantum vitali filo decreuerat heros
In partes totum ſoluitur omne ſuas.
Sicque nouis corpus formis transfertur ad vnum,
Pars terrena perit, cœlica forma manet.
Nobilis Henricus Mæcenas verus amicis,
Hoſtibus armatus ſæuus habendus erat.
Wallia læſa iacet, caſus & Hibernia plorat,
Vertitur in luctus regia tota domus.
Ipſe baro Dillon conſul tum iure dolebat,
Soluitur in lachrymas nocte diéque ſuas.
Quorſum ſic lugent, cum Sydneus alta petebat?
Turpi pro mundo ſydera pura tenet.

Laus Deo.

Now to leaue matters of the dead, and to touch affaires of the liuing, ſomewhat out of place in reſpect of the moneth; but occurring in the ſame yeare (which prepoſterous courſe could not for the preſent time be auoided, but hereafter maie be redreſſed) you ſhall vnderſtand, that not long after the beginning of Hilarie terme, in this preſent yeare 1586, for foure ſeuerall reſpects well worthie the remembrance, and thereupon bræfelie to be put

Thomas Louelace treacherouslie sought to spoile his nerest kinsmen of their liues to haue his lands, by example of T. S. who before had sought to spoile his eldest brother of his life, after he had defrauded him of his goods and cattels, and was neuer punished therefore.

downe in this historie, there did befall this accident that hereafter followeth. It so being, that one Thomas Louelace late of Staple Inne gentleman, had diuerse waies so wilfullie behaued himselfe toward maister Leonard Louelace esquier, his nære kinsman, as that the said Leonard Louelace was inforced to attempt a suite of waste against the said Thomas which being in course of law ordered for the plaintife: yet did the said plaintife offer verie fauorable conditions to the defendant, hauing long time bæne by so manie malicious practises pursued by his said kinsman, as he deserued to find no fauor at all at the plaintifes hands. But yet so dæpelie had an old cankered & inueterat hatred possessed the heart of this defendant, that these new fauours towards him could nothing mollifie or remoue the same. Which vngratious humor, hauing long boiled in his vnquiet brest, he conceiueth this course to put it on foot, sounding in the highest degrée of danger, to the liues and persons of his two nærest kinsmen, and pestilent to their whole posteritie.

Considerations wise enough, if they had bæne accordinglie vsed and applied.

For considering with himselfe, that the late lawes of king Henrie the eight do giue vnto the crowne the lands and possessions of tenants intaile attainted of treason, so long as there be anie issues remaining vnder the same estate intaile; and weighing with himselfe, that the plaintife in the foresaid suite might by his verie late mariage be likelie to haue children (during whose liues he could by no colorable meanes make himselfe waie to the whole inheritance of his said cousin) he now obserueth it to be the onelie due season, aswell to cut off his kinsman from his life, and all other things which we hold pretious in this world; as to make himselfe capable of all his liuing, by colour of a remaindor limited vnto him and his line by the will of one John Louelace esquier. For full accomplishment of which intent, because the life of maister Richard Louelace, next brother to the plaintife, was a barre to one part of his purpose; he calleth him likewise within the compasse of the same danger, and frameth his drift after this manner.

Note the manner of his drift.

A third brother of the plaintifes, desirous of sæing the vniuersities abrode for the studie of the ciuill law, and being latelie noised to haue bæne professed in religion there; from him he deriueth the groundworke of his desperat deuise, counterfeiting letters to come from the third brother to the plaintife, and the said maister Richard Louelace; which letters did set forth an intent of most dangerous treasons against hir maiesties most gratious person, whereof the plaintife was put downe to be the compasser, and the said maister Richard Louelace the executioner. Then it was compacted betwæne the defendant, and a certeine lewd fellow, who was before manie waies beholding to maister Leonard Louelace, that he hauing accesse without suspicion, should either leaue these letters in the plaintifes studie, or else bestow them vnsæne in some other place; which being so donne, there should no time be left by the defendant for such present procæding as such causes required. But maister Leonard Louelace, being gone from his London lodging before this messenger came, he returning homeward, and not well aduised what to do, thought better to hazard the successe of his message, than to sæme to do nothing at all: and therefore not far from Grauesend, did suffer the same letters to fall from him, as was sufficientlie perceiued by an honest poore man, who was not far off about the topping of a trée.

Note how God will haue lewd dealing and ill meaning reuealed.

These letters were presentlie taken vp by a boy, who was by the said fellow allured by monie, to make deliuerie according to their direction. This boy being seruant in a victelling house, did carrie them home & cast them vpon a cupbord, as papers spotted with mire and of no valure. There comming that night a waifaring man, did esteeme of them accordinglie, and carrieng them to an house of office, going ouer a few lines, did find them to conteine a dangerous intention of most weightie importance; and therevpon carried them to the lord Cobham, who with requisit spæd directed the same to the lords of the councell. Who according to the qualitie of the cause, hauing in their due respect of preseruing hir highnesse safetie, a verie honorable care ouer the gentlemens good fame and credit, who were to be touched in so foule a cause: whose former good course of life had cleared them from anie slender suspicion of so great a villanie, as the lord Cobham had likewise before informed: they therevpon thought good to refer the ordering of this so strange a case to the lord treasuror; who for his great wisedome was likelie soone to discerne (for his most tender well wishing of hir highnesse well doing) and most spædilie to preuent all danger; and for his singular zeale to iustice, to deale indifferentlie with the parties in question.

The lord treasuror had the discussing and sifting out of the matter.

The lord treasuror in the absence of maister Leonard Louelace, hauing called before him maister Richard Louelace; and being by him informed of such sensible circumstances, as did directlie induce his lordship to be of opinion, that all this villanous practise should proceed from the defendant, he in courteous and honorable manner, without baile, bond, or maineprise, did dismisse the said maister Richard Louelace to his owne libertie; and did giue present direction for the apprehension of the defendant, and other his complices: who as vpon his comming before their honors, did by manie aduised oths make colourable purgation of this obiected action; so yet by some amazednesse of his countenance, and by certeine repugnances in his owne answers, he left a more setled suspicion that it should be his doing. Wherevpon the lord treasuror well regarding and perusing the letter, and finding by the close couching and setting togither of the same, that although the inditer lacked not a malicious kind of learning; that yet in his orthographie there were certeine such slips committed, as by a custome of negligent writing were likelie to grow into an habit with him. Those verie words did his lordship interlace vnder the forme of another matter, and bad him to write the same; who keeping his former custome, did verie iustlie fulfill his lordships expectation. Which being well conceiued and compared with the former forme of letters, did sæme to haue some difference rather in policie than in substance: but the same slips & imperfections of orthographie did clearelie discouer the workeman of this whole matter.

What we are to gather for our owne benefit, by the former declaration.

The conclusion of the former points premised in the beginning, must be this short aduertisement of good substance. First, to what desperat dispositions and most inhumane actions, that cankered humor of malice driueth them vnto, whome it hath dæpelie touched and attached. Secondlie, how wonderfull is the working and goodnesse of God, in preseruing innocencie from the most dangerous and subtill drifts of the aduersarie. Thirdlie, how profitable it is to those countries & commonwealths, where the councellors do rather sæke with sharpenesse of iudgement to discerne and discouer the qualities and causes, before they aplie the princes displeasure, or the heauie burthen of laws to the first apperance of anie suggestions. Lastlie, how necessarie it is to the good estate of gouernments, that iustice be dulie deliuered: which in this case was in so due and honorable manner performed, vpon the hearing of the

cause before the lords in the star chamber; as that the posteritie to come maie from thense fetch a right fruitfull president, to take hæd of such odious practises. And now to set downe the matter according to the record: thus it followeth.

In camera stellata coram consilio, 11 die Februa. anno 28 Elisabetæ reginæ.

On this daie (to wit the eleuenth of Februarie) Thomas Louelace was brought to the bar, as a prisoner from the Tower; against whome hir maiesties attorneie generall did informe, that the same Louelace, vpon malice conceiued against Leonard Louelace & Richard Louelace his cousine germans, had most lewdlie, falslie, and diuelishlie, contriued and counterfeited with his owne hand, a verie traitorous letter in the name of Thomas Louelace, another brother of the said Richard and Leonard, now resident at Rome (as it is supposed) purporting in shew, that the same Thomas, now resident beyond the seas, should thereby incite and prouoke the said Leonard, to procure the said Richard his brother to worke and execute hir highnesse destruction, with manie more verie wicked and horrible circumstances of treason in the highest degree, specified in the same letter: as by the contents thereof, which was this daie openlie read in court, most euidentlie appeared. And yet not so contented, either cast or let fall, or caused the same letter to be cast or let fall in the open high waie; pretending thereby, that vpon the discouerie thereof, his said kinsmen, Leonard and Richard, should be drawne in question for the treasonable matter against hir maiesties person in that letter conteined, euen in the highest degree. For which offense, hir maiesties said attorneie praied on the behalfe of hir maiestie, that the said Thomas Louelace the prisoner might receiue condigne punishment.

Thomas Louelace condinglie punished by iudgement of the honorable court in the starchamber: a notable and praise worthie example of iustice, the like whereof is to be wished to the like offendor.

Herevpon the court demanded of the said Louelace what answer he could make to the said accusation. Who immediatlie confessing his said lewd and diuelish offense, to be by him committed, in such maner and forme as is before expressed, humblie submitted himselfe, and praied the fauor of this honorable court. Whereupon the court had therefore conuicted him thereof, by the full and whole consent of all the persons there sitting: and haue adiudged him to suffer such corporall punishment and imprisonment, as hereafter followeth. That is to saie: that he shall be remitted to the Tower from whense he came, that he shall be caried on horsebacke about Westminster hall with his face to the horsse taile, and with a paper on his backe, wherein shall be written these words: For counterfeiting of false and trecherous letters against his owne kindred, conteining most traitorous matter against hir maiesties person: and from thense shall be carried in that manner, and set on the pillorie here in the palace at Westminster, & there shall haue one of his ears cut off: and shall also be carried in like manner on horsebacke into London, and set on the pillorie on a market daie in Cheapside with the like paper on his backe: and after that, shall be carried downe into Kent, and at the next assise there shall be set openlie in the pillorie, in the place where the assises shall be kept, with the like paper on his backe, and there shall haue his other eare cut off. And also that he shall be set on the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and one other market daie at Rochester in the said countie of Kent, with the like paper on his backe (as afore said) at either of the same places. And it is further ordered, that in euerie of the foresaid places, where he shall stand on the pillorie, the order taken by this honorable court, touching his said offense and punishment, shall be openlie read and published. Thus far the record, the sentence whereof was dulie executed.

An offenslue sermon at Pauls crosse.

Vpon sundaie being the first daie of March 1586, the preacher appointed to supplie the place at Paules crosse failed therein: by occasion whereof, one George Closse (a preacher of the citie) was procured to supplie his roome that was absent, and in his sermon intreating vpon iustice, reproued the maior of London particularlie being there present, for shuffling vp a cause (as he termed it) that came before him; and whereat the said Closse was also present the fridaie before he preached. Herevpon grew much varietie of talke and rumors amongst the people, coniecturing and scanning diuerslie vpon the cause. And the daie following, the maior, aldermen, and the councell of the citie entered into consultation about it; and vpon tuesdaie, the preacher was warned to answer the cause before the maior, aldermen, and councell of the citie, in the Guildhall. Where, after much debating of the matter, it was finallie concluded, that certeine of the aldermen of the citie, with the recorder, should commense complaint hereof before the archbishop of Canturburie. And in the afternoone the same daie, it was ordered by the archbishop and other his collegues in causes ecclesiasticall; that because the said Closse had delt so particularlie against the magistrate, he should be inioined to preach in the same place againe the 27 daie of March following (being Palmesundaie) and in his sermon should make his submission, which the common people called a recantation.

The preacher is troubled for his sermon, and duged to a submission commonlie termed a recantation.

In the meane space were dispersed sundrie rumors and great diuersities of reports of the matter, and great expectation of the daie appointed. And at the daie and place prefixed was gathered such an assemblie and concourse of people, as by estimation had not beene seene there at anie rehearsall sermon. This confluence of people grew the greater, for that the preacher who supplied the said place the verie next sundaie following, did intimat to the people (commanded so to doo) that the said Closse, whose sermon was offensiuelie taken, as tending against the chiefe magistrate, was verie sorie for that which he had doone; and was to signifie no lesse vpon Palmesundaie insuing in another sermon, which he was appointed to make in forme of submission. Now by the waie of parenthesis, before we come to shew how the said Closse did acquite himselfe; we are to declare, that vpon the same sundaie, that this inioined submission was imparted to the people, there stood before the preacher at Pauls crosse, in the verie eie of the multitude, a most heinous malefactor in a white sheet, with a rod of about halfe a yard long in his hand, and about his head a paper fastened, with the inscription of the offense for the which he did penance. This lewd fellow (hauing a wife) did notwithstanding for the space of fiue yeares past, keepe in his house an harlot or strumpet vnder the name of his maid, whose bodie he vnlawfullie vsed; insomuch that she bare him certeine bastards, which in time were made awaie and murthered, this horrible deed still remaining vndisclosed; vntill the last whome she bare and slue, which was then bewraied, and she of the fact by course of law orderlie conuinced, was executed at Tiborne the last sessions next before the publication hereof by the preacher.

A fowle offendor, or heinous malefactor did penance at Pauls crosse, his companion hauing beene executed at Tiborne not long before.

Now (saith the preacher) although the law haue acquited this heinous malefactor, and released him from the gallowes: yet is it not likelie that he can be excusable from priuitie in the offense. For it cannot be, but that as he was not, nor could be ignorant of the harlots being with child; so must he needs know what became of them after their procreation and bringing forth into the world. Neuertheless (saith the preacher) although he haue escaped the like

execution as his fellow offendor hath suffered: yet except he doo hartilie repent, and be inwardlie sorie for the same, he is certeine to hang in hell fier. In signification therefore of his heartie repentance, he was inioined to make open confession of his fault, the forme whereof was deliuered in writing to the preacher, he reading it, and the offendor saieng after him the same, with as lowd a voice as conceiued shame for so grieuous a trespasse would admit.

The offendor openlie confesseth his fault with a lowd voice.

Now vpon this repentance and confession, the preacher toke occasion to aggrauat the dangerous sinne of fornication and adulterie, shewing by sundrie examples what punishments haue bene inflicted vpon offendors in that kind, by the laws of diuerse nations: as of the Tartars, Turks, Jews, and Aegyptians, &c: some stripping the man that was giltie, starke naked in sight of the people, who receiued a thousand yerks vpon his flesh; the woman had hir nose cut off, and so liued with a perpetuall note of infamie, bearing a visible badge of hir former lewd life. Among others it was sentenced by law, that the wife offending, should be stripped naked, and whipped from street to street, euen of hir owne husband; who was appointed the executioner of that punishment. This fault was likewise reuenged with stoning to death, and other corporall smarts and torments; all which shew how odious a sinne it is, both in the sight of God and man.

Laws for adulterie and fornication sharplie executed.

Hauing waded so far in the argument, the preacher spake verie honorablie of the dignitie of marriage, and against the frequented vice of vsurie, whereof he deliuered examples verie dreadfull, intending an amendment of that enormitie. And imputing the lacke and neglect of forbearing to sinne, vnto the idle hearing of the word; the preacher shewed that some hearers there are, who after they haue heard their lewd liues vehementlie inueighed against, for a moment of time entring into a consideration of the horror of the same, go home, seeme somewhat sorowfull; and for one, two, or three daies appeare verie forwards and towards in reformation. On the first daie they can saie, *Gloria patri*; on the second, *Et filio*; on the third, *Et spiritui sancto*: but on the fourth, *Sicut erat in principio*; and so they become as bad as they were in the beginning; naie much worse, and so continue to their latter ending. Thus much by waie of interposition, touching that sundaies worke, being a note none of the worst in the booke, and maie doo much good by Gods grace, if it be well marked and throughlie thought vpon.

How people are affected in hearing of Gods word, and therefore no maruell though vnfruitfull.

And now to returne to the continuation of the report of the said Cloose, who during the time of respiration, furnished himselfe for the place which he was appointed to supplie, and for the time of expectation now approching and at length present. When & where (as aforsaid) thousands were gathered together of each age & sex; some comming to see, some to heare, and some to obserue what was said and doone. The most part of the maiors officers, the children of the hospitals, and manie other were there, to write and take notes of the sermon. Besides, there were six preachers appointed to heare the sermon, and to certifie how he discharged his designement. During the time of the sermon was vsed great silence, but much and secret whisperings, strange countenances, often lookings to and fro of the people, and some intercourse of speech among the aldermen, especiallie when the preacher entred his discourse of the matter of expectation; wherein he made report of the whole cause as it had passed before the maior, alleging sundrie reasons diuine and humane, which had moued him in his former sermon to deale so particularlie.

The report of George Cloose matter continued.

The preachers sermon is noted.

The matter of expectation.

In conclusion, the sermon finished, the auditorie departed with generall approbation and applause to the preacher, and the maior with greater discontentment: insomuch as after Easter, when the sermons at the spittle and other businesse was ouerpassed; the maior by his brethren renewed a further complaint before the archbishop of Canturburie. But in the meane space, the said Cloose had obteined from the archbishop and others his collegues of the ecclesiasticall commission, sentence of dismission from further molestation touching this cause; vpon a certificat made from the six preachers before mentioned, whereof there were three doctors, and three bachellors in diuinitie, which had made report vnto the bishop of London (according to his appointment touching the sermon) that the said Cloose had fullie in all good sort satisfied the order of the archbishop: so as the complaint and accusation of the maior could not be anie further admitted. Then was the matter complained of vnto the lords of the priuie councell, and a commission granted by them to haue the cause further examined.

Further complaint renewed against the preacher, who is dismissed from further molestation.

Commissioners were appointed by the councell, three ecclesiasticall persons, & fiue temporall lawiers, namelie the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Salisburie; the lord chiefe iustice of the common pleas, the maister of the rols, the lord chiefe baron, the quenes attorneie generall, and the maister of saint Katharins. The cause being heard vpon articles preferred and answered, it was finallie thought conuenient by the commissioners, vpon conference with both parties, to draw them to a priuat reconciliation; whereunto after the preacher had assented, the maior would in no wise accept it: but vrged a certificat to be made to the councell, and after some suspense of his request, at last he obteined of the bishop of London, & others of the temporall commissioners, a certificat to be made, and the matter was continued in suspense till his maioraltie was expired.

The matter brought before the councell, and ordered by commissioners.

A priuat reconciliation of the partie offended and offending intended.

This yeare on the seuententh daie of March, a strange thing happened, the like whereof before hath not bene heard of in our time. Maister Dorrington of Spaldwike in the countie of Huntington esquier, one of hir maiesties gentlemen pensioners, had a great horsse that died suddenlie; & being ripped to see the cause of his death, there was found in the hole of the heart of the same horsse a strange worme, which laie in a round heape in a kall or skin, of the bignesse of a tode, which being taken out and spred abrode, was in forme the fashion not easie to be described in words, but in picture. The length of this worme diuided into manie grains, to the number of fiftie, spred from the bodie like the branches of a tree, was from the snowt to the end of the longest graine seuentene inches; hauing foure issues in the grains, from whense dropped forth a red water. The bodie in bignesse round about was three inches and a halfe, the colour whereof was like vnto a mackerell. This monstrous worme found in maner aforesaid, crauling to haue got awaie, was stabbed in with a dagger and died: which after being dried, was shewed to manie honorable personages of this realme.

A strange worme found in a horsse heart.

In the sessions of oier and terminer holden at London in the iustice hall, on the eightenth daie of Aprill, William Tomson *alias* Blackeborne, made priest at Reims in France by the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, and remaining within this realme after the terme of fortie daies after the session of the last parlement, was condemned of treason. Also Richard Lea *alias* Long, made priest at Laon in France (as aforesaid) and remaining here in this realme after the terme aforesaid, was likewise there condemned for treason: which said William and

Seminarie priests executed at Tiborne.

and Thomas, were both on the twentith daie of Aprill drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, according as they before had receiued iudgement.

The note of Iohn Waller concerning the arreignement of a witch.

At a great session holden in a towne of Kent called Feuersham, being a towne incorporat, and a limb or member of Douer; vpon the nintéenth daie of Aprill, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, before Thomas Warning, then maior of the same towne, and others; Ione Cason late the wife of one Frœman, was accused, attached, indicted, and arreigned for witchcraft; but condemned & adiudged to die, and executed for inuocating of wicked spirits, according to a statute made *In 5. Elisa. ca. 2.*: for that she, the statute aforesaid not at all regarding, vpon the first of Aprill, in the seuen and twentith yeare of quéene Elisabeth, and at diuerse daies and times since, the art of witchcraft and inchantment had vsed, and vpon wicked spirits had inuocated and called, contrarie to the peace of our souereigne ladie the quéene; and namelie, that she the second of Februarie in the eight and twentith yeare of quéene Elisabeth, had bewitched Jane Cooke of the age of three yeares, who by hir inchantment languished and died. Herevpon seuen women and one man gaue euidence against hir, who though they were all verie poore people, yet were they the rather admitted to accuse hir, for that they were hir nére neighbors, and hir offense verie odious.

The euidence of Sara Cooke against Ione Cason.

The first and principall deposition was made by Sara Cooke, mother to the bewitched child in these words following (that is to saie) that after hir said child had béene sicke, languishing by the space of thirtéene daies, a trauellor came into hir house, to the end to drinke a pot of ale (for she kept an alehouse) who séeing the lamentable case and pitious griefe of the child, called hir vnto him, saieng; Hostesse, I take it that your child is bewitched. Whereunto she answered, that she for hir part knew of no such matter. Well (said the ghest) if you thinke it to be so, doo no more but take a tile from ouer the lodging of the partie suspected, and laie it in a hot fier: and if she haue bewitched the child, the tile will sparkle and flie round about the cradle where the child lieth. Now she, conceiuing that trauellors haue good experience in such matters, did steale (as she deposed) a tile from the house of the said Ione Cason (though not from ouer hir lodging) and laied it in the fier besides the cradle, which soone after sparkled about the house, euen according to hir said ghests information. And within short space, the saide Ione (being the suspected partie) came into this deponents house, to see how the child did, which (soone after hir comming) looked full in hir face, and had not lifted vp hir eie, nor looked abrode all the night precedent; but within foure houres after died: so as by the circumstance of that euidence, she thought it might plainelie appeare to the iurie, that the said Ione had bewitched hir child to death. Neuertheles, the prisoner did absolutelie denie anie thing donne, or purposed by hir to haue béene donne in this behalfe.

A pretie point of witchcraft.

Howbeit, to pursue this matter to proofe, and hir to death, the other seuen persons were all deposed; by whome it was affirmed constantlie, and approued manifestlie, that to the house of one Frœman (whose wife the said Ione Cason then was) not latelie but diuerse years since resorted a little thing like a rat (but more reddish) hauing a brode taile, which some of them had séene, and some had heard of. Insomuch as one heard it crie in the wall like a cricket, another like a rat, another like a tode, another that it ran vnder a tub, and spake these words (that is to saie) Go to, go to, go to. And it was further deposed by one goodwife Offild (the substantiallest person of them all) that hir cat could not kill it.

A. Kelm.

All these depositions were made and taken, to proue Ione Cason a witch; and consequentlie, that she had through hir inchantments, and by the helpe of this vermin or spirit, killed the said Jane Cooke. But she (with great attestations) pleaded not giltie, alleging diuerse matters and instances of the malicious dealings of hir aduersaries against hir, reciting also certeine controuersies betwixt hir and them, wherein they had donne hir open wrong. But although she satisfied the bench and all the iurie touching hir innocencie for the killing of hir child, denieng also that she had anie skill in the art of witchcraft; she then and there confessed, that a little vermin, being of colour reddish, of stature lesse than a rat, and furnished with a brode taile, did diuerse yeares since (but not latelie) haunt hir house, and manie other houses in the towne; & further, that she (as she imagined) heard it crie sometimes; Go to, go to, go to; sometimes, Sicke sicke; sometimes, Come, come. Whereby she gathered, that it charged hir to sée hir maister Masons will performed; which she had not executed according to the confidence he had in hir; to the trouble of hir conscience, and veration of hir mind. And yet she honestlie confessed, that she had the vse of hir bodie verie dishonestlie, whilest she was wife to hir husband Frœman.

Hir accusers hir prouoked maliciousnes.

Upon these foresaid depositions, and vpon this hir owne confession, the iurie was charged, went together; and being loth to condemne hir of witchcraft (which they knew to be fellonie) they acquitted hir thereof, and found hir giltie vpon the said statute, for inuocation of wicked spirits; thinking thereby to haue procured hir punishment by pillorie, or imprisonment, and to haue saued hir from the gallowes. So as when the verdict was giuen vp by the iurie to the maior and his brethren, sitting on their iudgement seat, togither with their learned counsell; the said maior vttered this speech following: (that is to saie) Ione Cason, for so much as it hath pleased God to shew such fauor this daie vnto you, as to put it into the hearts of the iurie, to acquite you of the fellonie, whereupon you were arreigned; it behoueth you to render most humble thanks to God and the quéene, and hereafter to beware that you giue no such occasions of offense againe. And you shall doo well, hense forwards to serue God better, and to resort to sermons oftener: whereby you maie learne your obedience to God, and your dutie to your neighbors.

The iurie meant well.

The first sentence of the maior of Feuersham.

A gentleman (being a lawier, & of counsell with the towne, sitting vpon the bench with the maior, to assist, or rather to direct him in the course of law and iustice) hearing this mild iudgement to proceed out of the maiors mouth, kept vnto him, and told him, that (vnder correction) he thought him to erre in the principall point of his sentence (that is to saie) that instead of life he should haue pronounced death; because inuocation of wicked spirits was made fellonie by the statute whereupon she was arreigned. Then (quoth the maior) goodwife Cason, you must be conueied from hense to the White house from whense you came, and from thense to the place of execution, where you must be hanged vntill you be dead; and so God haue mercie vpon you.

The maiors second sentence.

Then was she carried back to their prison, which they call the White house. And because there was no matter of inuocation giuen in euidence against hir, nor proued in or by anie accusation, whereby the iurie might haue anie colour to condemne hir therfore: hir execution was staied by the space of three daies after iudgement was giuen. In the meane time

Jane Cafons confession.

time, she was persuaded by sundrie preachers and learned men to confesse it. But no persuasion could preuaile, to make hir acknowledge anie other criminall offense, but hir lewd life & adulterous conuersation with one Mason, whose house she kept whilest he was in health, and whose person she tended whilest he was sicke; with whome she was conuersant at the houre of his death, mainteining his concupiscence all the daies of his life; & in the end abused the trust repосed in hir, touching the disposition of certeine bequests, which he made hir onelie priuie vnto. For he died of the plague, for feare of which infection none other durst repaire vnto him; so as she vsed that matter according to hir wicked conscience. In which respect, she said in hir confession vpon the gallowes (taking hir death that she died guiltlesse herein) that the iudgement of God was in such measure laid vpon hir, and therewithall made so godlie and penitent an end, that manie now lamented hir death, which were (before) hir utter enimies. Yea some wished hir aliue after she was hanged, that cried out for the hangman when she was aliue: but she should haue beene more beholding vnto them that had kept hir from the gallowes, than to such as would haue cut the rope when she was strangled. Neuertheless, they extended to hir as much fauor herein, as their combarons of the ancient towne of Rie shewed to a neighbour of theirs named Foule. Which storie being not altogither impertinent, and certeinelie performed about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie & seuen, I thought it not vnfit to be in this place inserted; especiallie, because both these townes are ruled by one kind of gouernement, for they are of the ports.

Jane Cafon taketh hir death what she died guiltlesse.

The storie of Foule of Rie, hanged for robbing his wife.

There haunted to the house of this Foule, in respect of the good will he bare to his wife, a little honest man, whose name I will not discouer, who committed vnto hir custodie a bag of monie, amounting to the summe of ten pounds sterling. Foules wife locked it vp in hir cupbord. Howbeit, the handled not the matter so couertlie, but hir couert baron espied it, and (in hir absence) either picked or brake open the locke, and tooke out the monie; wherewith afterwards he plaied the good fellow all the daies of his life. For immediatlie his wife accused him (not of subtill dealing) but of plaine theft, regarding more hir friends losse, than hir husbands life. Herevpon, the maior of Rie (at the next sessions) caused him to be indicted and arreigned, and being conuinced of the fact, he was condemned and adiudged to death. For whose better execution, there was presentlie a new paire of gallowes erected, whereupon without further delaie he was hanged vntill he was dead; which gallowes hath beene euer since called by the name of Foules mare. And now he cared not so much for the maior, as the maior did for him. For Foule was skant cold, but manie murmured at the maiors hastie proceedings; which moued them to doubt and whisper, that Foules fault was no felonie.

Foules mare.

But the maior (although it be said that portsmen maie tell their tale twise) could not now deuise, how (Foule being dead) he might reuerse this foule sentence. Neuertheless, he sent vp with all speed to one maister Ramsete of Greies Inne, who was of counsell with the towne, to learne what the law was in that case: who hauing fullie weied and conceiued thereof, told the partie directlie, that the matter was without the compasse of felonie. Whie sir (quoth the messenger) goodman Foule is alreadie hanged. Goodman Foule (said he againe) whie came ye then to me for counsell? But what was he for a man (said maister Ramsie?) A bad fellow (said the messenger.) Well (quoth he) go thou thy waies home, & then there is but one knaue out of the waie. Such conclusions are manie times made in the ports, who sometimes vse the priuilege of their liberties, not as they ought, but as they list, seldome times applieng their authoritie to so good purposes as they might: for commonlie they vse more circumspection in their expenses, than in their sentences.

Counsell asked too late.

Henrie Ramelius ambassador out of Denmarke.

On sundaie the eight daie of Maie, an ambassador, named Henrie Ramelius, intituled *Cancellarius Germanicus*, arriued at the Tower of London, A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion: verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse tongs, as Latine, French, Italian, and Germane; but also in diuerse sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriuing (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorablie receiued by the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thense through Tower street into bishops gate street, and so to a faire and large house called Crosbies place, where he was lodged, and remained.

The Danish ambassador honorablie interteined.

The said Ramelius, during the time of his tarriance, had attendance done him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imploied about him to and from London, the court then being at Greenewich; whither alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be shewed. Which he seemed (as he could no lesse) verie acceptable to take. Now being in England, and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was giuen in Whitsunweeke; at what time the said ambassador, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chapell, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine seruice so melodiouslie said and song, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man halfe dead might thereby haue beene quickened. The gentlemen of the chapell with the rest of the quier bending themselues, both with skill and zeale, that daie to honor their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distinctlie reading part of diuine seruice, and in presence of all the auditorie doing such obeisance with knee and countenance, as the presence of so gratious a souereigne as they had in their eies did require.

The maiestie of the English court.

Heauenlie musike in the queens chapell.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassador, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner: where standing neere to a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication now with one, and then with another English lord, as the lord Charls Howard lord admerall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c:) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carrieng couered dishes, all of siluer & gilt verie beautifull; themselues in veluet and silke sutable in each respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worne; the trumpets sounding, and the drum plaieng thereunto: a maruellous delightsome thing to heare, and a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was done, the ambassador was made partaker of such courtlie recreations, as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceipted; considering that as euerie thing was done with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordinglie affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disports, so were

The ambassador of Denmarke seeth the roiall seruice of the queene of England.

Recreations and disports for prince and people.

not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a greene verie spatious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bearebaiting and bulbaiting (tempered with other merie disports) were exhibited; whereat it can not be spoken of what pleasure the people tooke.

Bearebaiting described.

For it was a sport alone of these beasts, to see the beare with his pinke eies leering after his enimies, the nimblenesse and wait of the dog to take his aduantage, and the force and experience of the beare againe to auoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free; and if he were once taken, then what shift with biting, clawing, rozing, tugging, grasping, tumbling, & tossing he would worke to wind himselfe awaie; & when he was lose, to shake his eares with the blood and slauer about his phisnomie, was a pittance of good releefe. The like pastime also of the bull, & the horsse with the ape on his backe, did greatlie please the people, who standing round, some in a ring vpon the greene, other some aloft, and some below, had their eies full bent vpon the present spectacle, diuerse times expressing their inward conceiued ioy and delight with shrill shouts and varietie of gesture. Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the pastimes ended, and the actors therein wearie; the ambassador withdrew to his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtesies elsewhere, verie bountifullie giuen and taken: the ambassador, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust withall, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirtith daie of Maie next following, whome we will leaue vpon his voiage, and touch other matters happening at home.

Bulbaiting and an old ape on horsseback.

This Crosbie was a knight, see his gift to the citie of London, pag. 702, a 50.

The ambassador departeth home towards Denmarke.

Lord Edward earle of Rutland ambassador into Scotland.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, and on the fourth daie of June, a commission was directed from the queens maiestie then at Greenewich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betweene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth queene of England, and James the sixt of that name king of Scots, vpon certeine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtfull and dangerous times, wherein the princes neere adioining, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutuall leagues dow knit friendship, for the rooting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospell, not onelie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other forren kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

The queens maiestie hath speciall care of christian religion to be preserued and propagated.

Least they therefore that loue the religion of the gospell, should seeme lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie indeuour to mainteine and vphold that of Rome, least it should be ouerthrowne: the said princes, for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people doth depend; and for the preseruation of the true, ancient, and christian religion, which they now profesle; haue thought good that a stricter bond of mutuall and sociall league, than at anie time hitherto hath beene agreed vpon betweene their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed; the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the etymon of his name, and deseruing the poets report

——nomen virtutibus æquat,
Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)

the lord William Euers; and also Thomas Randolph esquier; who with their traine of attendants came to Berwike the nineteenth of June, where (the ambassadors of Scotland being in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissionated: the articles of the said league in all and euerie part sufficientlie confirmed, on the fift of Julie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, wherevnto (for the auoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

A league betweene England and Scotland confirmed.

See more of this ambassage in the historie of Scotland, pag. 356. b. 60.

And here (by the waie) hauing entered into a remembrance concerning Scotland, it is noteworthie, a little to glanse at the present state of the same, whereof let the wise consider, how soeuer the lesse aduised passe it ouer. The king himselfe we omit as touching his port be it as it is, neuertheles by name to be thought vpon: *Vtpote nomen minimæ felicitatis, maximi verò infortunij perhibetur.* For if a man tosse ouer the Scotish historie, and cast an eie vpon the succession of their kings; not medling with anie of anie name, sauing such as were of the same with him now in state of principalitie; he shall see *Fatale quoddam malum nomini innatum.* For certeine conspirators forceablie breaking vp the first kings chamber doore, hauing before died their hands with the blood of the kings fauorers, did now also with like continuall bloudthirstinesse murther their soueraigne, inflicting vpon his bodie manie cruell and deadlie wounds at eight and twentie seuerall blowes.

James the first slaine, see the Scotish historie, pag. 260. b. 40, 50.

Compare this murther with that of Brutus and Cassius vpon Julius Cæsar.

The second king of that name, hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune he was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie; which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat neere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus with others. The third of that name banded himselfe against certeine rebellious lords, who had made their forces so strong, that they durst enter a pitcht field; and in deed so did: where after great slaughter and murther made of an huge multitude, the king being put to the worst, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left starke naked.

James the second slaine, see the Scotish historie, pag. 278. a 20.

James the third slaine, see the Scotish historie, pag. 287. a 40.

The fourth of that name, with no lesse infelicitie than the former, ended his daies. For in a battell attempted, tried, and fiercelie fought with the English (notwithstanding manie prodigious chances as forewarnings of misfortune to befall both prince and people, as an hare start among them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, & other things flong at hir with great noise and shouting, yet escaped she from them all, safe and scotfree: the buckle leather likewise of the kings helmet was gnawne with mise, & the cloth or veile of his inner tent of sanguine red) yet nothing moued with these extraordinarie accidents, nor the persuasions of such as were neere to & about him, he made against the English; & breaking his araie of battell (more hardie than wise) rushed forward (with a companie of noble men) and accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the English manfullie standing at resistance. In fine it fell out verie fatallie against the king & his power, by meanes that the English comming forceablie vpon them, and both sides for a long space fighting verie cruellie, at length the victorie inclined to the English; king James being there beaten downe and slaine.

Forewarnings of misfortunes and ill lucks to befall.

James the fourth slaine, see the Scotish historie, pag. 300. a 60. 301. a 10.

The

The fift of that name, a man neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certeintie, eger to reuenge iniuries, and of an high stomach; hearing of the discomfiture giuen vnto his people in a conflict by the English, was maruellouslie amazed: and therewithall such an impression of pensiuenesse surprised him, that he suspected a conspiracie of all his nobilitie (vpon probable reasons) to haue bene intended against him. Insomuch that he tooke such a vehement and deepe displeasure, increased with a melancholicall thought, that he departed suddenlie from place to place, and at last to Falkland, where he remained as a man desolat of comfort, sore vexed in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue accesse vnto him, his secret and familiar frends onelie excepted: so that in a short tract of time he died euen in the vigor of his manhood and strength, at the age of thirtie and three yeares. Now, in how little time the reigns and ruines of these forsaid princes were concluded, we leaue to such as list to looke into the course of the Scotish historie, where they are to obserue not onelie that point, but also manie matters of good consideration.

The first and last of that name, of rare qualitie, and now in roialtie (the sonne of Marie Dowager malicious and murtherous, of whome in discourse hereafter, as occurrences of consequence shall direct our pen) what dangers he passed, &c: by search into the Scotish annals maie appeare: what remaineth behind we leaue to the Lord Gods counsell and working. Touching the countrie it selfe, it is diuided into factions; a plague to kingdoms, and a verie entrance to ruine and desolation. As for the tumults and seditions (which haue often happened) they haue had their begining from a pretended care of religion, which diuerse times hath bene altered, not in profession but in discipline; and which at this present (bishops remooued) is in the power of superintendents; neither can the same, by meanes of old hatred remaining in seed, be at quiet. How the people are affected, the nobles inclined, the officers disposed, the king obeied, the commons gouerned, law administred, religion reuerenced, dutie generallie exhibited, and Gods holie name honored,

Eloquar an sileam? grauis est in vtroque querela.

Howbeit, by the report of the * author of the Blacke booke, bearing shew to be printed at Cullen, and dedicated vnto the foresaid Marie the Scotish queene, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and fiue (whome this deuiser intituleth high and mightie princesse) euen then it was said that the commonwealth of Scotland was past hope, &c. To which purpose Cicero verie aptlie saith, that such commonwealths as are readie to be ouerthrowne, and haue all things forlorne and desperat in them, fall into this miserable issue, that they whome the laws condemne are restored, and iudgements giuen are reuoked and broken. Now when such things come to passe, let none be ignorant of this, that destruction is at hand, neither can anie man iustlie conceiue hope of safetie. From which remediless mischeefes God defend this realme of England! But enough of this, and now to matters of our owne.

This yeare vpon the seuen and twentith daie of June, at the sessions of oier and terminer at iustice hall in London, a lewd fellow named Henrie Elks clerke, for counterfeiting the Q. signet manuell to a presentation of the parsonage of all saints in Hastings, directed to the archbishop of Canturburie, or to his vicar or commissarie generall (the see or dioceese of Chichester being void) that he might be instituted parson there, was condemned, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled, & quartered: who was accordinglie on the next morrow, being the eight and twentith daie of June, executed at Tiborne, in companie of ten other prisoners that were hanged for felonies by them committed. About this time also a lotterie, for maruellous rich and beautifull armor, was begun to be drawen at the great west gate of saint Pauls church in London, in a house of timber newlie erected for that purpose, which lotterie continued drawing daie and night for the space of two or three daies.

A lotterie for armor in London.

¶ In the moneth of Julie a verie dangerous conspiracie was discouered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherin, as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischeefous deuise, and to ouerthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Ringleaders in this pretended treason were certeine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so farre therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie long vndetected) order was taken for a verie strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension.

The horrible conspiracie of Babington & other his fellow traitors discoursed by A. F.

In the execution whereof, such officers, as vpon whome the charge was imposed, demeaned themselues so precislie (and speciallie the constables of London, to their praise be it spoken) that they spared not their next neighbors houses, but indifferentlie and without partialitie did search them; proceeding so farre by vertue of their office & present commission (wherein they had a speciall regard by their seruice to iustifie their allegiance and faithfull subiection to the whole world) that they went into the verie bedchambers of manie a welthie and worshipfull person, not forbearing the drawing of the coffers, &c: which was offensiuelie taken for the instant, vntill that the reason of their so seuere inquisition was aduisedlie considered.

The faithfull and feruent seruice of such as were in office in and about London in searching for the conspirators.

This search continued for certeine nights, with watch and ward conuenient, to the terrifieng of the conspirators whom the same principallie concerned, and draue them to such a perpleritie, that being ferretted from place to place, they wist not in what corner to take vp their safe repose. Neuertheless, great and diligent search hauing bene made daie and night, and the expected issue failing, peoples minds grew vnquiet and discontented: so much the rather, for that now the rumor of the said hainous attempt was so ranke, that the same was noised and voiced by verie children: insomuch that double diligence was vsed in a further inquirie, and indeed such circumspection had on all hands, that hedge and bush was so beaten, as at length some of those noisome birds were vnnested and surprised.

The conspirators distressed and succorlesse are put to verie hard shifts by inquisition and pursute.

The sound hereof rang him in diuerse places, and people thronged togither to see the vnnaturall beasts that were attached, whose hearts were ouerwhelmed with horror, and their faces couered with confusion; their consciences inwardlie exulcerated and galled with the guilt of their offense: which how damnable it was, the whisperings, communications, and lowd speeches of the multitude, pointing at them with the finger of infamie as traitors of singular note (some saieng, Looke, looke, yonder go the errant traitors that would haue killed our queene, yonder go the wretches that would haue burnt our citie, that would haue alienated the state of the land, that would haue laid all open vnto bloudshed, slaughter, desolation, and spoile: yonder they go whome heauen aboue doth abhorre, the earth below detest, the sun, moone, and starres be ashamed of, all

The conspirators apprehended and detected, to the great reioising of the citizens of London, &c.

creatures doo curse and count vnworthie of breath and life) might make them conceiue, euen to the extreme torment of their minds, which were now to meditat vpon nothing more than compunction of spirit, repentance, submission to the law and sentence of deserued death, with reconciliation to God, whome they most shamefullie betraied in betraieng his annointed, euen good queene Elisabeth, the Lords lieutenant and viceregerent generall ouer vs.

No malefactor so odious as a traitor.

O caitiues most execrable, begotten and borne to miserie! How much better had it beene for you, neuer to haue beene conceiued, to haue proued an vntimelie frute, to haue beene ouerthrowen in your cradles, to haue perished in your swathling clowts; than in so vnhappie an houre, vnder so infortunat constellations, to so vnluckie a life, and so reprochfull a death to be reserued; whome none can pitie without suspicion of impietie, none lament but with lacke of lotaltie, none fauorablie speake of without great note of ingratitude and priuie trecherie? To this effect tended the interchangable speeches of the people, all with one voice disclosing the conceipts of their mind, against these eminent traitors: a most odious name and flat against all humanitie, the pernicious plague of kingdoms & commonwealths, hated of God and man, wherewith periured persons being bewitched, feare not to betraie themselues, so they may betraie others also, and their countrie. Whereupon they become intollerable to euerie one, yea euen to those that vse them to serue their owne wicked turns in disloiall & lewd actions, receiuing in the end the reward due to their execrable impieties.

Proditionem amo proditores odi: Treason I loue, but traitors I hate: the saieng of Cæsar Augustus.

For this is the common affection that men beare towards such people, so to seeke them out (which notwithstanding is not the propertie of a noble heart) when they stand in feare of them, as they that want gall or the poison of some venemous beasts: afterwards to giue them ouer and to reiect because of their wickednesse. If a man be called slouthfull, he maie become diligent; if talkatiue, silent; if a glutton, temperat; if an adulterer, continent; if furious, dissemble; if ambitious, constant; if a sinner, amend: but he that is once called a traitor, there is no water to wash him cleane, nor meane to excuse himselfe. And in truth, what man of anie good iudgement will trust such a one, as betraieth his prince, his benefactor, his citie, his countrie, his kinsfolks and frends into the hands of tyrannie and thraldome, from the which (aswell the one of bodie as the other of conscience and religion) good Lord deliuer vs. But to proceed in our discourse, you shall vnderstand, that by meanes of common report both in street and lane, the conspirators diabolicall purposes being knowne, there was such an excesse of ioie bred in the peoples hearts vpon their apprehension, and preuention of the imminent mischiefs, through Gods almightie goodnes, that neighbor with neighbor and friend with friend, yea familiars and strangers by companies fell in talke of the present accident, diuerse diuersle discoursing thereof, some wishing a whole weeks exquisit torment, others renting in peeces with wild horsses, and the mildest (for conclusion) not forbearing imprecations of extreme bitternesse against the traitors.

Diuers kinds of reioisings among the people.

Now besides these were a sort of people of an other disposition, in whom the present occasion forced such a sudden impression of ioie, that they made the bels in steeples witnesses of their inward conceipt; the same being so strong & destrouslie sought to be testified, that some galled themselues with ringing, choosing rather to loose a little lether, yea a portion of their fat and flesh, than not (as time moued, and leasure was made to serue) to giue a signe of their good affection. This liked them well that misliked the ill, the euasion whereof was the cause of this mutuall reioising.

No spring of wood to make bonfires, albeit the price was verie high.

Beyond this the well affected of the citie did passe certeine degrees: for besides that some wearied themselues with pulling at the bell ropes, which were rung both date and night, as vpon the date of hir maiesties coronation; so others deuised a further testification of ioie, insomuch that although wood was then at a soare extent of price, yet they spared not their stacks or piles, were the same little or great; but brought (we thinke in conscience) euerie house a portion, where fires might conuenientlie be made and without danger. Memorandum that none were more forward herein than the meaner sort of people, who rather than they would omit to ad little or much to a fire, being vnprouided of fuell, parted with a penie or two to buie a few sticks by retaile. Insomuch that now by common consent this action grew to be generall, for few places might a man see in the citie, of anie spatiousnesse or compasse, where a cleare fire was not made.

The poore peoples disposition in this exultation.

And surelie infinit was the wood spent for the present time, as maie appeare by the number betweet Ludgate and Charing crosse (fires made in bitumings, lanes, yards, &c: excepted) amounting vnto aboue threescore, by count of the writer hereof, who went of purpose to view them, and indeed did note them all. The people hauing thus done, did not so staie their inward reioising; but bringing out their square and round tables into the open streets, like neighbors sitting togither, and furnishing the boords with such prouision as the present time afforded, made merrie in comelie and honest sort. Where (by the waie) this is not worthie, that manie times an euill thing doth effectuat a good.

A true and iust obseruation of the writer.

Neighbors make merrie in the open streets for ioy of the conspirators ouerthrow and apprehension.

An euill thing doth sometime effectuat a good.

For by the breaking out of this conspiracie, whereupon insued this remembred reioising; it so came to passe, that manie a priuat reconciliation was procured by this mutuall meeting of neighbors betweene diuerse that before had beene at ouerthwarts and in secret grudge, all which was washed awaie with a cup of merrie go downe for hir sake, that *vndam [illegible] galatis nostr*. In some places the people sang psalmes, and made such melodie as their skill could deuise, with tabber and pipe marching about their fires, and giuing manie a shewt, that the aire rang withall. Now by this president hir maiestie is to be comforted, and also persuaded, that she hath subiects in this hir citie, to whome hir health and safetie is more precious than life or life, and who could be content to spare the best blood in their heart, so hir little finger might not so much as ake: in which mind they liue, and so meane to die, herein saieng by waie of deprecation:

The queens maiestie may perswade herselfe that she is not worth ten thousands of such bloudie hearts, &c.

Viue, vale, regina vale, viue Elisabetha,
Viue valéque tibi, viue valéque tuis:
Seu tua te Windsora capit, quæ sydera lambens,
Subiectas alta despicit arce domos:
Quæque præit formareliquas, Hamptonia, quamuis
Pontificis fuerat, regibus apta domus:
Seu te Londinum cunctorum regia regum
Detinet, & gremio certat habere suo.
Viue, vale, regina vale, viue Elisabetha,
I, comitante Deo, quo duce sospes eris.
Ah pereat! quicunque tuo linescit honore,
Quisquis te nolit, qualis es, esse diu.
Viue (precor) decus excellens, spes vnaq; rerum,
Viue valéque tibi, viue valéque tuis.

Now by reuelation of this pestilent practise, & apprehension of the conspirators in seeking to escape, the minds of people lately perplexed, were presentlie disburthened of manie mistrustfull douts, & their hearts verywhile heauie, grew forthwith somewhat lighter by the extenuation of feare & suspicion, where-

The hearts and minds of the people greatlie quieted and eased.

with

with before they carefullie trauelled; and some that before could not sleepe, not so much for their priuat as their princes and publike estate disquieted, did take their wished rest; most persuading themselues that as a traine of gunpowder, being fiered but in some little part, ceaseth not till it be vtterlie consumed: so would it befall these traitors vpon their descrie and apprehension.

Treasons and conspiracies can not be so closelie wrought but they will out at last.

But as after a pleasant summer followeth a sharpe winter, and the greatest pleasures haue their ouerthwarts: so fared it with this ioie of the multitude, which (as the bright sun in a clere daie ouercast with clouds) was dawnted with a sudden dread, & the necke thereof in a sort broken with the brute of an arriuall of forren enimies vpon the coasts of Sussex. For towards the euening, there were seene fiftie ships houering to and fro before Brighthemston, and sailing towards the towne, as though they had purposed to haue come to the shore: whereof the towne within a few houres aduertised the lord Buckehurst, the messenger adding ten to the number, and bringing word that threescore ships were descried; and that if they ment to come on land, they would do it within an houre following, which if they did, then they would send him further word; but supposed they would not land till the next morning, the tide then serving verie conuenient. Whereupon alarums were rung, and messengers sent out to giue notice to the other parties to be in a readinesse: but expresse charge to fire no beacons, vnlesse they had warrant so to do, and that the enimies were first landed.

After mirth heauie cheere.

No sparing of wood to make bonfires, albeit the price was verie high.

The poore peoples dispositi on in this exultation.

A true and iust obseruation of the writer.

Neighbors make merrie in the open streets for ioy of the conspirators detection and apprehension. Sin euill thing doth procreat a good.

The readinesse of the lord Buckhurst to repell the enimies, if anie such arriuall as was noised had beene.

The lord Buckehurst redilie arming his men, gaue spedie direction what should be done, & went out and laie on the downes all night with the companie, betweene a village called Rottingdeane and Brighthemston, whither resorted vnto him about one thousand and six hundred people, readie there to do their dutie, if need required. His presence greatlie confirmed the people somewhat troubled with this rumor; but yet with great alacritie they flocked from all parts in heaps, and made towards the coast. The Kentishmen likewise with all celeritie assembled, and with no lesse willingnesse addressed themselues to march in good order, well furnished and prepared to haue come downe, had not contrarie news of all things quieted beene brought. For not long after, the coast was cleare, & no more but ten ships with a pinnesse seene a far off, about sixteene miles in the sea, against the downs, betweene Newhauen and Brighthemston; whereof two were said to haue come somewhat neere to the shore about Salt Deane, and to haue discharged two peeces of ordinance. Afterwards being descried what they were, by a vessell manned forth for that purpose by the lord Buckehurst to parle with them; it was found they were Hollanders come out of Spaine laden with merchandize, and bound to Holland, who (by reason the wind had continued easterlie) were forced to houer alongst the coast, their making towards Brighthemston being onelie to get the wind, and that they were frends and no enimies. Beacons were none fired (although the contrarie were reported) but one at Burrish (as was said) from which error some perhaps might in like sort be fired in Kent, but yet verie few.

The queens maiestie may persuade hirselfe that she is not without thousands of faithfull hearts, &c.

Upon what occasion the false voice of forren arriuall did grow.

At the same time that this rumor of tumult was so rife, a great mariage (wherat the bishop of Chichester made a sermon in the chapell) was solemnized at the lord Mountagues house; whereat the earle of Worcester, the countesse of Southampton, the ladie Marie Arundell, the ladie Greie sister to the said lord Mountague, with diuers other knights, ladies, gentlemen & gentlewomen of great traine & attendance were present; insomuch that the number was so great, as it was thought there were not ten gentelmen of Sussex, which might dispend two hundred pounds lands by yeare, that were absent: which number as they were great, so was their variance long in that place. Now as the said companie was redie to sit downe to supper, sudden news came that Newhauen was burned, & the lord Buckhurst with a power gone to Brighthemston to saue the towne from forren inuasion, intended by certeine ships redie to make arriuall. Which although it was a meere lie and vaine report (as by the premisses appeareth) yet notwithstanding it bred such an abashment in the minds of the multitude, from the best to the worst, that thereupon a partile dissolution of the companie was procured, to the number of a hundred horsse making awaie vpon that occasion: howbeit, there supped (as it was said) fiftéene hundred people in and about the said house, the same night that these troublesome news arriued. Which might well be true: for the bere tap neuer left running, during the space of foure daies; a time wherein a great part of the good prouision was spent, to the founders praise and the feders releefe.

A great mariage solemnized at the time of the false voice of forren arriuall.

The hearts and minds of the people greatlie quieted and eased.

These false news came flieng from diuerse places.

Hospitalitie commendable.

But to let that passe, you shall vnderstand, that when the truth of this whole matter was knowne, all former feare, whereto false report had made passage into the minds of men, was forthwith put to flight; and though for a season, being sudden, the present conspiracie (so greene of memorie) gaue it force for the time; yet neuertheless at length, like a cloud in the aire, or a dreame in sleepe, it vanished quite awaie, and the rumor thereof was the restoring of the people to their former reioising, ingendring likewise in them an expectation of deserued iustice against the troublers of Israels blessed peace. Howbeit (a matter of great moment, and at no hand to be omitted) hir maiestie hauing intelligence of hir louing peoples demeanor, in such sort as you haue heard, did most gratiouslie accept of the same, and conceiued no small comfort in heart, that God had giuen hir a people so studious of hir safetie, and ioifull for the same. Insomuch that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as herevpon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor tittle procéeding from so singular a souereigne, is to fall to the ground vnregarded) we are in dutie bound trulie to anner them, as we had them vnder publication. And first a breefe oration of maister James Dalton, one of the councellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

The reioising of the people for hir maiesties preseruation commeth to hir eares, &c.

The oration of maister Iames *Dalton, &c.*

Right worshipfull, my good countriemen and citizens of this most noble citie of London: since the late brute and report of a most wicked & traitorous conspiracie, not onelie to take awaie the life of our most gratious souereigne (whome God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall ioie of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuerse of that most wicked conspiracie alate declared and testified, by manie outward acts and shewes, hath wrought in the queens most excellent maiestie such a gratious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maior of this citie and his brethren, hir most noble and prince-

lie acceptation thereof, and that in ſuch ſort, as thereby maie appeare, that hir highneſſe hath not more, no not ſo much reioiſed at the moſt happie eſcape of the wicked miſchiefe intended againſt hir owne perſon, as at the ioie which hir louing ſubiects, & namelie you of this citie of London toke at the apprehenſion of the practiſers of that intended treaſon.

By occaſion whereof, hir highneſſe brought to a thankefull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit bleſſings beſtowed on hir, comparable with anie prince or creature in the world, no worldlie thing more or like accompteth of, than of the heartie loue of hir louing and faithfull ſubiects manie waies, and manie times before now; but eſpeciallie by this our great ioie in this ſort, at this time, and vpon this occaſion ſhewed. And that hir exceeding great loue and acceptation of our reioiſing maie the more appeare vnto you; it hath pleaſed hir highneſſe in the ſame letters to declare, that ſhe deſireth not longer to liue among vs, than ſhe ſhall mainteine, continue, nouriſh, and increaſe the loue & goodwill of hir ſubiects towards hir. And this hir highneſſe hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that ſhe will not faile with all care, and by all good meanes that apperteine to a chriſtian prince, to ſeeke the conſeruation of you all, ſo louing and dutifullie affected ſubiects.

This hir maieſties pleaſure in part now declared, and more to be made knowen vnto you by hir owne letters, which you ſhall heare read, my lord maior and his brethren haue required me to declare vnto you all, that they doo heartilie reioiſe and thanke God for the happie daie of the good acceptation of this your great ioie; and my lord himſelfe hath willed me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name; for that in the time of his ſeruice, your dutifull behauiours haue gotten to the citie ſo noble and worthie a teſtimonie of dutie and loialtie, of ſo noble and worthie a queene. Now, for ſo much as Gods bleſſings wonderfullie abound, & one ioie commeth vpon another, let vs not be vnthankefull to God, but acknowledge his goodneſſe, and attribute the ſame (as in deed we ought) to the ſincere religion of almightie God, moſt godlie eſtabliſhed by the queens moſt excellent maieſtie, which hath taught vs to know God aright, our dutie to our ſouereigne, and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull and obedient ſubiects, reioiſing at all good things happening to hir maieſtie, hir realme, or to anie in hir noble ſeruice, the true effects of a true and good religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and immoderat affectors of the Romiſh religion and ſuperſtitions, being void of the true knowledge of God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to their prince, their loue to their countrie, and haue become inuenters of miſchiefes, bruters and ſpreaders abrode of falſe and ſeditious rumors, ſuch as ioie at no good thing; but contrariwiſe reioiſe at euerie euill ſucceſſe, the badges and marks of their profeſſion, who haue before this, in this realme and in other hir highneſſe dominions, ſtirred vp rebellion, forren inuaſion, and manie times practiſed the verie death & deſtruction of the queene hir ſelfe; the ruine & ſubuerſion of the whole realme; the proper effects of their Romiſh religion.

We haue beheld all theſe things, and ſeene in our daies the ruine and miſchiefs inuented againſt others, fall vpon the inuenters themſelues; and haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of diuerſe of them, diuerſlie to kill and murther themſelues, when moſt traitorouſlie they would, and moſt happilie they could not, ſlea the Lords annointed. As we haue knowne all theſe things, ſo God be thanked, that by a better religion, hauing beene better taught, we haue beene no partakers of their wicked deuiſes, but haue put to our helping hands, as occaſion hath ſerued; and euer readie to ouerthrow the authors and deuiſers thereof. And I haue no doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue beene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to ſerue hir maieſtie vpon all occaſions (hir highneſſe now ſo gratiouſlie accepting onelie of our reioiſing at the apprehenſion of hir enimies, euen the leaſt part of the dutie of a good ſubiect to ſo good a queene) will be readie euerie one with all that we can make, and with the vttermoſt aduenture of all our liues, ſpedilie to be reuenged vpon all ſuch as ſhall villanouſlie and traitorouſlie attempt or put in vre anie miſchiefe to hir noble perſon; and in the meane time will haue a better eie and eare to all ſuſpicious and miſcontented perſons, to their ſaiengs and doings, to their falſe brutes and reports, to the places and corners of their haunt and reſort, to their harborers companions, aiders and mainteiners. God vphold and continue his religion among vs, and increaſe our zeale therein, which hath made vs ſo louing and loiall, and ſo beloued and acceptable ſubiects to ſo worthie a prince; and root out that wicked and Romiſh religion, that hath made ſo manie diſloiall and traitorous ſubiects; to whome is both odious and irkeſome the long life and proſperous reigne of our moſt noble queene Eliſabeth. God confound all ſuch traitors, and preſerue hir highneſſe long to liue & reigne ouer vs. ¶ Hauing thus ſpoken, the multitude all the while no leſſe ſilent than attendant, the ſpeaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maieſties letters, and read the ſame with a verie diſtinct and audible voice, as followeth.

Sir Wolſtan Dixie lord maior of London, Anthonie Ratcliffe and Henrie Pranell ſhiriffes.

To our right truſtie and welbeloued, *the lord maior of our citie of London, and* his brethren the aldermen of *the ſame.*

RIght truſtie and welbeloued, we greete you well. Being giuen to vnderſtand, how greatlie our good and moſt louing ſubiects of that citie, did reioiſe at the apprehenſion of certeine diuelliſh and wicked minded ſubiects of ours, that through the great and ſingular goodneſſe of God haue beene detected, to haue moſt wickedlie and vnnaturallie conſpired, not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but alſo to haue ſtirred vp (as much as in them laie) a generall rebellion throughout our whole realme: we could not but by our owne letters witneſſe vnto you the great and ſingular contentment we receiued vpon the knowledge thereof; aſſuring you, that we did not ſo much reioiſe at the eſcape of the intended attempt againſt our owne perſon, as to ſee the great ioie our moſt louing ſubiects toke at the apprehenſion of the contriuers thereof: which, to make their loue more apparant, they haue (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward ſhew, that by anie externall act might witneſſe to the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cauſe with all thankefulneſſe to acknowledge Gods great goodneſſe toward vs, through the infinit bleſſings he laieth vpon us, as manie as euer prince had; yea rather as euer creature had: yet doo we not for anie worldlie bleſſing receiued from his diuine maieſtie, ſo greatlie acknowledge the ſame, as in that it hath pleaſed him to incline the hearts of our ſubiects, euen from the firſt beginning of our reigne; to carie as great loue toward vs, as euer ſubiects carried toward prince, which ought to moue vs (as it doth in verie deed) to ſeeke with all care, & by all

all good means that apperteine to a Christian prince, the conseruation of so louing and dutifullie affected subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to liue, than while we maie in the whole course of our gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not onelie nourish & continue their loue & good will towards vs, but also increase the same. We thinke meet, that these our letters should be communicated in some generall assemblie to our most louing subiects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our signet at our castell of Windsor, the eightenth daie of August 1586, in the eight and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Thus you se hir maiesties mindfulnesse and thankefulnesse of and for slender and bounden dutie: a propertie of princelie imitation, and wherein hir highnesse father of famous memorie king Henrie the eight did excell; who in the fift yeare of his reigne, managing wars in France (at what time also the English forces, vnder the conduct and gouernment of the earle of Surrie, the kings lieutenant generall, atchiued manie notable exploits against the Scots at the battell of Bramrton, to the enimies great discomfiture, both by slaughter and captiuitie) where he heard how happilie his people had demeaned themselues, to the renowme and credit of their natiue countrie; but speciallie to his roiall contentment: insomuch that at his returne into England from his conquest of Terwin and Tornay, he forgat not the acceptable seruice of his said people done in the Scotish wars; but verie thankefullie esteeming thereof, wrote vnto them his louing letters, leuened with words and clauses of such singular liking and passing fauour, that euerie man thought himselfe sufficientlie rewarded. Euen so blessed queene Elisabeth (a naturall branch of that spreading vine) treading the steps of hir great progenitor, gaue like publike testimonie of heartie good will and gratious acceptance, of hir peoples forerememberd reioising. Which as it is a note of no common exemplification, so it cannot but excite and stir vp much matter of multiplieng and ratifieng all dutifull kindnesse and seruiceable submission to hir highnesse: wherein as we doubt not anie neglect, when occasion is ministred; so we leaue hir to the Lords holie hand, the onelie hope of hir and our helpe; purposing now for a while to leaue the conspirators in safe custodie, and to touch the next occurrence comming to hand, as course of time offereth direction.

Queene Elisabeth a right patterne of king Henrie the eight.

About this time, returned into England, sir Francis Drake knight, a man of rare knowledge in nauigation, & verie fortunat in the euent of his enterprises, after manie feats of good seruice accomplished in forren countries (as at Baion, Hispaniola, S. Dominico, Carthagena, &c: to the admiration of all people amongest whom he came, and contrarie to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon supposall of places impregnable grew so confident, that they seemed lightlie to esteeme anie purposed force of the enimie, and therefore doubted no kind of annoiance. Howbeit, they were as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the end of autumne, when as the leaues begin to fall. For they were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as also doubting a totall wast by fire and sword, that they were glad to yeeld to composition. And here, because mention is made of Hispaniola, it shall not be amisse to honor this voiage with an historicall report of that countrie.

Sir Francis Drake his returne into England after his last voiage finished.

It is supposed that Salomon king of Jerusalem had his great riches of gold from hense, and that his ships sailed to Ophir by the gulfe of Persia, called *Sinus Persicus.*

Hispaniola (of some affirmed to be Ophir, whereof mention is made in the third booke of the kings) is of latitude fiue south degrees, hauing the north pole eleuat on the north side seuen and twentie degrees, & on the south side (as they saie) two & twentie degrees; it reacheth in length from east to west, seuen hundred and foure score miles, being distant from the Ilands of Gades (now Cales) nine and fortie degrees and more, as some saie. The forme of the Iland resembleth the leafe of a chesnut tree, with a gulfe towards the west side, lieng open against the Iland of Cuba. But the expert shipmaister Andreas Moralis describeth it, from the east and west angle to be indented and eaten with manie great gulfes, and the corners to reach forth verie farre, placing manie large and safe hauens in the great gulfe on the east side. It may be compared (without shame or blame as some saie) to Italie, sometimes queene of the world. For if the quantitie be considered, it shall be found little lesse, and much more fruitfull. It reacheth from the east into the west foure hundred and fortie miles, according to the computation of the later searchers. It is in breadth somewhere almost three hundred miles, and in some places narrower, where the corners are extended. But it is surelie much more blessed and fortunat than Italie, being for the most part thereof so temperat and flourishing, that it is neither vexed with sharpe cold, nor afflicted with immoderat heat. It hath both the staiengs or conuersions of the sun called solstitia in a maner equall with the equinoctiall, with little difference betweene the length of the daie and the night throughout all the yeare. For on the south side the daie ascendeth scarslie an houre in length aboue the night, or contrariwise: the cold is accidentall, and not by the situation of the region, their spring and summer is perpetuall, their ground of maruellous fruitfulnesse, their oxen and swine of exceeding bignesse, & fed with mirobalans, an eare of wheat with them as big as a mans arme in the brawne; great plentie of cattell, wholsome waters, & gold euerie where; for there is in maner no riuer, nor mounteine, and but few plaines that are vtterlie without it.

Hispaniola compared to Italie.

The temperature of Hispaniola.

The equinoctiall.

The bignesse of a eare of wheat.

This Hispaniola is reputed the head, and as it were the principall mart of all the liberalitie of the ocean, hauing a thousand and a thousand faire, pleasant, beautifull, and rich Nereides or Ilands, which lie about it on euerie side, adorning this their ladie and mother, as it were an other Thetis the wife of Neptune, inuironing hir about, and attending vpon hir as their queene and patronesse: and therefore aptlie denominated and likened vnto the earthlie paradise. Where, by the waie might be touched who first inhabited Hispaniola, how it was first named, the peoples maner of learning, their ballads and rimes, their singing and dansing, their songs of loue and mourning, their prophesies, familiaritie with spirits, their serpents, their riuers and poles, their prouinces, their delights and pleasures, and how they can abide no labor nor cold, what gold is yearelie brought from thense into Spaine, namelie the summe of foure hundred, and sometimes fiue hundred ducats of gold, as may be gathered by the fift portion due to the kings exchequer, amounting to an hundred and fourescore, or fourescore and ten thousand castellans of gold, and sometimes more. Here also might be discoursed the manifold and admirable things in that countrie, the variable motions of the elements, the colonies & villages which the Spaniards haue builded, the sundrie goodlie Ilands round about it, as Arethusa, Sanctus Johannes, Cuba, Jamaica, Guadalupea, &c: the suger presses wherwith great plentie of suger is made, the canes or reeds wherein the same groweth, being as big as a mans arme in the brawne, & higher than the stature of a man by the halfe, the like whereof is in no

A particular description of the Iland of Hispaniola.

What gold is brought yearelie from Hispaniola into Spaine.

The suger of Hispaniola.

place: the wheat, wine, with infinit other commodities and circumstances; and speciallie the chæfest gold mines, how the same is fined and distributed, as also that onelie in the melting shops of the two golden mines of Hispaniola, are molten yerelie aboue three hundred thousand pounds weight of gold: so likewise might we saie much of Sancto Dominico, the chiefe citie and head of Hispaniola, reported in histozie, as touching the building, that there is no citie in Spaine, *Tanto pro tanto*, no not Barsalona, that is to be preferred before it generallie. For the houses are for the most part of stone, as are they of Barsalona, or of so strong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a singular and strong binding. Touching the situation thereof enough is extant in bookes of nauigation, whereto we remit the readers. We might also speake of Carthagena, of the authoritie of the viceroie of Hispaniola, the mother and principall of all other lands and Ilands, of the senat and iudges there, who giue lawes to all the inhabitants of these tracts. But if we should take that course, there would be no end of our worke. Onelie this we haue said in honor of the knight, who with extraordinarie fortune trauelled to the places aboue said: and vnto whome with his companie much maie be ascribed by waie of commendation, because that they haue made knowne vnto posteritie so manie thousands of Antipodes, which laie hid before and vnknowne to our forefathers.

Sancto Dominico the chiefe citie in Hispaniola.

And now resuming the person of him, whose valor did induce vs vnto this remembrance; note this, that hauing augmented his former renowme with new accesse of praisworthie seruice, he grew so famous in places far & neere, that among nations abrode his name grew verie common, insomuch that some of the learned sort maligning his honorable atchiuements, euen against their owne consciences & knowledge did report verie ingloriouslie of him and his actions, against whose obloquies the truth is a sufficient target. But thus much by the waie to the slanderer, who hath learned the pestilent precept of Medius giuen to backbiters, who taught that they should not spare to nip boldlie, and to bite with store of slanders. For (quoth he) although he that is bitten should be cured of the wound, yet the skar at the least will still remaine. Howbeit true it is, that this comfort can not be taken awaie from good men, namelie to be persuaded, that the sleights of backbiters and slanderers are able to preuaile but little against the inuincible tower of sacred vertue, and of an assured hope well grounded, which (whatsoeuer commeth to passe) triumph alwaies, and victoriouslie hold enuie and backbiting vnder their feet. In the meane while, it is the greatest griefe in the world to see the honor of a good man in the mercie of a venemous tong: and true is and will be the common prouerbe, *Non e alcuna persona si libera, a chimanchi il suo bargello.* As for the opinions and conceipts of people at home concerning him, they were extraordinarie: insomuch that after his arriuall and being in London, manie did flocke about him in the open streets, with admiration as a worlds wonder: yea the report of his exploits abrode did so rauish their minds, that leauing preacher and sermon, they ran apace to behold him: such force hath magnanimitie, wherwith this worthie knight tempered all his enterprises, sorted to a verie prosperous issue.

Rerum in orbe gestarum, &c. comment. in eclano.

There is no man so free that hath not his persecutor or enimie.

Now hauing touched (though not with conuenient dignitie) the last voiage of this singular gentleman, it were not amisse to anner in this place a memoriall of a former voiage by him attempted, namelie on the thirteenth daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and seuen: at what time accompanied with fiue tall ships well manned and appointed, he sailed into the west Indies: and by the same aduenture (most luckilie accomplished) eternised his name. At what time the king of the Moluccaes admiring his order, and astonied at the hearing of the peales of English ordinance, roring like thunder (which he there at his arriuall valiantlie and liberallie discharged) receiued him right honorablie, causing foure galliasses to conduct and bring his ship into the surest harborough, and himselfe with his companie to his presence. In this voiage he discouered a countrie erst vnknowne, which he named Noua Albion, where by his courteous deling he so allured and woone the hearts of the inhabitants, that twise they crowned him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chilie, where it hath bene heretofore thought that nothing had bene but continent and firme land, he found sundrie Ilands, the furthest wherof lieng most south, he called by his maiesties name Elisabetha. Now after manie a singular note of his incomparable valorousnesse exhibited in places where he came, and purposing to make his aduenture profitable, he neglected no meanes that might stand with his honestie & honor; returning home into England with great riches the six and twentith of September, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightie; with one ship onelie. For of the fiue, wherwith (at his first setting forth) he was furnished, he was forced to set two on fire, the third perished, the fourth came backe and went not forwards at the first. A voiage of great aduenture and prosperous successe, contrarie to the ackward and frowning hap of sundrie worthie gentlemen, whose attempts albeit honorable and commendable, yet matched with misfortune, or at least defectiue in deserued and hoped issue: a sore discouragement to gentlemen of trauell, and not a little impeaching the art of nauigation. For with what corage can men put in practise the rules of their knowledge, when they see the successe of their skill and actions inferior vnto the tediousnesse of their labors, oftentimes accompanied with losse of life? A forceable motiue to withdraw mens minds quite from all desire to sea, and to breed in them a good liking of the land, yea of their owne houses and smoking chimnies: whereby in fine might follow a contempt of nauigation, and a neglect of all profit that trauell might afford.

The returne of sir Francis Drake into England with great riches, &c.

Manie voiages of great difficultie haue bene vndertaken, but failed in the issue.

To which purpose Fabatus the consull is worth the noting, who in seuentie yeares which he liued, departed not once from his village of Regio to go to Messina, which was but two miles off by water. And when one asked him the cause whie? The barke (quoth he) is foolish, for it alwaies stirreth vp and downe; the mariner is foolish, for he neuer abideth in one opinion; the water is foolish, for it neuer standeth still; the wind is foolish, for it runneth continuallie. Now if we vse to go from a fole when we meet him vpon the land; what reason were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the sea? But if all men had bene of Fabatus his mind, or vpon some ouerthwart casualties and fatall accidents should grow into a mislike of ship and sea (as diuers both wise, graue, and aged philosophers were of the contrarie opinion) then would not Plato, after he had bene well instructed by Socrates, sought out the Magies & wise men of Egypt, by whose means he saw the bookes of Moses: then he went into Italie, to heare Architas Tarentinus, the most renowmed philosopher of that countrie. Apollonius, who matched in learning all the philosophers of his time, trauelled ouer all the three parts of the world, to see and conferre with all the skilfull men of his age: and being returned into his countrie, inriched with

Fabatus an old consull, but no trauceller, speaketh according to his small skill.

Philosophers haue bene great trauellers for knowledge, &c.

wonderfull knowledge, he distributed all his goods (whereof he had great abundance) amongst his brethren, and to the poore: and withdrawing himselfe into the field, he liued with bread and water onelie, that he might haue his mind free for the contemplation of heauenlie things. Wherein we are the more willing to vse the authorities of philosophers, because they were counted wise, and no mens iudgement in the world more consonant to the truth, as likewise their examples are of force to persuade.

The benefits of nauigation or trauelling by sea, &c.

And surelie as wisdome with experience is purchased by trauelling; so wealth and worship is thereby obteined: all which are most vrgent prouocations to draw men forwards to great and doubtfull aduentures: besides a carefull and louing regard of common vtilitie, which to a valorous mind is a verie spurre. Wherefore we may iudge that Frenchman scarse well aduised or affected, who vpon a light gheste concludeth, that want of prudence and ambitious desires did first inuent the art of nauigation and sailing into farre countries: a thing ordeined of God, and time out of mind vsed amongest men, as may appeare by the words of the prophet Dauid, They that go downe to the sea in ships, and occupie their businesse in great waters: these men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. But to end with him at whome this present note toke beginning, it were to be wished, that in memorie of this gentlemans incomparable atchiuement, some monument might remaine to succeeding ages: and none fitter than the brittle barke wherein he arriued safe and sound, which a knight of good account and rarelie qualified, thought meet to be fixed vpon the stumpe of Paules steeple, in lieu of the spire, that being discerned farre and neere, it might be noted and pointed at of people with these true termes: Ponder is the barke that hath sailed round about the world. The emperor Adrian toke such glorie and pride in all execrable vices, that he commanded a temple with a sumptuous tombe to be made for a naughtie man named Antinous, whom he had miserablie abused in his life. The gentleman whome this remembrance concerneth, preferring the honor of his countrie before his owne life, with magnanimitie vndertoke vnwonted aduentures, and went through the same with wonderfull happines: were it not then iniurie to burie his name in oblivion, matters of no moment in a manner compared to this noted in our annales? Wherefore till time produce a more sufficient commemoration of him, let this serue the turne: whereto we will adde a few verses written in his fame, and so leaue him vnto the blessed successe whereunto he is by Gods most gratious appointment (no doubt) reserued:

Nauigation in vse before Christs time: note psalme 107.

The words of a knight concerning the barke wherein sir Francis Drake sailed about the world.

The obseruations in all his voiages remaine in writing, &c.

T.N. Ciceſt.

Ante Dracum multi heroes freta multa Britanni
Non ſine laude citis ſulcárunt ſalſa carinis,
Nec potuere tamen votis potirier: alti
Nec reſerare vias pelagi (ſors omnia verſat)
Quamuis mente pia imbuti atque ingentibus auſis:
Dracus at ex multis (gallinæ filius albæ)
Quem decorat Pitho, quem Suada venuſtat amica,
Quem pia relligio, quem dia Modeſtia adornat,
Omine felici cuncta incipit, omine fauſto
Perficit, & patriæ ſeruit, viuitque fidelis,
Colla petulca domans, & opima trophea reportans.

And now back againe to our former stop in the conspiracie; the processe whereof who would not willinglie heare, the same being so odious & vnnaturall? The mischiefes against hir maiestie and the bodie of the land preuented, and the imaginers thereof now in durance: the honorable lords of the councell (whose vigilancie hath beene alwaies most wonderfull for the tranquillitie and securitie of the state) did now enter into the discussing and winnowing out of such vnnaturall treacheries, as the conspirators had in their lewd conuenticles consulted vpon, & in their seditious letters solicited. Wherein although the offendors had capitallie transgressed, and in a degree so eminent as none aboue, and therefore deserued what rigor (were it neuer so sharpe) might be thought vpon, or vsed: yet not so much as falling into a conceipt of anie such proceeding, they so dealt with the conspirators by clemencie, circumspection, & persuasion; that whatsoeuer concerned their attempt in that heinous kind, they discouered, and vpon hope of fauour (which it were sin against God to grant to malefactors so mischiefoullie bent) opened the whole forme of the action, with the circumstances of the same. By which their voluntarie confession they satisfied the examinants, whose wisedoms in a course of that kind it is impossible for a giltie conscience to outreach.

No rigor vsed against the conspirators, whereby anie thing might seeme to be violentlie extorted in examination.

Matters thus far passed, and the greater sorts much quieted, the people were in dailie expectation & desire to heare some report of the conspirators now by their owne confessions sufficientlie conuicted: whereupon a preacher at Pauls crosse was commanded from authoritie, to deliuer some notice to the assemblie, answerable to the knowledge which he himselfe receiued by eare at the best hand; namelie, that diuerse of the traitors were apprehended, and without anie torture or torment confessed their treasonable intentions; which were, to murther hir maiestie, and procure meanes for the arriuall of forren powers, whereby the land might be ouerrun, heauen and earth confounded, and all things turned topsie turuie. It was not the policie of man (said the preacher) that caused this discoverie, but *Digitus Dei*, the finger of God that found them out. Thus much being intimated to the people in that publike sermon, they gaue God thanks for the same; as surelie we cannot sufficientlie magnifie his diuine maiestie, who of his infinit mercie hath preserued hir highnesse from manie imminent mischiefes, and wrapped the wretched imaginers and intenders thereof in their owne snares, to their foule shame and confusion.

The conspirators now discouerie of the plot of their purposed practise.

How this great conspiracie came to light is published by the preachers.

Now after voluntarie confession, and examination by hir maiesties wise councellors, being hir eies and eares, there seemed no further euidence or proofe requirable for their conuiction: the giltinesse of their conscience inducing them to the discouerie of their intollerable treacheries: than the which there cannot be a hell of more extreame torment. And surelie true it is, that the conscience of a malefactor is vnto him in stead of an accuser, a witnesse, a iudge, and a hangman: the scripture importing no lesse, in saieng, that the wicked shall tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree, and be as if their life hong by a thread. Which violence of mans conscience we ought to be persuaded commeth from God, who causeth his enimies (which be such as oppose themselues against his annointed) to feele his iudgement and furie in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselues: as we see notablie exemplified in these conspirators, who being now scarselie the shadows of men, and all hope of life or mitigation of deserued death quite extinguished, were to thinke vpon their present downe-fall into destruction, restlesse in bodie, troubled in soule, heauie in heart, and wholie ouerwhelmed with waues of most wofull miserie. And doubtlesse, if at anie time, most likelie now were they touched with compunction and remorse, euen to the quicke, if the grace of God were not vtterlie exiled out of their hearts.

The quéens wise councellors [illegible] eies and eares.

The wret[illegible] state of the conspirators [illegible] aware of iudgement and death.

Now had they iust cause and fit time to curse their vngratious meetings, their execrable consul-

tations,

tations, their diuelish deuises, the vnhappie houre of giuing consent to effectuat, or anie waie to prefer a practise of so pestilent a plot; & finallie the dismall daie of their destruction, the mindfulnesse whereof could not but so terrifie and torment them, as that no meane could relæue them, no place succor them: being not vnlike vnto fearefull men at sea subiect to casting, who thinking to be better in one place than in another, go from the sterne to the stem, then to the bottome of the ship, afterwards to the highest part, from thense into the skiph, and in the end returne into the ship, without anie amendement of their euill, because they carrie alwaie about with them both feare and greefe. And surelie thus it must be by the inevitable decree of God, with all such as insurge and rise against their souereigne (in whome is power to prescribe laws vnto all in generall, and to euerie one in particular, and not to receiue anie but of God; who is the iudge of princes, as princes are the iudges of their people) and labour to dissolue the societie of men, which is the bond of life; nature spurning against such malicious minds, whose ordinance tendereth the preseruation of all creatures in their kinds, whether earthie, waterie, aierie, or flieng, tame or wild, they all seeking after fellowship of like with like to liue togither; as sheepe by flocks, kine, oxen, harts & hinds feeding by heards; horsses & mules by companies; choughs, stares, cranes, & other birds by flight; fishes both in fresh & salt waters following one another in sholes; bees dwelling in hiues, pigeons in dowehouses, ants in little hills, &c.

The remembrance of death is dreadfull to all traitors.

The societie of men is the bond of life, which who so seeketh to dissolue is worthie of death.

What a mischiefe meant these, shall I saie men, naie monsters of men, to transgresse the limits of all loialtie in such an outragious sort? The wretches might well thinke, that God establisheth no principalitie, but he will by his power support the same, euen to the confusion of all them that seeke either directlie or indirectlie to supplant the same. But these men troubled their minds with no such cogitations, which might haue reuoked or restreined them from their attempts, or forewarned them of dangers insuing vpon consultations held against princes, of plots laid against the whole state of a kingdome, of innouations, of alienations, of intrusions, and confusions. Wherein it is to be wondered, what legion of diuels possessed them, that professing the name of christians, and linked with the societie of Iesus, they should so degenerat as to kicke against the rule of christianitie, which teacheth that princes and potentates are to be obeied, speciallie souereignes and monarchs, who in their seuerall territories and dominions are like the sun, which is as king among the starrs, the moone as quæne, the eagle among birds, the lion among beasts, the whale in the sea, and the pike in powles among fishes: finallie, as the heart in a liuing creature, which giueth life to the whole bodie, because it is the fountaine of bloud and vitall spirits.

God establisheth no principalitie but he supporteth the same by his omnipotencie.

The rule of christianitie teacheth obedience and loialtie.

Princes whereto compared in their dignities.

Now to enter either into consultation or action against a person of such excellencie, what is it else but to pull the sunne out of heauen, and to teare the heart out of the bodie? Wise men will ground their affections and enterprises vpon right and equitie onelie, knowing that they ought not alwaies to be measured by their euent and end, which oftentimes seeme to favor vniust counsels and doings; and offer some colour and occasion to the wicked to prosecute their dealings, having no care of violating right and iustice: but howsoeuer it be, a miserable end bringeth them an ouerlate repentance. There is no action but hath his originall intention, no intention but issueth from a premeditation, no premeditation but proceedeth from a conceipt: all these concurring with their accessaries, make a complet action: as we see in sciences and arts, as in grammar, which taketh beginning from letters, geometrie from the point, arithmetike from vnitie, musike from the minnem and semibreefe; and also in things naturall, as plants and trees, which rise and increase out of a verie small seed. And therefore let men take heed how they giue place vnto a wicked thought, much more to a mischeefous deed. In which respect it is worth the noting that is reported of Diogenes, who beholding one of his scholars in a publike place talking verie earnestlie with a young man, that was suspected wanton and effeminat, demanded what communication they had? To whome the scholar, answered that the other rehearsed vnto him a notable tricke of youth, which he had plaied the night before. Then Diogenes said to them both; My will and commandement is, that each of you haue fortie stripes with a whip within the amphitheater or plaieng place: thou (quoth he to his scholar) for giuing eare vnto him, and he for the follie committed; because a philosopher deserueth as much for hearkening to follie recited, as doth the vagabond that rehearseth it.

Queere thing taketh his beginning of a small beginning.

Communication with a lewd person reproued, and iustlie punishable.

Now if this were the punishment sentenced against these two, in this case of lightnesse and follie: what iudgement might a wise man deeme, would haue beene awarded by Diogenes against conspirators, whose conuentions and consultations are the whetting of daggers and swords, to thrust into the bowels of their sweet native countrie? But whither wade we? Trulie the matter in present discourse is so ample, and therewithall so odious, that the further we saile, the more sea we see. Wherefore to draw neere to the verie subiect, this maie not be omitted, that the conspirators, who had wouen the web of their owne woo, being now forlorne, as hated of heauen, and irkesome to the earth, seeing no hope of life, but deserued death imminent and hanging ouer their heads, occupied their wits in dolorous deuises, bemoning their miseries, of the like stampe to this here annexed, sauouring more of prophane poetrie than christianitie, of fansie than religion:

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
My feast of ioie is but a dish of paine:
My crop of corne is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vaine hope of gaine:
The daie is past, and yet I saw no sun,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

My tale was heard, and yet it was not told,
My fruit is falne, and yet my leaues are greene:
My youth is spent, and yet I am not old,
I saw the world, and yet I was not seene:
My Thred is cut, and yet it is not spun,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

I sought my death and found it in my wombe,
I lookt for life, and saw it was a shade:
I trod the earth, and knew it was my tombe,
And now I die, and now I was but made:
My glasse is full, and now my glasse is run,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

Tichborns elegie written with his owne hand in the Tower before his execution, printed by Iohn Wolfe. 1586.

The like elegies also did the rest (and namelie Babington) deuise, with letters supplicatorie for fauour of high estates, whome he had most greeuouslie offended: which because the copies are common (but yet neuer authorised for the print) we will omit, onelie touching in superficiall sort the tenor thereof. As first his asking of grace and fauour with all humilitie, to acknowledge his vnadvised offense (as he termeth it) wherein he pretendeth certeine motiues to compassion, as his vncoloured petition, his gentrie, his brainsicke yeares, the order of his behauiour and plaine course of dealing in his confession, his most heartie repentance, his inward vow of assured seruice hereafter, both to hir grati-

A fable or tale which Sir Iohn Gray applieth to his present case of wretchednesse.

ous maiestie and his countrie. Furthermore, to procure the speedier commiseration (in his fansie) he falleth into a familiar tale of a certeine man, that having a great flocke of sheepe, moued either with a sheepish vnrulinesse, or for his better commoditie, threatened euerie daie by one and by one to dispatch them all: which he dailie performed according to his promise, vntill such time as the terror of his accustomed butcherie strake the whole flocke into such a feare, as whensoeuer he came and held vp his knife, aduising at that instant but the slaughter of one, the whole number of them would quake, fearing each one his particular chance. Which tale he applieth vnto himselfe, being one of the brutish herd (as he confesseth) that for their disordinat behauiour the law iustlie condemneth, and threatneth to dispatch one after another, &c. Lastlie, suing for his life, he saith, that to take it, were as if one should take out of the sun beame a mote, or from the sea a spoonefull of water: but to saue it, were by his vowed seruice to hir highnesse happie estate to merit more, than the losse thereof could procure: and so with remembrance of the lamentable conditions of his present estate, &c: he concludeth.

What good seruice was to be hoped for at this wretches hands: he had lost, who did what he could to procure his princes death?

These and such like were the studies and meditations of those dangerous wits, too sudden to be sound, and wanting prudence, which preuenteth too late repentance. But with what face, with what heart might this enimie to all humanitie (hauing deserued a death of exquisit crueltie) aske, seeke, or hope for fauour, much lesse for pardon, who with his complices had conspired to be an actor in a tragedie of bloudshed and slaughter vniuersallie, pelle melle to be perpetrated? By the law of nature men should doo as they would be doone vnto; a precept which prudence inuiteth them to put in practise, as she moueth them to nothing that is either vndutifull, or not beneficiall. For she is amongst the rest of the vertues, as the sight amongst the fiue senses; thereby giuing vs to note, that as the eie of all the other senses is most beautifull, subtill, and pearsing: so the vertue of prudence by hir quicke and cleare light, directeth and conducteth all vertues in their good and commendable operations. It is by hir that a man is clothed with a mild and setled disposition, whereof he standeth no lesse in need, than a ship floting on the sea doth of the presence of a pilot, that he maie prudentlie vndertake and wiselie execute whatsoeuer he knoweth to be good, after mature deliberation & consideration of all the circumstances of the fact. So that if these men had beene guided by prudence, which is said to haue three eies, namelie memorie, vnderstanding, and prouidence (with the first beholding the time past, with the second the time present, with the third the time to come) they would neuer haue fallen into conceipts of common confusion, much lesse haue entred into consultation, or giuen consent to further the action, or so lightlie yelded to become desperat workers of the same; knowing that the state of a land is not so negligentlie regarded, as that the deuises and diuelish practises of some few helhounds (content with nothing that standeth not with their liking) can violat the same.

The necessarie vse of prudence in all attempts and actions.

The conspirators had been true subiects if they had not wanted prudence and hir three eies.

But to returne. These fellows hauing so heinouslie offended against the laws of nature and nations, drawing out their sword of furie and cruell outrage against the bodie of the commonwealth; now after the preuention of their purpose, detection of all their treasons, and guilt of conscience, seruing in lieu of a thousand peremptorie witnesses; seeing no waie with them but the halter and the hatchet, like prophane persons laie the cause of their fall vpon cruell and ineuitable destinie, accusing that to excuse their owne fault. Wherein we maie compare them to blind folks, who are angrie, and oftentimes call them blind that vnawares doo met and iustle them. They should rather, if they had meant to liue alwaies happilie, haue propounded to themselues and desired things possible, and to be content with things present: they should haue preferred their countries safetie before their owne prosperitie, & haue frequented the academie of philosophers, and the temple of mercie, whereby ignorance of dutie might haue beene abandoned, and whatsoeuer sauoring of crueltie trodden vnder foot. Wherein it were to be wished, that all such as are anie waie leaning to a life of that qualitie as these men lead; would be taught by the example of Pythagoras, to abstaine from crueltie and iniustice; who was so tender hearted, and so farre estranged from desire of bloudshed and death, euen of creatures reasonlesse, that he requested foulers, when they had taken birds, to let them flie againe; and of fisher men he bought their draughts, and caused all the fish to be cast into the sea aliue: he also forbad all his disciples to kill a tame beast at anie time. But these conspirators had not the grace of a heathen man granted vnto them, whereby they became subiect to sinne as to a tyrant: and no remedie but submitting themselues therevnto, it must nedes reigne in their mortall bodies, yea though it haue hard entrance at the first into the heart. For as a wedge maketh but a small cleft in the beginning, but afterwards the cleft being greater sundereth all in peeces: so the sufferance of all vnlawfull things, how small so euer it be, leadeth men by little and little to an vniuersall licentiousnesse: and therefore men had need beware how they make passage for sinne into their thought, which (without the assistance of Gods grace) commonlie breaketh out into action. As we see exemplified in these desperat persons, in danger of death & destruction; to whose arreignement, as tract of time moueth, we will now proceed: and so to the sequele of the tragedie: wherein this would be remembred as a comfort, that they were passiues and not actiues; as is to be wished all of that stampe and leuen maie be.

that their owne villanies might be excused.

Christian men disuaded from crueltie and iniustice by the example of an heathen man.

The nature of sinne after it hath once found passage into the heart.

On the seuenth daie of September, certeine of these diuelish and wicked subiects were led from the Tower of London to Westminster by water, hauing neuertheless manie an eie gasing vpon them, as spectacles odious to God and man; manie a tong talking of the greeuousnesse of their offense; and manie a true English heart wishing their present cutting off from the face of the earth, as wretches vnworthie to inioie the common aire: all which the vnnaturall beasts could not but conceiue, to the kindling of manie a pinching passion in their minds and consciences. But to let all that passe, to the place aforesaid at last they were brought, where they were indicted; first, for intending treason against the queens owne person; secondlie, for stirring ciuill warres within the realme; and thirdlie, for practising to bring in forren power to inuade the land. Seuen of them appeared at Westminster on the thirteenth daie of September, who all pleaded giltie, and therefore had no iurie, but were condemned, and had iudgement on the next morrow.

Traitors indicted, arreigned, and condemned at Westminster.

I. S.

The first seuen condemned without anie iurie.

On the fiftéenth daie of September, other seuen of them were likewise arreigned at Westminster, who pleaded not giltie, were tried by a iurie, found giltie, and had iudgement accordinglie. The effect of whose treasons shortlie to touch were these. John Sauage, remaining long in France at Rheims, was persuaded by doctor Gilbert Gifford, that great honor should redound to him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to inuade

The effect of the last seuen their treasons notable.

Destinie commonlie accused of malefactors and offendors.

inuade the realme by forren power, to dispossesse the queene of England, and to proclame the Scotish queene, and set hir in hir place. All which Sauage promised to doo, or else to lose his life, and thereupon returned into England; where he imparted his purpose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid therein. Then John Ballard, priest, also persuaded the said Babington to the purpose before expressed, promising him aid of three score thousand men that secretlie should be landed, and told him both how & when (as he thought.) Whereupon Babington promised and concluded to make a slaughter vpon the councell of hir maiestie in the Star chamber, then to haue sacked London, to haue burned the nauie & chiefest ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights and magistrats, that remained true subiects to our right and lawfull queene & realme, and also to haue cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These were their purposes.] But God, disappointing their diuelish deuises, prepared for them the reward of iniquitie, namelie death in a dreadfull sort; which when they had heard denounced against them by the mouth of the iudge, they were conducted backe againe to the place of safe custodie, all the waie replenished with horror and feare, wishing that the water, whereupon they were rowed, might swallow them vp, the earth open and they sinke thereinto, or some sudden end betide them, that the time of their heauie execution might be preuented.

But God, who is the founteine of iustice, as he is the founder of princes and principalities, hauing proportioned out for them a due and inevitable punishment, and being the author of all godlie desires, vouchsafed them no such fauour of anie element, wherby the course of iustice might anie waie be stopped or hindered. So that remaining two or three daies in durance after their condemnation, and definitiue sentence thundered against them (a time of respiration giuen them to humble their hearts, and reconcile their souls to God; a speciall end which the execution of iustice in England respecteth, in fauour of all malefactors) they were all that while (if touched with anie remorse) not destitute of greeuous agonies. For what man, if he consist of flesh & bloud, knowing himselfe, after the law hath passed against him, to be a meere dead man, but must needs tremble & quake at the remembrance of his end, through the vehement affects of feare possessing his heart? With which feare they needed not haue beene surprised, if a former feare, grounded vpon a good discourse of reason and iudgement, had preuented them in all their actions. Which feare was so esteemed and honored of the ancients, that in the citie of Sparta there was a temple dedicated and consecrated vnto it: the same (as was affirmed) better mainteining and preseruing the state of commonwealths, than anie other thing whatsoeuer; because thereby men were lead to stand more in aw of blame, reproch, and dishonor, than of death or greefe. But what should we speake of that which they wanted, who were indued with nothing, either godlie or honest? Let vs therefore proceed in the residue of this discourse, hauing attained now after a long tract, to the time of their execution; whereof when there was a report among the people, a wonder it was what reckoning they did make before hand to heare and see them put to death.

God being the founteine of iustice abhorreth vnrighteousnesse: *Ergo, &c.*

What feare is necessarie in euerie christian subiect.

Now when the twentith daie of September was come, and therewithall their fatall hours, the two shiriffes of London, assisted with the officers of the citie, and other attendants in great number, with weapons answerable to the maner of an execution, came to the Tower, into whose hands and charge seuen of the said conspirators were committed, who

Seuen of the traitors are laid on hurdels and conueied to their execution.

being combined & laid on hurdels fast bound (Ballard excepted who laie alone as a notable archtraitor, and first of the ranke) were drawne from the said Tower through the streets of London to the place of execution, the magistrats and officers, with a multitude of others conuenientlie appointed, seeing them conueied thither, and the censure of iustice dulie administred. Now it is no question whether there wanted people at this publike spectacle, no more than it is to be doubted whether their treasons deserued death. For there was no lane, street, allie, or house in London, in the suburbs of the same, or in the hamlets or bordering townes neere the citie, (and like enough that they would come from far, both by water and by land, to see that and the next daies worke dispatched) out of the which there issued not some of each sex and age; in somuch that the waies were pestered with people so multiplied, as they thronged and ouerran one another for hast, contending to the place of death for the aduantage of the ground where to stand, see, and heare what was said and done: the traitors all this while beholding this infinit assemblie, and the further they were drawne, the nearer to their end.

Now when they were come within sight of their destinie, where they might discerne their dolefull downfall; in what agonies might we imagine these most vile malefactors fell; if they were not vtterlie Stoicall and senselesse? For besides the present obiects of terror that were in euerie beholders eie, although of low stature, as the scaffold and gallows of extraordinarie altitude and height, they might, as they did successiuelie ascend and attend their fatall turns, take full view of the instruments ordeined and prepared for their dispatch; as the executioner with the halter, hatchet, and knife, whereby they were to be seuered, dismembred, and quartered; the fier wherein their bowels were to be burned; the stakes whereon their heads were to be fastened vpon the gallows, and what else belonged to the accomplishment of that tragedie: thousands of people with earnest eie present, and purposing to tarrie out the verie last act. The least of which motiues (much more all togither) had beene sufficient to haue rent a stonie heart in sunder; and what affections were wrought in them thereby, he best knoweth from whome no secrets are hid.

A scaffold and gallowes of extraordinarie height erected.

But that this execution maie be deliuered in some orderly discourse, we will (for the satisfieng of manie thousands) note the maner thereof, with the behauiors and speeches of these traitors at their last end; according to a copie of credit from a present obseruer and marker of this great execution. Touching the full number of these ranke traitors, that sought to bereaue the queens maiestie of hir life, they were fourteene, who made their confession at the gallows, and receiued a iust recompense of their vnnaturall disloialtie. For our eies saw their traitorous harts burned, and their bodilesse heads aduanced, to the view and comfort of manie thousands of people: a happie sight for the quietnesse and safetie of hir highnesse, a generall comfort to all good subiects, and a fearefull example to all conspirators.

Concordat cum libro approbato.

But forsomuch as they offended in the highest degree of treason, as traitors resolued to kill hir highnesse, to spoile hir nauie, to cloie the ordinance, to kill the honorable lords of the priuie councell, to moue a generall rebellion, and (what in them laie) to procure forren inuasion: all which being treasons of such danger (as the least of them shut vp the sluses of mercie) it seemeth conuenient that their executions should be with more seueritie, than the common iudgement of traitors. Howbeit, the limits of law were in no sort transgressed, though the same

The sum of the traitors intended practises, agreeing with the course of their indictment.

The nature of iustice requireth that punishments and offenses should be proportioned.

accord-

according to the prescise rule thereof were sharplie administred.

The first seuen were executed with lesse fauour than the last, as shall appeare by the sequele of this narration, & the consideration of their iudgments; namelie to be drawne to the place of execution, there to be hanged till they were halfe dead, their bowels to be burnt before their faces, &c. And trulie the first seuen as the most malicious (if there be anie difference in treason) were executed nære the seueritie of laws definitiue sentence; but the other seuen were so fauorablie vsed, as they hong vntill they were euen altogither dead, before they suffered the rest of their iudgement. Now touching the names of the traitors, their behauiours and speaches, with the maner of their executions, you shall vnderstand, that vpon the twentith daie of September, being tuesdaie, John Ballard a preest, and first persuader of Babington to these odious treasons, was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and six others two and two in like sort, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto a field at the vpper end of Holborne, hard by the high waie side to saint Giles in the field, where was erected a scaffold for their execution, and a paire of gallows of extraordinarie hight, as was that whereupon haughtie Haman was hanged for his ambition, &c: the place likewise so railed to kæpe off horssemen, as the people might plainelie sæ the execution.

Paria delicta pari pœna compensanda, nisi inferatur aliqua mitigationis causa.

John Ballard priest persuader of Babington to these odious treasons executed.

The place of their execution was sometime the meeting place of their consultation.

And although the thousands were thought (& in dæd so sæmed) to be numberlesse: yet somewhat to note the huge multitude, there were by computation able men enow to giue battell to a strong enimie. Howbeit, one thing was speciallie regarded, that although the assemblie were wonderfull great, & the traitors all gowdie personages, clothed in silkes, &c: and euerie waie furnished to mooue pitie, and that the order of their execution was in euerie mans eie; yet the odiousnesse of their treasons was so setled in euerie mans heart, as there appeared no sadnesse or alteration among the people, at the mangling and quartering of their bodies. Yea the whole assemblie without anie signe of lamentation stedfastlie beheld the spectacle from the first to the last.

The multitude sheweth no motion of pitie at the execution of the traitors.

On the first daie the traitors were placed vpon the scaffold, that the one might behold the reward of his fellowes treason. Ballard the preest, who was the first brocher of this treason, was the first that was hanged, who being cut downe (according to iudgement) was dismembred, his bellie ript vp, his bowels & traitorous heart taken out & throwne into the fire, his head also (seuered from his shoulders) was set on a short stake vpon the top of the gallows, and the trunke of his bodie quartered and imbrued in his owne bloud, wherewith the executioners hands were bathed, and some of the standers by (but to their great loathing, as not able for their liues to auoid it, such was the throng) bæsprinkled. This Ballard, at the verie time of his death not denieng his treason, died an obstinat papist, and in his protestation doubtfullie said, that If he had offended the quæns maiestie, or anie man else, he was sorie, and so conditionallie desired forgiuenesse. The malicious affection of his heart towards hir highnesse appeared in the trembling passage of death, that whereas his treasons were impious, odious, and damnable, as the most wicked (to wit his confederats for the most part) confessed (as the common fame goeth) that they exceeded the greatnesse of hir maiesties mercie, which maie not be measured, where there is anie measure in offending. And yet in his desire of remission at hir highnes hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubted if he had offended hir person.

The order of the traitors execution.

How Ballard was affected at his death.

Ballards sophisticall asking of the quæns maiestie forgiuenesse.

Next vnto this preest, Anthonie Babington was made readie to the gallows, who in euerie point was handled like vnto Ballard; in whome a signe of his former pride was to be obserued. For whereas the rest (through the cogitation of death) were exercised in praier vpon their knæs and bareheaded; he (whose turne was next) stood on his fæt with his hat on his head, as if he had bæne but a beholder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papist. His treasons were so odious, as the sting of conscience compelled him to acknowledge himselfe a most grieuous trespasser against the diuine maiestie, and the quæns highnesse. Next vnto Babington, Sauage was likewise prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the fame goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Gifford at Paris; and by the confirmations of the English fugitiues at Rhemes was resolued, and resolutelie determined to kill the quæne. It is likewise said, that vpon the apprehension of Ballard the preest, Babington accellerated and hastened this Sauage to dispatch his resolution, and that he onelie deferred the matter for the making of a courtlike sute of apparell.

Anthonie Babington esquier executed.

A note of Babingtons pride at the verie instant of his execution.

John Sauage gentleman executed.

The frutes that issue from listening to the counsell of Iesuits, Romanists, and Rhemists.

When Sauage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obstinate papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse; howbeit a rotten conscience, which was infected with the murther of a vertuous quæne; which sith it was so bad, few there were that heard him, but forbad their conscience to pitie him, otherwise than charitablie to be sorowfull for his offense, deseruing so shamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnewell, Tichborns turne was serued, a proper yong gentleman, whose humilitie and mone mooued much compassion. He was not setled so much in papistrie as the others, but so far gone with the proud humor of Babington, as his head could no longer hold with his shoulders. In his mone (which was verie well marked) he compared his state to Adams, who said he was placed in paradise, & there inioied all the pleasures of the earth; he was onelie forbidden to eat of the frute of one træ: but for his transgression he not onelie procured wretchednesse and miserie vpon his owne head, but vpon the heads of all his posteritie: so (quoth he) I wanted nothing, but had health, wealth & frends, and so might long haue liued, if I could haue forborne to haue bene vntrue to prince: But alas! by mine offense I haue brought my selfe vnto this miserie, whereby my good mother, my louing wife, my foure brethren and six sisters, yea our whole house (neuer before attainted) is infamed, and our posteritie for euer like to be vndone.

Robert Barnewell gentleman executed.

Chidiocke Tichborne esquire executed.

Tichborns lamentation mooued manie to commiseration.

In this mans confession thus much is to be obserued, that in comparing his offense to Adams, was implied a resembling of hir highnes to the pleasant and glorious frute, so pretious in Gods eies, as he forbad Adam & all others to laie violent hands vpon. And thus by the mouth of hir enimies, God causeth hir sacred excellencie to be blazed. Tilneie one of the quæns maiesties pensioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthie of death, who went about to take awaie hir highnelle life. In statute law it is petie treason for a seruant to murther his maister or mistresse, being but a subiect; how detestable a treason is it then for a sworne seruant to laie violent hands on his annointed prince? The offense being in the extreamest degræ, the punishment ought to be according to the seuerest censure of iustice.

Hir maiesties praise by hir enimies.

Nolite tangere Christos meos, Touch not my Christs or annointed.

Charls Tilneie a pensioner executed.

The last of these seuen that suffered was Edward Abington, whose father was an officer of good credit

Edward Abington &c.

squire executed, his thretning speech.

in hir highnes house, and for manie aduancements was bound to saie; God saue good M. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, and an archtraitor, who at his death did all that in him laie, to stir a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this speech, that there could not chuse but be great effusion of bloud in England verie shortlie. But Gods prouidence maketh it apparant, that the prophesies of traitors prooue not euermore scripture. For Throgmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie and peace of England should be turned into generall calamitie. Howbeit, the date of that diuination is out, & they both (as maie betide the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of semblable destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seuen that were executed, and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israell, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highlie offended the diuine maiestie) was taken awaie.

Throgmortons prophesie and Abingtons of like truth in euent.

Now when these venemous vipers were thus hewne in peces, their tigers hearts burned in the fire, and the sentence of law satisfied: their heads and quarters were conueied awaie in baskets, to be fixed vpon poles and set ouer the gates of London, that all the world might behold the iust reward of traitors. Then decreased the multitude, and withdrew to their mansions and abodes: howbeit the fields were frequented all that daie of the weaker sex, as womenkind, with the yonger and tenderer sort: who albeit they could not with wished opportunitie see the execution of these traitors, when it was at the quickest: yet they satisfied their eies with beholding the fier wherein their bowels were burned, & the scaffold stained with the tincture of their bloud, diuers diuerslie talking of that dismall daies worke, according as they were for that present time passionat: but all giuing God thanks, that the commonwelth was discharged of such putrified members, whose maladie was of such malignitie, that it was altogither desperat, and not to be helped but by extremities of cauterie or incision.

An ingression to the second daies execution.

Now making a period or stop at the dispatch of these first seuen, let vs addresse our pen to the description of the remanent, who being in continuall trauell of terror at the meditation of iustice still proceeding against them by moments and degrees, till the last act were ended, were miserablie tormented with multiplicitie of imaginations, fearing euerie knocke at the prison doore to be a messenger of deth: insomuch that their hearts could not but be ouercome with horror & heauinesse, the same beating and thumping (as the smiths hammer doth the anuill) euen till it pant. In which irrecouerable distresse of theirs, whether they bethought themselues of their soules, defiled with the fog and slime of their ouglie sinnes; or of their bodie, which was made a pretious tabernacle wherein the image of God should haue béene inshrined; but now become a dongeon of discomfortable obscuritie and darkenesse: he onelie knoweth, to whome it is proper to giue that speciall grace. But to leaue all iudgement to the iudge of all, we will now proceed, and (as we haue in the former) shew what the last seuen said at their sufferings.

Thomas Salisburie esquire executed.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentith daie of September, Salisburie was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and other six, two and two in like maner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seuen the daie before; sauing that he and the latter six were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang vntill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed. And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistrie, euen at the point of death, yet he mildlie acknowledged his grieuous offense against the queene, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (for so he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbad them all maner of violence.

Salisburie acknowledgeth his grieuous offense: a note of repentance.

Violence forbidden by Salisburie.

After Salisburie was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was stripped into his shirt, and séemed penitent for his grieuous offense: who after that with verie earnest persuasions he had likewise disuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) liued reasonable wealthilie, but it séemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a competent vocation; as appeared by this his vaine imagination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming into the Kings bench office, among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; You will maruell (quoth he) to sée me within one quarter of a yeare to walke vp and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Whereupon one of his acquaintance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thousand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall. When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behauiour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this common wealth. For notwithstanding his protestation that he dissuaded Salisburie from this odious enterprise; yet his owne talke shewed that his counsell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the proud humor of Babington threatened an ouerthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the queens maiestie. For he neither would himselfe discouer this treason of the highest degree, neither did he counsell his friend Salisburie to preuent his owne danger in detecting the conspiracie of his companions: yea when the odiousnesse thereof brake out into publike knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall duetie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a speciall warrant directed vnto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisburie being in his owne house, but (so far as hée might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speciall thing neuertheless, which moued manie to pitie him aboue the rest, was, bicause with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catholike in religion, yet he so dearelie weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie forren enimie, French, Italish, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of inuasion was so far from nature and christian duetie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

Edward Jones esquire executed.

The ambitious humour of Henrie Dun.

Henrie Dun gentleman executed.

Forren inuasion reproued by Jones.

After Jones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers, both two men (as it séemed) bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their

John Trauers and John Charnocke gentlemen executed.

praieng

praieng to our ladie, calling vpon saints, ioined with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c. So that it appeared that in their praiers, they were bound to forme more than to faith.

When the hangman had giuen these two his benediction, Gage prepared himselfe to die, who began his protestation, that there was neuer subiect more bound to a prince than his father was to hir maiestie: and from that reuerend recognisance and true acknowledgement of hir maiesties gratious- 10 nes, he fell to excuse him selfe of the odious treasons for which he was to die: but on so weake a ground, as the simplest iudgement then present, found (by the order of his owne confession) that he was a dangerous instrument for the pope. He confessed that he accompanied Ballard the seminarie préest (who hatched the great egg of this pestilent practise) into Yorkeshire, & that he wrote a letter for the said préest to a Frenchman or Spaniard of account beyond the seas. To be short, in all the course of his confession, in indifferent iudgements, he accused himselfe to be an hollow hearted subiect, and a sound papist. This cunning traitor Gage could neuer haue made a confession of more infamie to himselfe, than in acknowleging the quéens maiesties most excellent fauour, shewed to his father (which a dutifull sonne ought to estéeme a benefit vnto himselfe) and so to redouble the reproch of his treasons, he condemned himselfe of ingratitude, an vnnaturall vice, which the verie soules of the aire abhorre: as (to vse one example of sufficiencie for a thousand) is reported of the storke; which so often as she hath yong, casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir.

Robert Gage executed.

His maiesties gratiousnesse commended by this traitor.

Hipocrisie of Robert Gage.

The last that suffered was one of the Bellamies, whose countenance discouered him to be a setled papist, and who as he could saie little to saue his life; so at the gallows he spake nothing to defend his death. Although this traitor had but a dull spirit, yet (as it séemed) he had a malicious heart, answerable to that of his frends, who succored Babington and some of his associats, when feare of the law, and shame of their odious treasons, made them to shrowd themselues like foxes in holes and couerts. And it séemeth that they were as resolute to follow the treasons of Babington, as they were readie to releéue him from the danger of the law. Otherwise if this Bellamies brother had not had an accusing conscience, he would neuer with violent hands haue hanged himselfe.

Jerom Bellamie gentleman executed.

One of the Bellamies hanged himselfe in the Tower.

Thus ended the second daies execution, to the full satisfaction of the peoples expectation; who nertheless (as the date before) were inwardlie touched with passions ingendred by the déepe impressions of the present obiects: but touched they were, as nothing pitieng their deserued deaths, in regard they were most heinous malefactors: but as they were men, in whome humanitie should so haue preuailed, as that they should rather haue chosen losse of life & liuelod, than to haue intended the desolation of their native countrie, the depriuation of prince, the deposition of péeres, the destruction of people; and whatsoeuer might séeme as a directorie to bloudshed and slaughter, from the highest gouernor sitting in roialtie adorned with crowne and scepter, to the sucking babe lieng in the cradle inwapped in swathing clouts. Which extremities of butcherlie cruelties and vnnaturall sauagenesse, haue had an ancient purpose of practise, as maie appeare by a clause or two of John Nichols his recantation; where speaking of Pius Quintus, excommunicating our liege soureigne, he saith that the same was within a twelue moneth of the first publication renued, and fiue hundred copies printed at Rome, which were dispersed throughout Italie, Spaine, & Germanie. Whereof what were the contents, is at large set downe in the treatise of execution of iustice in England for treason, not for religion.

Bellarmine. lib. 3. de Pont. Rom. cap. 15. & lib. 5. cap. 7. Edit. Ingolst. 1581.

See before pag. 1357, a, 60, &c. 1358, b, 60, &c.

But thus saith the same conuert, that a reader of diuinitie positiue, in the hearing of two hundred scholers, vomited these prophane words out of his vncircumcised mouth; that it was lawfull for anie of worship in England, to authorise the vilest wretch that is, to séeke the death of hir highnesse: whose prosperous estate the Italish préest and Spanish prince dow so maligne, that they would worke wonders, were it not for certeine impedits: as father Pais a Spaniard, reader of diuinitie scholastical in the Romane college, affirmed in an auditorie of three hundred, saieng: *Bona papæ voluntas trita & manifesta est, & eius crumena parata: sed R. P. aut metus subtrahit, aut potestatis defectus vetat, vt suum in Angliam exercitum ducere non audeat.* Where (by the waie) would be noted an inuasion long since pretended. And that the quéens maiesties estate was then maliciouslie aimed at, maie appeare by these comminations and threats, that they would burne hir bones, and the bones of all such as lotted hir, either aliue or dead; of whome, some were lords temporall, some spirituall, &c. Memorandum, that this was to be donne, when they held the sterne of gouernement: which shall be, when errant traitors are good subiects, and ranke knaues honest men.

The causes that haue so long hindered king Philip to inuade England.

And now to touch the punishment inflicted vpon the foresaid wretches, there is none (if he be not a sworne aduersarie to the state, and an enimie to iustice) but must néeds confesse, that although some of the conspirators were no lesse sharplie executed, than by law was censured: yet considering the qualitie of their offense, it was a death tempered with lenitie, if no more but the spédines of their execution be considered, whereby their paine and smart was but momentanie. Oh with what seueritie did the ancients punish offenses of this nature! And not without cause. For besides that nothing is more vsuall in all the whole scriptures, than prohibition to kill or to séeke the life or honor, not onelie of the prince, but also of inferior magistrats, although they be wicked (and it is said in Exodus; Thou shalt not raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of the people) so is it prouided by the laws of nations, that not onelie he that hath killed his soueréigne, but he also that made the attempt, that gaue counsell, that yælded consent, that conceiued the thought, is giltie of high treason. Yea, he that was neuer preuented nor taken in the maner, in this point of the soueréigne, the law accounteth him as condemned alreadie; and iudgeth him capable of death, that thought once in times past to haue seized vpon the life of his prince, anie repentance that followed notwithstanding.

The reuerend regard that subiects ought to haue of their soueréignes, &c.

And trulie there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessed to a Franciscane frier, that he once minded to haue killed king Francis the first: but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards informed the king of the same; who sent the gentleman to the parlement at Paris there to be tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was a law, that condemned to death fiue of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of conspiracie against their prince. And most notable is the historie of Romilda, who séeing hir towne or citie besieged by a barbarous king, but yet youthfull and wanton; she signified vnto the enimie by messengers, that she would betraie the citizens into his hands, if he would honour hir with marriage. Which when the

A gentleman iudged to die because he once thought to haue killed his prince.

A seuere law against treason.

king had promised to doo, she in the night season opened the gates, and (the people vnwitting and ignorant) let in foren force. Now the king being entered & in possession, commanded that the towne should be sacked, and all the people slaughtered, Romilda excepted, the vse of whose bodie (for his oth sake, which he was loth to violat) he had the same night as in wedlocke: howbeit, the next date he cast hir off, and betooke hir to twelue scullions by turns to be abused; & lastlie pitcht hir vpon a stake.

A woman traitoresse well rewarded.

Here you haue examples in both seres (man and woman) of treason and conspiracie most seuerelie executed: which if they be compared vnto the sufferings of our late offendors, Jesu what ods shall we sée and confesse? And as the ancients had treason in mortall hatred; so could they not awaie with ingratitude, as maie be obserued by the lawes of Draco (which were said to be written in bloud, they were so sharpe and peremptorie) amongst which, there was a commandement, that if anie man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were proued against him long after that he had bæne vnthankefull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued; such a one should be put to death. So then we sée how in old time they opposed their affections against particular vices, persecuting them with seueritie, as laboring to supplant them: this age of ours beholdeth ingratitude and treason combined, with a fowle nest of other irksome and noisome sins, in the hearts of helhounds (for we maie not vouchsafe them the name of men) breathing out the vapors of their venemous infection, to the damnifieng of the whole commonwelth: what fauour then deserue such to find where they haue offended, or rather what rigor are they not worthie to suffer?

Against séeking after nouelties, and to teach men to be well aduised, &c.

Among the Locrians there was a strict decrée, that euerie citizen, desirous to bring in a new law, should come and declare it publikelie before the people with a halter about his necke; to the end that if his new law was not thought meet to be receiued, and verie profitable for the commonwelth, he might presentlie be strangled with the same rope. If they in old time went so short a waie to worke in a case of vnaduisednesse, to teach others that they vndertake nothing without mature deliberation: what are we taught to be conuenient for such, as breake not their wits either to deuise or prefer new lawes; but indeuor what they can to dissolue all law and order, all peace and societie, all gouernment and subiection; and by the impulsion of a furious mind to let in libertie, contempt, and all the enormities and abuses that accompanie a licentious life? To let passe the pluralitie of examples & authorities of this kind, the number being so great as that they would fill vp Erotosthenes siue; and to sate somewhat of seueritie, that by opposition of countrie to countrie in that respect, we maie sée the great difference betweene ours and theirs.

Extreame kinds of torments in other countries for treason, &c.

It is seueritie to flea men quicke, to chaine them aliue to a stake, in such sort as they maie run round thereabout, the fier inuironing them on all sides: it is seueritie to haue collops of flesh pluckt from the bodie with hot burning tongs: it is seueritie to be cast downe from a steepe place starke naked vpon sharpe stakes: it is seueritie to be torne in peeces with wild horsses, and to haue the bones broken vpon a wheele. All these be extremities of torments awarded by law, and at this date practised in foren regions for treason, and sometime for crimes of nothing so dangerous a nature. Finallie, if we confer the seueritie of this execution, exercised vpon rebellious and traitorous subiects in a superlatiue degree of disloialtie, with that of other nations commonlie vsed, namelie in principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, to accept the seruice of runnagate slaues, to place them in authoritie, to change or depose at pleasure anie whatsoeuer; yea to strangle them vpon the least suspicion or dislike: our seueritie is clemencie. For in this is ripe reason and iudiciall processe, in the other will without wit, & (as commonlie they saie) *Omnia pro imperio, nihil pro officio.*

And therefore we conclude, that ingratitude being counted vnnaturall, and treason (a vice vomited out of hell mouth) linked togither with manie knots of other shamefull sinnes, and all concurring in the hearts and liues of these outragious conspirators as in a centre: whie should it be thought seueritie to haue iustice iustlie administred, that traitors should be drawne vpon hurdels, strangled in a halter, cut downe aliue, dismembred, their bellies ripped, their bowels taken out and burned, their heads chopt from their shoulders, their bodies clouen in foure quarters, and set ouer the gates of London, for the fowles of the aire to feed vpon at full? Vnto which fowle end maie all such come, as meane anie mischiefe against good quéene Elisabeth, the lords of hir highnesse councell, the bodie politike of the land, the slander or innouation of true religion, &c: wherein God make prince and people of one mind, and plant in all subiects a reuerend regard of obedience and contentment of present estate, supported with iustice and religion: least longing after nouelties, it fare with them as with the frogs, who liuing at libertie in lakes and ponds, would néeds (as misliking their present intercommunitie of life) with one consent sue to Jupiter for a king, and so did. Whereat he wondering, granted their desires, and cast them an huge trunke of a trée, which besides that it made a great noise in the water as it fell, to their terrifieng; so it was cumbersome by taking vp their accustomed passage: insomuch that discontented therewithall, they assaulted Jupiter with a fresh petition, complaining that (besides diuerse mislikes otherwise) the king whom he gaue them was but a senseless stocke, and vnworthie of obedience: wherefore it would please him to appoint them another indued with life. Whereupon Jupiter sent the herne among them, who entring into the water, deuoured vp the frogs one after another: insomuch that the residue, séeing their new king so rauenoustie gobling vp their fellowes, lamentablie weeping besought Jupiter to deliuer them from the throte of that dragon and tyrant. But he (of purpose vnchangeable) made them a flat answer, that (will they nill they) the herne should rule ouer them.

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing so as they deserue.

A prettie apologie allusiue to the present case of malcontents.

Whereby we are taught to be content when we are well, and to make much of good quéene Elisabeth, by whom we enioie life and libertie, with other blessings from aboue; beseeching God we maie sée a consummation of the world, before the scepter of the kingdome be translated to another. For (as the prouerbe saith) seldome commeth the better. But to the purpose, this execution being dispatched, and the testimonies thereof dispersed and visible in diuerse places about the citie, as at London bridge, where the traitors heads were ranged into their seuerall classes: manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set forth by sundrie well affected people, wherein breefelie were compriséd the plot of their conspiracie, the names of the traitors, and their successiue suffering, which growing common and familiar both in citie and countrie, were chanted with no lesse alacritie & courage of the singer; than willinglie and delightfullie listened vnto of the hearer. So that, what by one meane and what by another, all

Seldome commeth the better.

English

England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie, not so much admiring the maner of the mischeefes intended, as comforted that hir highnesse had the holie hand of God ouershadowing hir, the surest protection that prince or people can haue against perill. So that England is replenished with faithfull and louing subiects, though here and there (like darnell among wheate) lurke a viper or aspe waiting opportunitie to bite or sting.

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing so as they deserue.

Now to make a complet discourse of all these heauie & tragicall accidents, hauing thus far continued much important matter concerning the same: the reader is with due regard to perusse the addition following, wherein is argument of aggrauation touching these treasons: which being aduisedlie read, considered, and conferred with the former narration, will yéeld as sound, pithie, and effectuall information for the knowledge of the conspirators purposed plot, as anie subiect would desire: and more than without greefe or teares anie true English heart can abide to read or heare. Where, by the waie, is to be noted, that Marie the Scotish Q. was a principall.

A prettie apolog allusorie to the present case of malcontents.

It is apparant by the iudiciall confessions of John Ballard preest, Anthonie Babington, and their confederats, that the said John Ballard (being a preest of the English seminarie at Rheims) in Lent past (after he and sundrie other Iesuits and preests, of his sect, had trauelled throughout all parts almost of this realme, & labored to their vttermost to brèed in hir maiesties subiects an inclination to rebell against hir) he went into France, and there treated and concluded with Barnardino de Mendoza (the Spanish ambassador reliant at Paris) with Charles Paget & Thomas Morgan two English fugitiues, and inexcusable traitors for an inuasion to be made by forren forces into this kingdome. And because no assurance could then be made vnto Mendoza for the interteining, assisting, and good landing of those whome the king his maister, the pope, and the house of Guise should dispatch for that seruice, he sent the said Ballard into England at Whitsuntide last, with expresse charge to informe the catholikes, that for sundrie important considerations, the king his maister had vowed vpon his soule to reforme England, or to lose Spaine: and for that purpose had in readinesse such forces & warlike preparations, as the like was neuer séene in these parts of christendome. And therefore willed him to stirre the people, and worke the meanes to make some faction to giue them landing & interteinment at their comming: & specially to preserue the Scotish Q. in that confusion; letting the catholiks vnderstand, that in case they did not assist the inuaders, they would then enter as conquerors, put no difference betwixt man & man.

Barnardino de Mendoza, alwaies mischeeuslie minded against the state of England: note his practises with Ballard.

The Scotish queene is an actor in this purposed conspiracie.

With this dispatch Ballard by the special direction of Morgan (a notorious traitor to this state, yea a professed & sworne seruant vnto the Scotish queene) repaired to Anthonie Babington, a gentleman to whom the said Scotish Q. vpon the commendation of Morgan & the bishop of Glascow, had long before written letters of gratulation, & with whom she had secret intelligence by sending of letters & other messages, the space almost of two yeares before. To this gentleman Ballard discouered at large the whole purpose of Mendoza, Paget, & Morgan, and said (as he had in charge) that if happilie a strong partie could be made here to assist the inuasion, and aduance the Scotish queene, men, munition, monie, and vittels should be abundantlie supplied from beyond the seas; and therefore persuaded Babington to sound the whole realme, and to vndertake the action. Babington at the first proposed manie difficulties, but principallie this, that the inuaders or their assistants could haue no hope (the state being so well setled) to preuaile during hir maiesties life. Whereupon Ballard presentlie replied, that hir life could be no hinderance therein. For vpon like doubts moued beyond the seas by meanes alreadie laid, John Sauage (a conspirator conuicted hereof by his owne confession) through the persuasion and procurement principallie of one William Gifford (an English fugitiue, and reader of diuinitie in the English seminarie at Rheims) had vowed and sworne to kill hir maiestie, as a thing resolued vpon to be lawfull, honorable, and meritorious.

Seldome commeth the better.

John Sauage had vowed and sworne to kill the queene.

This difficultie being thus removed, and Ballard from daie to daie continuing his persuasions, and highlie commending the murthering of hir maiestie as a deed of great honor, singular merit, and easie to effectuat: Babington vndertooke the managing of the whole action, and hauing first with his complices entred into manie seuerall propositions of sundrie treasonable natures, as to surprise hir maiesties person by force, to kill the lord treasurer, the earle of Leicester, and sir Francis Walsingham, to remoue hir councellors, and to place new, to murther the nobilitie whilest they were set in administring iustice, to sacke the citie of London, to fire the navie of the realme, to surprise some forces and hauens, to furnish the pate of their forces by an vniuersall spoile and robbing of the richer sort; hauing (I saie) first entred into these and such like propositions) in fine, he with Ballard and others resolued vpon these three principall points: first, that the inuaders should be assisted by a prepared readinesse in the people to rebell in diuerse places, and to ioine with them vpon their first landing; that hir maiestie should be murthered by six gentlemen of resolution; and lastlie, that the Scotish queene should be aduanced to the crowne of England. For the better performance of these resolutions, Ballard and Babington sounded diuerse, and dealt with manie; and so farre Babington proceeded in short time, that a choise was made by him of the six that should execute the attempt against hir maiesties person, that some others were especiallie assigned by him to attend and assist the inuasion, with direction from Babington to be popular vnto their vttermost; and that himselfe resolued vpon the first assurance either of hir maiesties death, or of the strangers arriuall, to proclame the queene of Scots queene of England.

Babington vndertaketh the managing of the whole action: note their treasons.

Things standing in these terms, and Babington deferring onelie the execution of this plot, vntill signification therof were giuen to the Scotish queene, and hir good pleasure knowne therein (God so ordening it) the Scotish quéene in June last wrote vnto Babington a short letter in cipher, signifieng hir discontent for the breach of their intelligence, and requiring him to send by that bearer a packet receiued for hir in Aprill before, and vntill that time retained by Babington, as wanting good meanes of conueieng, and therefore fearing the danger of that seruice. Whereupon Babington vsing that opportunitie, both deliuered hir packet vnto that messenger, and by him wrote vnto hir touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had procéeded therein; signifieng amongst manie other things, how desirous he was to do hir some seruice, how well it might be performed, if assurance were giuen from beyond the seas for that which was vndertaken thense, and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised vnto the cheefe actors for their better incouragement, and to be giuen to their posteritie, in case they miscaried in the execution. And therefore he required, that she would grant authoritie to some such as it might like hir to giue certeine offices and dignities necessarie

The Scotish queene writeth vnto Babington in cipher: with his aduise, direction, and request.

for this action. Unto this letter Babington about twentie daies after in the same cipher, by which he did write before, receiued answer from the Scotish quéene, with which she also sent inclosed (as hir secretarie now confesseth) a new alphabet in cipher, to be vsed betweene them from that time forward.

And in this hir letter she not onelie declared hir good opinion of Babington, gaue him due thanks for his readinesse to do hir seruice, promised correspondencie in all that she might, and willed that the resolution being taken, he should with all spéed impart it to Barnardino de Mendoza, considering first what forces on foot or horssebacke he could make, what place for their assemblie, what leaders in euerie shire, what generall or chéefe leaders; but also amongst infinit other traitorous directions (apparant by the verie letters) she aduised that vpon returne of answer from Mendoza, with assurance that all things were in a readinesse, then and not before it should be conuenient to sound the countrie. And to colour the prouision and preparation, it should be giuen out, that what they did, was not vpon anie euill or dilotall disposition towards hir maiestie, but for the iust defense of catholikes, their bodies, liues, & lands, against the violence of the Puritans, the principall wherof being in the low countries with the chéefe forces of the realme, purposed at his returne to ruine not onelie the whole catholikes, but also meant to deprriue hir maiestie of the crowne. And that they should giue it out, that therefore the preparation was for the defense of hir maiestie, and hir lawfull successors, not naming the Scotish quéene: vnder which pretense an association also might be made amongest the catholikes.

The Scotish quéenes aduise in this mischiefous plot sauoring altogither of inhumanitie.

Which being done, and all things in readinesse both within and without the realme, it should be then time for the six gentlemen to worke, taking order that (because the time would be somewhat vncerteine of the exploit vpon hir maiesties person) there should be continuallie some men in readinesse about the court well horsed, to bring word in post into the countrie (by foure seuerall waies for feare of intercepting) when that designment was performed, to the end she might be taken awaie before hir kéeper could either conueie hir awaie or fortifie the place. She wished that some fire might be kindled in Ireland, to the end the councellors attention might be distracted from that part whense the stroke should come, which was from Flanders, Spaine, and the house of Guise. She aduised Babington to deale carefullie and vigilantlie, to prouide all things necessarie for effecting the enterprise, in such sort that it might take good effect by the grace of God (for so it pleaseth hir to vse the phrase.) Lastlie, after great promises of large requitall to all the conspirators, and manie other particular aduises tending wholie to the subuersion of this state, and deprriuation of hir maiesties life, she groweth towards a conclusion, with praier for his good successe in the aforesaid conspiracie. It were needlesse to exprresse more particularlie the contents of his or hir letters, the originals themselues being extant and surprised.

Six gentlemen of resolution, &c.

To these letters Babington wrote for answer by the same messenger, that so soone as the resolution was fullie taken with Mendoza, he would informe hir more; and thereupon within three daies after addressed Ballard towards Mendoza with signification, that all things were here in a readinesse, and attended onelie the arriuall of their forces. But God, who hath alwaies protected hir maiestie in all mercie beyond the expectation of man, euen almost in the verie point of execution, discouered the conspiracie. And thereupon Ballard (being readie to imbarke himselfe) was taken, vpon whose apprehension Babington forced (as he said) with the extreme danger to be discouered, and the no hope of anie pardon for so hatefull an offense, entred a new resolution with Sauage aforenamed & Charnocke, to take hir maiesties life awaie presentlie, otherwise intended to haue béene respited vntill the inuasion, which (as Ballard from the mouth of Mendoza swore) must at the vttermost haue béene performed by September. But Babington, finding himselfe restreined before he wist, and thereby assuring himselfe that all was knowne, found the meanes to escape, in hope to haue recouered the sea, and so to haue saued himselfe and his confederats. Yet after ten daies search through all countries adioining to London, though disguised in clownes attire, and discoloured with walnut leaues, he was discouered, apprehended, and with some other of the conspirators brought vnto London, with greater manifestation of true ioie in the people for their surprise, than tong can exprresse or pen maie write.

Ballard apprehended being readie to imbarke

to be imbarked and transported ouersea.

The conspirators disguised themselues, thinking by that meane to shift the matter.

The apprehension of Ballard and flight of Babington dismaied the rest, and dispersed the other conspirators; yet not so farre, but that iustice hath since laid hold vpon the most of them. And though in the beginning they seemed all resolued to stand vnto the denial of euerie part of this action; yet such is the force of truth, that without either hope of fauor or feare of torture, they haue all acknowledged the conspiracie, and confessed their seuerall offenses, agnising the Scotish quéene to be the principall comforter, directer, and imbracer of these treasons, and imputing this error to their deceiuable expectation of hir future greatnesse in this land, the hope whereof ioined with hir allurements, hath heretofore as the world can witnesse (though these could not beware thereby) bred diuerse rebellions within this kingdome, ouerturned manie happie estates, and defiled sundrie families of vnspotted fidelitie in former time.

Magna est veritas & prævalet.

All which notwithstanding our catholikes and others owe and attribute so great a priuilege to hir person onelie, that being past expectation (as they terme it) of anie good from the king hir sonne, and not regarding the interest of anie other to the succession of this state, if she by death or otherwise maie not be aduanced vnto this kingdome: they are then determined to set the crowne on the house of Spaine, either by pretense of some putatiue title, to which effect some pamphlets haue béene alreadie composed; or rather (to auoid all controuersies) by some grant and inuesture from the see apostolike: for the dispatch wherof (as the conspirators confesse) doctor Allen an English fugitiue, and some others attend in Rome to sollicit the pope. Which being once performed, some of the grauer and more reuerend sort (as they call them) of our fugitiue diuines, must secretlie make their repaire hither, and in auricular confession persuade the principall catholikes of this land, and such as are able to swaie the rest, to fauor, mainteine and aduance that title of Spaine against all others, vnder paine of damnation. By meanes whereof it is intended that Spaine shall mount to so huge a greatnesse, as to be able of himselfe to giue lawes to all the states of christendome. ¶ With this note, being the verie flower and grace of all the former discourse, we will conclude, hauing now no more to say touching the conspiracie, but these few verses, which we will vse in lieu of a conclusion, and so proceed vnto other matters of consequence, conuenient for the booke:

How the popish catholikes are affected to the Scotish quéene.

What the fugitiue diuines must do for their parts.

Quid non papa ruens spondet, modò iussa capessas?
En diadema tibi, sceptráque, pactus Hymen.
Dissimilem votis mercedem nacta, sed ausis
Et sceleri resulit turba nefanda parem.

In nefariam Babingtoni coniurationem, hexastichon.

Successere

to be imbarked and transported ouerſea.

Succeſſere rogi regno, coniuxque coronæ,
Pro ſceptro laqueus, pro thalamo tumulus.]

Sir Philip Sidneie ſlaine at Zutphen in Gelderland: of whome ſée more pag. 1554.

In this meane time, to wit, on thurſdaie the 22 daie of September, ſir Philip Sidneie knight, a moſt valiant & towardlie gentleman, ſonne & heire to ſir Henrie Sidneie late deceaſed (as is before ſhewed, in ſeruice of his prince, and defense of his countrie, in the warres of the Netherlands) was ſhot into his thigh with a muſket at Zutphen in Gelderland, whereof he died on the 17 of October, whoſe bodie was conueied into England, to be honourablie buried. On the eight of October, John Low, John Adams, and Robert Dibdale, being before condemned for treaſon, in being made prieſts by authoritie of the biſhop of Rome, ſince the feaſt of John Baptiſt in the firſt yeare of his maieſties reigne, and remaining here after the terme of fourtie daies after ſeſſion of the laſt parlement, were drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

Seminarie prieſts executed at Tiborn.

The conſpirators diſguiſed themſelues, thinking by that meane to ſhift the matter.

Magna eſt veritas & prævalet.

On the ſame daie at night being ſaturdaie, there aroſe the greateſt ſtorme that happened ſince the wind which ſome do call Doner wind; and ſome others, the wind that blew awaie Calis, which was in the time of the reigne of quéene Marie. For beſides great harmes, which happened that night vpon the ſeas, there were vpon the land in euerie quarter ouerthrowne thereby, houſes, cottages, barnes, haieſtacks, tiles, chimneies, pales, and gates innumerable, and manie trées both great and ſmall were not onelie torne and rent aſunder, but grubd vp by the roots: in ſo much as vpon the mondaie next in manie places men could not paſſe on horſebacke in the high waies, by reſon of the trées that laie blowne and broken downe croſſe ouerthwart the ſtréets. And among other ſtrange chances happening in that tempeſt, I thought good (for a taſt) to recite three accidents which befell not farre aſunder within the countie of Kent. The one was at Sittingborne, where a woman paſſing in the ſtréet by hir neighbors houſe, ſaw a great trée ſtanding cloſe by the ſame, to wauer and wag at the verie root, in ſuch ſort as the ſuſpecting the ruine thereof, called vnto hir neighbors who were then in bed, and told them the danger thereof, who preſentlie ariſing, deſcended from out of the loft where they lodged, and were no ſoner departed thenſe, but downe fell the trée and brake through the roofe of that houſe, and reſted on the bed where they laie.

The note of R. S. eſquire. A tempeſtuous wind in October terrible and hurtfull.

The accidents noteworthie by meanes of this bluſtering wind.

How the popiſh catholikes are affected to the Scotiſh quéene.

A ſtrange accident of a walnut trée blowne downe with the wind, &c.

There was alſo blowne downe with the violence of the ſame wind not far off a great walnut trée, the armes and branches whereof bare and bent a couple of imps, in ſuch ſort as the owner in the morning to ſaue them, did cut off two branches from the walnut trée, and ſo departed to the church to heare morning praier: but before he was returned home to dinner, his walnut trée ſtood as vpright as euer it did, and ſo remaineth and groweth as before.

What the fugitiue dimmes muſt doo for their parts.

The third ſtrange chance

The third ſtrange chance happened that night at Dartford in the ſaid ſhire, at the dwelling houſe of maiſter Bére eſquire, where by the force of the ſaid wind, all the coping of one ſide of a great gable hed of bricke (reaching from below the top or roofe of the ſame houſe almoſt to the eaues thereof) was blowne quite ouer the houſe vnder which it ſtood, and neuer touched anie part thereof at anie ſide. By theſe accidents happening within ſo ſmall a circuit, it maie be conceiued what great harmes were done that night throughout the whole realme. For it was thought vniuerſall, as was alſo that which raged in the end of September, wherewithall fell ſuch ſharpe ſhewers of raine, that the drops thereof beating againſt the faces of trauellers made them to ſmart, as with twigs of birch: and ſo behement they were that they perſed through their clothing to their ſkin: ſo that manie wringing wet and ſore beaten with wind and weather, being verie ill apaid, were glad to ſhorten their purpoſed iournies, by taking the next towne for their preſent ſuccour, where they might ſée the roofes and rafters of houſes naked of tiles, and heare the donging of belles as they hong in the ſteeples, &c. At what time it was reported by people of great age, that they had béene in manie tempeſts they thanked God, but none comparable to this: which might well be ſo, if a man were diſpoſed to ſet downe a regiſter of the particular caſualties, loſſes, damages, hurts, hinderances, &c: thereby occaſioned. In the table if you loke for tempeſts and winds, you ſhall read ſtrange matter and worthie obſeruation, though ſome account this and manie more but ridiculus ſtuffe: which kind of people I doubt are not of the number that wonder at Gods works, but are to too much addicted to naturall philoſophie.

Ludgate of London newlie builded.

One of the weſt gates of the citie of London, commonlie called Ludgate, being ſore decaied, and in perill to haue fallen, was taken downe, the priſoners thereof in the meane time remaining vnder the charge of Thomas Lutwich cuſtos or keeper of Ludgate, in the ſoutheaſt quadrant to the ſame gate adioining: which quadrant, for the eaſe of the priſoners freemen of that citie, was ſometime builded by ſir Steuen Foſter fiſhmonger, lord maior of that citie, in Anno 1453. And this yeare, the ſaid gate was againe not onelie newlie, but alſo ſtronglie and beautifullie builded, at the charges of the citizens of the ſame citie, the foundation whereof, in the name and preſence of ſir Wolſtan Dixie maior, certeine of his brethren the aldermen, Anthonie Ratcliſe and Henrie Pranell ſhiriffes, was laid on the ſecond daie of Maie, and ſo forthwith ſo diligentlie applied by William Kirwine free maſon (and other workmen of diuerſe crafts vnder his charge) who for a certeine ſum had taken vpon him for all maner of ſtuffe & workemanſhip to the ſame belonging, that the ſame gate was fullie finiſhed in the ſpace of ſir moneths or leſſe. So that on the 29 daie of October in the ſame yeare, the ſaid gate was ſet open to ſir William Cecill knight lord treaſurer, who firſt entered the ſame on horſebacke, accompanied of diuerſe other honorable perſons, and noble men of hir maieſties priuie councell, who all rode to the Guildhall, where on the ſame daie kept his feaſt George Barnes lord maior of that citie, after he had taken his oth and charge in the exchecker at Weſtminſter.

Parlement at Weſtminſter.

On the 29 daie of October the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the lord treaſurer, and the earle of Derbie, repreſenting the quéens maieſties perſon, began the high court of parlement by prore, which ſeſſion of parlement was at this time aſſembled for triall of matters concerning Marie quéene of Scots, as more plainlie ſhall appeare, by that which followeth the end of that ſeſſion. In the moneth of Nouember about the 23 daie, the right honorable lord Robert earle of Leiceſter, lieutenant generall of all hir maieſties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, returning from thenſe, arriued at London, and went late to the court, where as he was not ſo ſuddenlie come, as forwardlie welcome of the principall, and others, to the great reioiſing of all eſtates throughout the whole realme, as maie appeare by verſes of gratulation, in part as followeth:

Anno Reg. 29.

The earle of Leiceſter returned from the low countries, and arriued in England.

Solonem ingenio, magnum qui Neſtora vincis
Conſilio, pietate Numam, grauitate Catonem:
Gratus ades, ter gratus ades, Comes inclyte, ab oris
Teutonicis, falſi emenſus vada cærula ponti.
Raucaſuit Wanſteda diu, te abſente, nec vllas

Inreditum magnanimi herois, Roberti Comitis Leceſtrij, Laudatorium gratulatorium.

Lætitiæ ediderat voces: Ilsordia eclypsin
Passa fuit, modulis fleuit Laitona canoris:
Hammáque mœstificus ululauit percita curis.
At veluti auricomus dispellit nubila Titan,
Exhilarat tua sic nostros præsentia vultus
Magne Comes, terræ decus, immortale Britannæ,
Magnanimos inter meritò numerande dynastas.

The parliament prorogued.

On the second date of December, the session of parlement (begun the nine & twentith of October as is afore shewed) was dissolued & broken vp, and was prorogued vntill the fiue & twentith of Februarie next following. The substance and effect of matters handled in the same parlement, is set downe in a letter learnedlie penned, and directed to the right honorable the earle of Leicester, as followeth.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO the right honorable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thense: with a report of certeine petitions and declarations made to the queenes maiestie at two seuerall times, from all the lords and commons latelie assembled in parlement: and hir maiesties answeres therevnto by hir selfe deliuered, though not expressed by the reporter with such grace and life, as the same were vttered by hir maiestie.

To the right honorable the earle *of Leicester, &c.*

ALbeit with earnest desire of my heart (right honorable my verie good lord) I haue alwaies indeuored to doo your lordship some acceptable seruice, for the honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my cradle, and after confirmed with the fauorable opinion wherewith you haue alwaies countenanced me euer since, euen thus far onward on my daies, which also togither with my yeares hath increased faster than mine abilitie to performe, being crossed in nothing more dispelle, than when I was letted by the ouermuch tendering of me by my parents, to attend your lordship in your late voiage and honorable expedition into the low countries: yet haue I béene euer since most studious to obserue and apprehend some good occasion, or fit opportunitie, to testifie the dutifull reuerence I beare to your lordship: wherein if hitherto I haue béene slacke in performance during your absence, it hath proceeded of the care I had, not to interteine your lordship with matter either friuolous or vulgar: though things of that nature might best become my condition, and well agrée with my vnderstanding.

In which cogitation it came to my mind, that the report of the spéeches deliuered by the queens most excellent maiestie in a late and weightie cause dealt in this parlement, in answer to the petitions presented to hir maiestie the twelfe and foure and twentith date of Nouember at Richmond by the lord chancellor and speaker, respectiuelie, in the name and behalfe of both estates, accompanied with diuerse of either sort, would doubtlesse be a thing to your lordship most gratefull, as one euer pleased iustlie to admire the rare perfections of hir mind, and approued iudgement, wherewith according to your estate and place, deseruedlie, your lordship hath béene vsuallie acquainted: as also worthie of eternall monument and euerlasting memorie, for as much as on the sudden they were deliuered by hir selfe, for answer of a matter propounded, debated, resolued, and digested, with great labor and premeditation of the greatest, grauest, wisest, and most choise persons of the whole realme, whereof although I haue but slenderlie purtrated the lineaments, without expressing to life the externall ornaments of hir roiall speach, accompanied with all princelie and graceful accomplements: yet doubt I not but your lordship will easilie find hir inward vertues, whereof it is impossible for me to make the least adumbration.

And because in the dailie expectation of your lordships returne, I rested vncerteine how these might come safelie to your lordships hands: I did therefore aduise to haue this my letter with the included copies to be readie to attend your first arriuall, in gratulation of the safetie thereof, which hath béene long desired. Wherein, as I striue to performe a particular dutie to your lordship, so trust I you will haue that honorable consideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there grow not anie preiudice to me for my presumption, in aduenturing to be a reporter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought so great astonishment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnesse of euerie mans expectation: and therefore, without some fauorable construction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my slender maner of report, so to haue blemished the excellencie of hir maiesties spéeches, whereof I humblie beséech your lordship to haue fauorable regard. Thus referring them to your lordships disposition, and my selfe to your fauorable protection, I humblie take my leaue. 25. Nouember. 1586.

Your lordships most humblie in all dutie to command, R. C.

The briefe of the lord chancellors first *speach, at the time when he deliuered hir most* excellent maiestie a petition in writing, for and in *the name of the lords and commons: which speaches were* of more length than here are by me collected: but sure I am, the substance thereof is here trulie expressed.

THat the lords and commons, hauing of long time to their intolerable greefe, found, by how manie practises the Scotish quéene had compassed the destruction of hir highnesse most roiall person (in whose safetie next vnder God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to consist) thereby not onelie to bereaue them of the sincere and true religion in this realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romish tyrannie, and to ouerthrow the happie estate thereof: wherein, although hir highnesse of hir abundant, gratious, naturall clemencie, and princelie magnanimitie, hath either lightlie passed them ouer, or with no small indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest instances of hir nobilitie and commons in sundrie parlements heretofore: and further hath protected hir from the violent pursute of hir owne people: she yet, as a person obdurat in malice (as it appeareth) continued hir former practises, as had béene latelie manifested by certeine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, and diuerse desperat persons, that had combined and confederated themselues by vow and oth in a most horrible enterprise, by murther to take awaie the life of hir maiestie: wherein the Scotish quéene did not onelie aduise them, but also direct, comfort, and abbet them, with persuasion, counsell, promise of reward, and earnest obtestation.

Whereupon

Whereupon hir maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of hir roiall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission vnder the great seale to sundrie lords and others of hir maiesties priuie councell, & a great number of lords of parlement, of the greatest and most ancient degrée, assisted with some of the principall iudges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalfe, made in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir reigne. Who to the number of thirtie and six, hauing attended the execution of the said commission, and diuerse daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scotish quéene in hir owne presence and hearing (she being permitted to saie what she would in hir owne excuse) did with one assent, find hir culpable both in priuitie & consent to the said crimes obiected, and also in compassing the quéens maiesties death.

Which sentence, by hir owne directions, vpon the hearing of the prowfes and proceese in parlement, was iudged to haue béene most honorable and iust. And thereupon they all beséech hir maiestie, that forasmuch as the said quéene of Scots, was the verie ground and onelie subiect, whereupon such dangerous practises and complots had béene founded, against hir maiesties most roiall person, and the estate of this realme for these manie yeares, to the ouerthrow of sundrie of the nobilitie of the land, and danger of christian religion, and that they could sée no hope of hir desisting, and hir adherents; but that still hir maiesties safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the euent of the like miraculous discoueries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did vpon their knées at hir most gratious fét, beséech and request in most earnest maner, that aswell for the continuance of Gods religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preseruation of hir person, and defense of them and their posteritie, it would please hir highnesse to take order, that the said sentence might be published, and such further direction giuen, as was requisit in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherein, if hir maiestie (pursuing hir wonted clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might by the state thereof, procure the heauie displeasure of almightie God, as by sundrie seuere examples of his iustice in the sacred scriptures doth appeare. And so he deliuered to hir maiesties owne hands the petition in writing, which he said had béene with great deliberation assented vnto by all the whole parlement.

A SHORT EXTRACT OF SVCH reasons, as were deliuered in speach by maister Sargent Puckering, speaker of the lower house, before the queens most excellent maiestie in hir presence chamber at Richmond, the twelfe of November 1586, in the eight and twentith yere of hir reigne, conteining diuerse apparant and imminent dangers, that maie grow to hir maiesties most roiall person, and to hir realme from the Scotish queene and hir adherents, if remedie be not prouided.

First touching the danger of hir maiesties person.

1 BOth this Scotish quéene and hir fautors, doo thinke hir to haue right, not to succeed but to inioie your crowne in possession: and therefore as shée is a most impatient competitor, so will shée not spare anie meanes whatsoeuer, that maie bereaue vs of your maiestie, the onelie impediment that she inioieth not hir desire.

2 She is obdurat in malice against your roiall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed hir all fauour and mercie, as well in preseruing hir kingdome, as sauing hir life, and saluing hir honor. And therefore there is no place for mercie, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather, for that hir malice appeareth such, that she maketh (as it were) hir testament of the same, to be executed after hir death, and appointeth hir executors to performe it.

3 She boldlie and openlie professed it lawfull for hir to moue inuasion vpon you. And therefore, as of inuasion victorie maie insue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished: so did she thereby not obscurelie bewraie, that she thought it lawfull for hir to destroie your sacred person.

4 She thinketh it not onelie lawfull, but honorable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being alreadie depriued of your crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like she will (as hitherto she hath done) continuallie séeke it by whatsoeuer meanes.

5 What she is greedie of your maiesties death, and preferreth it before hir owne life and safetie: for in hir direction to one of hir late complices, she aduised (vnder couert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of hir, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

1 IT is most perillous to spare hir, that continuallie hath sought the ouerthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and euer since a professed enimie against the truth. *The danger of the ouerthrow of the true religion.*

2 She resteth wholie vpon popish hopes to deliuer and aduance hir, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that aswell for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of hir owne humor, she will supplant the gospell, where and when so euer she maie: which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be auoided, as that it slaieth the verie soule, and will spread it selfe not onelie ouer England and Scotland, but also into those parts beyond the seas, where the gospell of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedinglie weakened, by the defection of this noble Iland.

1 As the Lydians said, *Vnum regem agnoscunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non possunt:* So we saie, *Vnicam reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.* *The perill of the state of the realme.*

2 As she hath alredie by hir allurements brought to destruction more noble men and their houses, together with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during hir being here, than she should haue béene able to doo, if she had béene in possession of hir owne crowne, and armed in the field against vs: so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoile, to the greater losse and perill of this estate: and therefore this realme neither can, nor maie indure hir.

3 Againe, she is the onelie hope of all discontented subiects, she is the foundation whereon all the euill disposed doo build, she is the root from whense all rebellions and trecheries doo spring: and therefore whilest this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this root liueth, they will reteine heart, and set on foot whatsoeuer their deuises against the realme, which otherwise will fall awaie, die, and come to nothing.

4 Mercie

4 Percie now in this case towards hir would in the end proue crueltie against vs all. *Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia*, and therefore to spare hir, is to spill vs.

5 Besides this, it will exceedinglie greeue and in a maner deadlie wound the hearts of all the good subiects of your land, if they shall see a conspiracie so horrible not condignlie punished.

6 Thousands of your maiesties most liege and louing subiects, of all sorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your maiesties safetie, haue most willinglie both by open subscription and solemne vow, entered into a firme and loiall association, and haue thereby protested to pursue vnto the death, by all forcible and possible meanes, such as she is by iust sentence now found to be: can neither discharge their loue, nor well saue their oths, if your maiestie shall keepe hir aliue: of which burthen your maiesties subiects are most desirous to be releeued, as the same maie be, if iustice be done.

7 Lastlie, your maiesties most louing and dutifull commons doubt not, but that as your maiestie is dulie exercised in reading the booke of God: so it will please you to call to your princelie remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance be, that are there to be found against king Saule for sparing king Agag, & against king Achab for sauing the life of Benadad; both which were by the iust iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for sparing those wicked princes, whome God had deliuered into their hands, of purpose to be slaine by them, as by the ministers of his eternall and diuine iustice. Wherein full wiselie Salomon proceeded to punishment, when he toke the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Adonias, for the onelie intention of a marriage, that gaue suspicion of treason against him. Herein we your maiesties most louing and obedient subiects earnestlie depend vpon your princelie resolution, which we assure our selues shall be to God most acceptable, and to vs no other than the state of your regall authoritie maie afford vs, and the approued arguments of your tender care for our safetie vnder your charge doth promise to our expectation.

A REPORT OF HIR MAIESTIES

most gratious answer, deliuered by hir selfe verballie, to the first petitions of the lords and commons, being the estates of parlement, in hir chamber of presence at Richmond, the twelfe daie of Nouember 1586, at the full almost of eight and twentie yeares of hir reigne. Whereof the reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauorable interpretation of his intent, because he findeth that he can not expresse the same answerable to the originall, which the learned call *Prototypon*.

THe bottomlesse graces and immesurable benefits bestowed vpon me by the almightie, are, and haue beene such, as I must not onelie acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well miracles as benefits; not so much in respect of his diuine maiestie, with whome nothing is more common than to doo things rare and singular: as in regard of our weakenesse, who can not sufficientlie set forth his wonderfull works and graces, which to me haue beene so manie, so diuerselie folded and imbroidered one vpon another, as in no sort I am able to expresse them. And although there liueth not anie, that maie more iustlie acknowledge themselues infinitelie bound vnto God than I, whose life he hath miraculouslie preserued at sundrie times (beyond my merit) from a multitude of perils & dangers: yet is not that the cause, for which I count my selfe the deerelie bound to giue him my humblest thanks, or to yeeld him greatest recognition; but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserue the name of wonder, if rare things and seldome seene be worthie of account. Euen this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my subiects, so doo I now after eight and twentie yeares reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good wils, which if haplie I should want, well might I breath, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I find my life hath beene full dangerouslie sought, and death contriued by such as no desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from malice (which hath the propertie to make men glad at the fals and faults of their foes, and make them seeme to doo for other causes, when rancor is the ground) as I protest it is and hath beene my greeuous thought, that one, not different in ser, of like estate, and my neere kin, should fall into so great a crime: yea I had so little purpose to pursue hir with anie colour of malice, that as it is not vnknowen to some of my lords here (for now I will plaie the blab) I secretlie wrote hir a letter vpon the discouerie of sundrie treasons, that if she would confesse them, and priuatlie acknowledge them by hir letters to my selfe, she neuer should need be called for them into so publike question. Neither did I it of mind to circumuent hir: for then I knew as much as she could confesse, and so did I write. And if euen yet, now that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought she truelie would repent (as perhaps she would easilie appeare in outward shew to doo) and that for hir, none other would take the matter vpon them; or that we were but as two milke maids with pailes vpon our armes, or that there were no more dependencie vpon vs but mine owne life were onelie in danger, and not the whole estate of your religion and well doings, I protest (wherein you maie beleeue me, for though I maie haue manie vices, I hope I haue not accustomed my tong to be an instrument of vntruth) I would most willinglie pardon and remit this offense.

Or if by my death other nations and kingdoms might truelie saie, that this realme had attained an euer prosperous and flourishing estate: I would (I assure you) not desire to liue; but gladlie giue my life, to the end my death might procure you a better prince. And for your sakes it is, that I desire to liue, to keepe you from a worse. For as for me, I assure you, I find no great cause I should be fond to liue: I take no such pleasure in it, that I should much wish it; nor conceiue such terror in death, that I should greatlie feare it: and yet I saie not, but if the stroke were comming, perchance flesh and bloud would be moued with it, and seeke to shun it. I haue had good experience and triall of this world: I know what it is to be a subiect; what to be a souereigne; what to haue good neighbors, and sometime meet euill willers. I haue found treason in trust, seene great benefits little regarded, and in stead of gratefulnesse, courses of purpose to crosse.

These former remembrances, present feeling, and future expectation of euils (I saie) haue made me thinke, An euill is much the better, the lesse while it indureth: & so, them happiest, that are soonest hense: and taught me to beare with a better mind these treasons, than is common to my ser: yea, with a better heart perhaps, than is in some men. Which I hope you will not meerelie impute to my simplicitie or want of vnderstanding, but rather, that I thus conceiued, that had their purposes taken effect, I

should

ſhould not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and though my perill ſhould haue béene great, my paine ſhould haue béene but ſmall and ſhort: wherein, as I would be loth to die ſo bloudie a death, ſo doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for ſuch an euent, chance when it ſhall, which I refer vnto his good pleaſure. And now, as touching their treaſons and conſpiracies, togither with the contriuer of them; I will not ſo preiudicat my ſelfe and this my realme, as to ſaie or thinke, that I might not, without the laſt ſtatute, by the ancient lawes of this land, haue proceeded againſt him, which was not made particularlie to preiudice him; though perhaps it might then be ſuſpected, in reſpect of the diſpoſition of ſuch as depend that waie. It was ſo far from being intended to intrap him, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof: but ſith it is made, and in the force of a law, I thought good, in that which might concerne him, to proceed according thereunto, rather than by courſe of common law: wherein, if you the iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the bookes you brought me were not falſe (which God forbid) I might as iuſtlie haue tried him by the ancient lawes of the land.

But you lawiers are ſo nice in ſifting, and ſcanning euerie word and letter, that manie times you ſtand more vpon forme than matter, vpon ſyllables than ſenſe of the law. For in the ſtrictneſſe & exact following of common forme, ſhe muſt haue béene indicted in Staffordſhire, haue holden vp hir hand at the barre, and béene tried by a iurie: a proper courſe forſooth, to deale in that maner with one of hir eſtate. I thought it better therefore, for auoiding of theſe and more abſurdities, to commit the cauſe to the inquiſition of a good number of the greateſt and moſt noble perſonages of this realme, of the iudges and others of good account, whoſe ſentence I muſt approue: and all little enough. For we princes, I tell you, are ſet on ſtages, in the ſight and view of all the world duelie obſerued; the eies of manie behold our actions; a ſpot is ſone ſpied in our garments; a blemiſh quicklie noted in our doings. It behoueth vs therefore to be carefull that our proceedings be iuſt and honorable.

But I muſt tell you one thing more, that in this laſt act of parlement you haue brought me vnto a narrow ſtreict, that I muſt giue direction for hir death, which cannot bée to mée but a moſt greéuous and irkſome burthen. And leaſt you might miſtake mine abſence from this parlement (which I had almoſt forgotten) although there bée no cauſe whie I ſhould willinglie come amongſt multitudes, for that amongſt manie ſome mate bee euill: yet hath it not béene the doubt of anie ſuch danger or occaſion that kept me from thenſe; but onlie the great griefe to heare this cauſe ſpoken of; eſpeciallie, that ſuch a one of ſtate and kin ſhould néed ſo open a declaration, and that this nation ſhould be ſo ſpotted with blots of diſloialtie. Wherein the leſſe is my greéfe, for that I hope the better part is mine, and thoſe of the worſe not ſo much to be accounted of, for that in ſéeking my deſtruction, they might haue ſpoiled their owne ſouls. And euen now could I tell you, that which would make you ſorie. It is a ſecret, and yet I will tell it you; although it is knowne I haue the propertie to keepe counſell, but to well oftentimes to mine owne perill. It is not long ſince mine eies did ſée it written, that an oth was taken within few daies, either to kill me, or to be hanged themſelues: and that to be performed per one moneth were ended. Hereby I ſée your danger in me, and neither can nor will be ſo vnthankefull or careleſſe of your conſciences, as not prouide for your ſafetie.

I am not vnmindfull of your oth made in the aſſociation, manifeſting your great good wils and affections, taken and entered into, vpon good conſcience, and true knowledge of the guilt, for ſafetie of my perſon, and conſeruation of my life: done (I proteſt to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of ſuch a matter, vntill a great number of hands with manie obligations were ſhewed me, at Hampton court, ſigned and ſubſcribed with the names and ſeales of the greateſt of this land. Which as I doo acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeale to my ſafetie: ſo ſhall my bond be ſtronger tied to greater care for all your good. But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great conſequence, I thinke you doo not looke for anie preſent reſolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my maner, in matters of far leſſe moment, to giue ſpéedie anſwer without due conſideration; ſo in this of ſuch importance, I thinke it verie requiſit with earneſt praier to beſéech his diuine maieſtie, ſo to illuminat my vnderſtanding, and inſpire me with his grace, as I maie doo and determine that, which ſhall ſerue to the eſtabliſhment of his church, preſeruation of your eſtates, and proſperitie of this common wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I know delaie is dangerous) you ſhall haue with all conueniencie our reſolution deliuered by our meſſage. And what euer anie prince maie merit of their ſubiects, for their approued teſtimonie of their vnfained ſinceritie, either by gouerning iuſtlie, void of all parcialitie, or ſufferance of anie iniuries done (euen to the worſt) that doo I aſſuredlie promiſe inuiolablie to performe, for requitall of your ſo manie deſerts.

¶ The occaſions of the ſecond acceſſe.

This anſwer thus made by hir maieſtie, the lords and commons were diſmiſſed. And then hir highneſſe ſome few daies after, vpon deliberation had of this petition, being (as it appeared) of hir mercifull diſpoſition of nature, and hir princelie magnanimitie, in ſome conflict with hir ſelfe what to doo in a cauſe ſo weightie and important to hir and the realme, ſent by the lord chancellor (as I heard) and by the mouth of an honorable perſon, and a right worthie member of the lower houſe, this meſſage to both houſes: moouing and earneſtlie charging them, to enter into a further conſideration, whether there might not be ſome other waie of remedie, than that they had alreadie required, ſo far diſagreeing from hir owne naturall inclination. Whereupon, the lords and commons in either houſes aſſembled, had ſundrie conſultations, both in their ſeuerall houſes generallie, and by priuat committées deputed ſpeciallie. And after conference had betwixt the ſaid committées, it was reſolued with vnanimitie of conſent amongſt them in the lower houſe, and by vniuerſall concord in the vpper houſe (the queſtion there propounded to euerie one of the lords) that there could be found no other ſound and aſſured meane, in the depth of their vnderſtanding, for the continuance of the chriſtian religion, quiet of the realme, and ſafetie of hir maieſties moſt roiall perſon, than that which was conteined in their former petition. The reaſons whereof were ſummarilie theſe that follow, which are more shortlie reported than they were vttered.

A briefe report of the ſecond acceſſe *the foure and twentith of Nouember 1586:* and of the anſwer made in the name of *tiue lords of the parlement, to a meſſage* ſent from hir maieſtie by the lord chancellor after hir firſt anſwer.

THe lord chancellor, accompanied with aboue fiue or ſix and twentie lords of parlement, came before hir highneſſe in hir chamber of preſence, to deliuer the reſolution of all the lords of parlement, concerning a meſſage which he had not long before deliuered from hir maieſtie, for further conſultation, whether anie other means could be thought of, or found out by anie of them, how the Scotiſh queens life might be ſpared, and yet hir maieſties perſon ſaued out of perill, and the ſtate of the realme preſerued in quiet; declared, that according to that he had receiued in commandement from hir maieſtie, he had imparted the ſame vnto the lords aſſembled in the vpper houſe, whom he found by their generall ſilence much amazed at the propounding thereof, conſidering the ſame had béene before in deliberation amongeſt them, and reſolued vpon, and as appeared by their former petition exhibited to hir highneſſe, wherein they had expreſſed the ſame reſolution.

Notwithſtanding, for hir maieſties further ſatisfaction, they had entred into a new conſultation, & for that purpoſe ſelected a great number of the choiſeſt perſons of the higher houſe of parlement to confer thereof, either priuatlie or togither with the lower houſe: which alſo was done accordinglie at ſeuerall times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, & ſo afterwards by the whole aſſemblie of both houſes, that there could be no other aſſured means for the preſeruation of hir maieſties life, and continuance of Gods religion & quiet of this ſtate, than by the full execution of the ſentence according to their former petition, inſtantlie preſſing hir maieſtie with manie arguments and reaſons tending thereto. All which, though by diſtance from his lordſhip I could not well conceiue, yet this I did remember preciſelie and eſpecialliè was one: that as it were iniuſtice to denie execution of law at the ſute of anie one particular, and the meaneſt of hir people: ſo much more not to yeeld to the earneſt inſtance and humble praiers of all hir faithfull and louing ſubiects. And ſo concluded, with earneſt petition for hir maieſties reſolute determination and anſwer, for a preſent and ſpéedie direction by proclamation, and otherwiſe alſo, according vnto the forme of the ſtatute.

A ſummarie report of the ſecond *ſpeach, vttered by the ſpeaker of the* lower houſe, by direction *of all the commons.*

THat if hir maieſtie ſhould be ſafe without taking awaie the life of the Scotiſh queene, the ſame were moſt likelie and probablie to grow, by one of theſe means following.

1 Firſt, that happilie ſhe might be reclamed and become a repentant conuert, agniſing hir maieſties great mercie and fauors in remitting hir heinous offenſe, and by hir loialtie hereafter performe the fruits of ſuch conuerſion.

2 Or elſe by a more ſtreict gard be ſo kept, as there ſhould be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.

3 Or that good aſſurance might be giuen by oth, bonds or hoſtages, as cautions for hir good and loiall demeanor from henceforth.

4 Or laſtlie by baniſhment, the realme might be voided of hir perſon, and thereby the perils further remoued that grow to hir maieſtie by hir preſence. The moments whereof being dulie pondered, did yet appeare ſo light in all their iudgements, that they durſt not aduiſe anie ſecuritie to reſt in anie, no not in all of them. For touching hir conuerſion, it was conſidered, that if pietie or dutie could haue reſtreined hir from ſuch heinous attempts, there was cauſe abundantlie miniſtred vnto hir on hir maieſties behalfe, when ſhe not onelie proteſted hir againſt the violence of hir owne ſubiects, who purſued hir to death by iuſtice, but couered hir honor when the ſame by publike fame was touched, and by verie heinous and capitall crimes (obiected and proued againſt hir before certeine commiſſarie delegats aſſigned to examine the ſame) more than blemiſhed; and ſpared hir life, when for hir former conſpiracies and confederacies with the Northerne rebels, hir highneſſe was with great inſtance preſſed by both the houſes in the foureténth yeare of hir maieſties reigne, to do like iuſtice vpon hir, as now is deſired, and as hir treaſonable practiſes then had moſt iuſtlie deſerued.

And where the penaltie of this act ſufficientlie notified vnto hir, ſhould haue terrified hir from ſo wicked attempts; ſhe hath neuertheleſſe inſiſted in hir former practiſes, as a perſon obdurat in malice againſt hir maieſtie, and irrecouerable; ſo as there was no probable hope of anie conuerſion, but rather great doubt and feare of relapſe and recidiuation, forasmuch as ſhe ſtood obſtinatlie in the denial of matter moſt euidentlie proued, and now moſt iuſtlie ſentenced againſt hir, and was not entred into the firſt part of repentance, the recognition of hir offenſe, and ſo much the further off from the true fruits that ſhould accompanie the ſame.

As for a ſurer gard & more ſtreict impriſonment, it was reſolued that there was no ſecuritie therein, nor yet in the other two means propounded of bonds and hoſtages: forasmuch as the ſame meanes that ſhould be practiſed to take hir maieſties life awaie, (which God forbid) would aptlie ſerue for the deliuerie of hir perſon, and releaſe of the bonds & hoſtages that ſhould be giuen for cautions in that behalfe: which being vnhappilie atchiued, and to our irreparable loſſe, who ſhould ſue the bonds, or deteine the hoſtages? Or being deteined, what proportion was there in bonds or hoſtages whatſoeuer, to counteruaile the value of ſo pretious & ineſtimable a iewell, as hir maieſtie is to this realme, & to vs all? But ſhe will ſolemnlie vow & take an oth, that ſhe will not attempt anie thing to the hurt of hir maieſties perſon. She hath alreadie ſundrie times ſatiſfied hir word, hir writing, and hir oth; and holdeth it for an article of religion, that faith is not to be holden with heretiks, of which ſort ſhe accounteth your maieſtie and all the profeſſors of the goſpell to be: and therfore haue we little reaſon to truſt hir in that, whereof ſhe maketh ſo ſmall a conſcience.

As for baniſhment, that were a ſtep *A malo in peius*, to ſet hir at libertie, a thing ſo greatlie deſired and thirſted for by hir adherents, and by ſome princes hir alies, who ſought hir inlargement chéeflie to make hir a head to be ſet vp againſt hir maieſtie, in time of inuaſion. To the which were added ſome few reaſons collected out of hir owne letters and the confeſſion of Babington, hir inſtrument and conſpirator: by which appeared how hir owne conſcience bewraied what might iuſtlie fall vpon hir, in caſe anie of hir intended deſignements came to light, that ſhe might haplie be ſhut vp in ſome more cloſe

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and strict prison, as the Tower of London, if there befell him no worse thing. And in that she directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of his deliuerie, that he should neuertheless proceed in the residue; which was the death of his maiestie: who also confessed, that vpon assurance of his maiesties death, or the arriuall of strangers, he intended to proclame the queene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore his maiesties death being so earnestlie sought, for aduancement of this competitor, his highnesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scotish queene should longer continue his life.

THE SECOND ANSWER

made by the queens maiestie, deliuered by hir owne mouth, to the second speach, vttered in the names of the lords and commons of the parlement.

All greeuous is the waie, whose going on, and end, breed cumber for the hire of a laborious tourneie. I haue striued more this daie than euer in my life, whether I should speake, or vse silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble; if I hold my peace, your labour taken were full vaine. For me to make my mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shall find few, that for their owne particular, will cumber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath beene my greedie desire and hungrie will, that of your consultation might haue fallen out some other meanes to worke my safetie ioined with your assurance (than that for which you are become such earnest sutors) as I protest, I must néeds vse complaint, though not of you, but vnto you, and of the cause; for that I do perceiue by your aduises, praiers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, that onelie my iniurers bane must be my lifes suertie.

But if anie there liue so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onelie, *Pro forma*, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my praises to the wierdrawers to lengthen them the more: they do me so great a wrong, as they can hardlie recompense. Or if anie person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vaine-glorious thought hath drawne me further herein, they do me as open iniurie as euer was done to a ne liuing creature, as he that is the maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. Or if there be anie, that thinke, that the lords appointed in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or else to be suspected to be of a contrarie opinion to my safetie, they do but heape vpon me iniurious conceipts. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, haue not performed their duties towards me; or else they haue signified vnto you all, that my desire was, that euerie one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his procéedings should inioie both fréedome of voice and libertie of opinion; and what they would not openlie declare, they might priuatlie to my selfe haue reuealed. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other meanes might be found out, wherein I should haue taken more comfort, than in anie other thing vnder the sun.

And sith now it is resolued, that my saretie can not be established without a princelie end, I haue iust cause to complaine; that I, who haue in my time pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogither slipt them ouer with silence, should now be forced to this procéeding, against such a person. I haue besides, during my reigne, séene and heard manie opprobrious bokes and pamphlets against me, my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant; I thanke them for their almes: I beléeue, therein their meaning was to tell me news, and news it is to me in déed; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie! What will they not now saie, when it shall be spread, that for the safetie of hir life, a maiden queene could be content to spill the bloud, euen of hir owne kinswoman? I maie therefore full well complaine, that anie man should thinke me giuen to crueltie, whereof I am so giltlesse and innocent, as I should slander God, if I should saie he gaue me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so far from it, that for mine owne life I would not touch hir: neither hath my care beene so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to preserue both: which I am right sorie is made so hard, yea so impossible.

I am not so void of iudgement, as not to sée mine owne perill; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a sword to cut mine owne throte; nor so careless, as not to weigh that my life dailie is in hazard: but this I do consider, that manie a man would put his life in danger for the safegard of a king, I do not saie that so will I: but I praie you thinke, that I haue thought vpon it. But sith so manie haue both written & spoken against me, I praie you giue me leaue to saie somewhat for my selfe, & before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue passed so carefull thoughts. Wherein, as I thinke my selfe infinitlie beholding vnto you all, that sæke to preserue my life by all the meanes you maie: so I protest vnto you, that there liueth no prince, that euer shall be more mindfull to requite so god deserts. And as I perceiue you haue kept your old wonts, in a generall séeking of the lengthning of my daies: so am I sure that I shall neuer requite it, vnlesse I had as manie liues as you all: but for euer I will acknowledge it, while there is anie breath left me. Although I maie not iustifie, but iustlie condemne my sundrie faults and sinnes to God: yet for my care in this gouernment, let me acquaint you with my intents.

When first I toke the scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me: how manie great princes of the contrarie opinion would attempt all they might against me: and generallie, what enimitie I should breed vnto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I haue béene so dangerouslie prosecuted, as I rather maruell that I am, than muse that I should not be: if it were not Gods holie hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. When entered I further into the schole of experience, bethinking what it fitted a king to do; and there I saw, he scant was well furnished, if either he lacked iustice, temperance, magnanimitie, or iudgement. As for the two latter, I will not boast, my ser doth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I saie; amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whome I thought not fit for worth: nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: nor was so rash, to corrupt my iudgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not saie, but manie reports might fortune be brought me by such as might heare the case, whose partialitie might mar sometime the matter: for

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we princes maie not heare all our selues. But this dare I boldlie affirme, my verdict went euer with the truth of my knowledge. As full well wished Alcibiades his frend, that he should not giue anie answer, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so haue I not vsed ouer sudden resolutions, in matters that haue touched me full neere: you will saie that with me, I thinke.

And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceiue them to be wise, honest, and conscionable: so prouident and carefull for the safetie of my life (which I wish no longer than maie be for your good) that though I neuer can yéld you of recompense your due: yet shall I indeuour my selfe to giue you cause, to thinke your good will not ill bestowed, and striue to make my selfe worthie for such subiects. And now for your petition, I shall praie you for this present, to content your selues with an answer without answer. Your iudgement I condemne not, neither do I mistake your reasons, but praie you to accept my thankefulnesse, excuse my doubtfulnesse, and take in good part my answer answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne iudgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons maie go before me, though by my degrée I go before them. Therefore if I should saie, I would not do what you request, it might peraduenture be more than I thought: and to saie I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of that you labour to preserue, being more than in your owne wisedoms and discretions would séeme conuenient, circumstances of place and time being dulie considered.

Thus far the procéeding against the Scotish quéene, as the same is reported by R. C. Now followeth the publication of the same, which was done with great port and statelinesse. For vpon tuesdate, being the first date of December, the lord maior of London, assisted with diuers earls, and barons, the aldermen in their scarlet gownes, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most graue & worshipfullest citizens, in cotes of veluet, and chaines of gold, all on horsse backe; in most solemne and statelie maner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelie giuen by the nobilitie against the quéene of Scots, vnder the great seale of England, bearing date at Richmont the fourth daie of December, being openlie read by maister Serjeight, towne-clerke of London, & with lowd voice solemnelie proclamed by the sargent at armes of the said citie, in foure seuerall places, to wit, at the crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie lane in Flétstrét, ouer against the Temple, at Leaden hall corner, and at saint Magnus corner néere London bridge.

The sentence giuen against the Scotish quéene solemnelie proclamed.

During which time, the like solemne proclamations were made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex, namelie in the palace at Westminster, without Temple barre, and in Holborne, by the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the iustices of peace of the said countie, to the great and wonderfull reioising of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the portlie traine, their thronging to heare the same published, their ringing of bels, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in euerie strét and lane of the citie. The said proclamation followeth.

A true copie of the proclamation latelie published by the queenes maiestie, vnder the great seale of England, for the declaring of the sentence latelie giuen against the queene of Scots, in forme as followeth.

ELisabeth by the grace of God, quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Whereas we were giuen to vnderstand very crediblie, though to our great greefe, that diuerse things were, and of late time had bene compassed, imagined, and resolutelie intended, tending directlie to the hurt and destruction of our roiall person, and to the subuersion of the state of our realme by forren inuasions and rebellions at home, as well by the quéene of Scots, remaining in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie diuerse other wicked persons with hir priuitie, who had frélie confessed the same, and had thereupon receiued open triall, iudgement, and execution according to the lawes for their deserts. And though in verie truth we were greatlie and deeplie greéued in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie such vnnaturall and monstrous acts should be either deuised, or willinglie assented vnto against vs, by hir being a princesse borne, and of our sex and bloud, and one also whose life & honor we had manie times before saued and preserued: yet were we so directlie drawne to thinke all the same to be true, by the sight and vnderstanding of such proofes as were manifestlie produced afore vs, vpon matters that had as well procéeded from hir selfe, as from the conspirators themselues, who voluntarilie & frélie without anie coercion had confessed their conspirations, both iointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our person and our realme: and therefore also we saw great reason, to thinke the same ouer dangerous to be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect.

Wherefore we were by sundrie lords of our nobilitie, and others our louing subiects, earnestlie moued and counselled, to take vndelaied order for the inquisition and examination of all these dangerous enterprises & conspiracies, by sundrie waies directlie auowed to be by the said quéen of Scots against vs and our realme certeinlie intended; and also to vse all present meanes with expedition to withstand or rather to preuent the same. And for that we were verie vnwilling to procéed against hir, considering hir birth and estate, by such vsuall sort as by the common lawes of the realme we might haue lawfullie done, which was by indictment and arreignment by ordinarie iuries: therefore, in respect both of our owne honor, and of hir person, we yélded, by good aduise giuen to vs, to procéed in the most honorable sort that could be deuised within our realme, to the examination hereof, according to a late act of parlement, made the three and twentith daie of November, in the seuen and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Whereupon by our commission vnder our great seale of England, bearing date at our castell of Windsor in our countie of Barkeshire, the first daie of October now last past, we did (for that purpose) according to that statute, assigne, name, and appoint all the lords and others of our priuie councell, and so manie other earls and barons lords of parlement, of the greatest degrée and most ancient of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same lords and others of our priuie councell, made vp the number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a further, number according to the tenor of the foresaid act of parlement, of certeine of the cheefest and other principall iudges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number

uer of forty and seuen, to examine all things compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our rotall person, as well by the said quéene of Scots, by the name of Marie the daughter & heire of James the fift late king of Scots, commonlie called the quéene of Scots & Dowager of France, as by anie other by hir priuitie, and all the circumstances thereof, & thereupon according to the tenor of the said act of parlement, to giue sentence or iudgment, as vpon good proofe the matter vnto them should appeare, as by the same commission more fullie appeareth.

And where afterwards the more part of the said councellors, lords, and iudges, in our said commission named, that is to saie, the number of six and thirtie, did in the presence and hearing of the said quéene of Scots, where she remained at our castell of Fodringhaie, at diuerse daies and times in publike place, verie exactlie, vprightlie, and with great deliberation examine all the matters & offenses, whereof she was charged and accused, tending vnto the dangers afore rehearsed and mentioned in our said commission and all the circumstances thereof, and heard also at large in all fauorable maner, what the same quéene did, or could saie for hir excuse and defense in that behalfe. Whereupon afterwards on the fiue and twentith daie of October now last past, all the said councell, lords, and iudges, that had heard and examined the same cause in the said quéenes presence, as afore is mentioned, with one assent and consent, after good deliberation did giue their sentence and iudgement, in this sort following.

That after the first daie of June, in the seuen and twentith yeare of our reigne, and before the date of our said commission, diuerse things were compassed and imagined within this realme of England by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the priuitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the crowne of this realme of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our rotall person. And likewise, that after the same first daie of June, and before the date of our said commission, the said Marie, pretending title to the same crowne, had compassed & imagined within the same realme, diuers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our rotall person, contrarie to the forme of the said statute: which sentence and iudgement the same lords and commissioners haue with one full consent caused to be put in writing, and dulie ingrossed, with the whole processe of their proceedings thereunto belonging, and haue subscribed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof shewed to vs more fullie and largelie doth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and iudgement so giuen and recorded, the lords and commons in this present parlement assembled, haue also at sundrie times in open parlement, heard and considered the principall euidences, proofes, and circumstances, whereupon the same sentence and iudgement was grounded, and haue by their publike assent in parlement affirmed the same to be a iust, lawfull, and true sentence, and so haue allowed and approued the same in writing presented vnto vs: and haue also notified to vs, how dispelie they did foresee the great and manifest imminent dangers, which otherwise might and should grow to our person, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were not fullie executed: and consequentlie therefore, they did by their most humble and earnest petitions in that behalfe, of one accord, hauing accesse vnto vs (vpon their sundrie requests) most instantlie vpon their knées, praie, beseech, and with manie reasons of great force and importance, mooue and presse vs, that the said sentence and iudgement so iustlie & dulie giuen, and by them approued, as is aforesaid, might (according to the expresse tenor of the said act of parlement) by our proclamation vnder our great seale be declared and published, and the same also finallie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to vs from all the said lords and commons in parlement, they perceiuing by our owne speeches and answers, how deepelie we are greeued to heare of these horrible and vnnaturall attempts and actions of that quéene, whose manie former offenses, manifestlie and dangerouslie committed against vs, our crowne and realme, we had ouerpassed with our ouer great clemencie, contrarie to the manie aduises and requests of our subiects, aswell in parlement as otherwise: and therefore they also vnderstanding from our selfe, how desirous we were to haue some other meanes deuised by them in their seuerall places of parlement, to withstand these mischiefes intended both against our selfe, and the publike quiet state of our realme, and suertie of our good subiects, than by execution of the foresaid sentence, as was required: they did after their sundrie consultations apart, and conferences iointlie with one accord, in the names of all the lords of parlement, euen by the particular votes of them all assembled, and also of the commons with one vniuersall assent, representing the state of all our realme, at their seuerall times of accesse vnto vs, alledge, declare, and protest, that vpon their long, manie, & aduised consultations and conferences by our commandement, and for our satisfaction in that behalfe had, they could not by anie meanes find or deuise, how the suertie of our rotall person, and the preseruation of themselues and their posteritie, with the good state of the realme, might be prouided for and continued, without the publication and due execution of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not onelie mooued to our grefe, but also ouercome with the earnest requests, declarations, and important reasons of all our said subiects, the nobles and commons of our realme, whose iudgement, knowledge, and naturall care of vs, and the whole realme, we know doth farre surmount all others, being not so interessed therin, and so iustlie to be esteemed: and perceiuing also the said sentence to haue béene honourablie, lawfullie, and iustlie giuen, agréeable to iustice and to the lawes of our realme: we did yéeld, and do according to this said statute by this our proclamation vnder our great seale of England, declare, notifie, and publish to all our loving subiects, and other persons whatsoeuer, that the said sentence and iudgement is giuen in maner aforesaid, to the intent, that they and euerie of them, by this our proclamation may haue full vnderstanding and knowledge thereof. We do also will you, that you returne this our proclamation into our court of Chancerie, as spéedilie as you maie conuenientlie, with the place and time of the proclaming thereof thereupon indorsed, whereof faile you not. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused this our proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with the great seale of England. At our manor of Richmont the fourth daie of December, the nine and twentith yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six.

Now to conclude with a remembrance of perpetuities concerning the queens maiestie, of whose loning care and tender affection towards all hir faithfull subiects as we haue manifold testimonies in the historie of hir highnesse time, whereby their hearts are linked vnto hir maiestie with an indis-

soluble knot of deserued loue and loialtie: so we maie not omit in anie case the publike witnesse of hir highnesse naturall care and mercifull prouidence ouer hir liege people, euen those of the poorer sort, vnto whome the comfortable streames of hir rare regard for their benefit and welfare, in a hard time of scarsitie, do most plentifullie flow. But because our barren and sapleſſe stile is insufficient, with conuenient dignitie to describe, naie not so much as to delineat or shadow out this incomparable pitie and pietie of hir highnesse tender heart to hir commons, I will surceasse to intermedle therein, reserving the same vnto the due consideration of euerie particular member of this bodie politike (whereof hir maiestie is the souereigne head) by the view and perusall of the proclamation and orders here annexed.

A true copie of the said proclamation concerning corne, &c.

THe quenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the generall dearth growne of corne & other victuals, partlie through the vnseasonablenesse of the yeare past, whereby want hath growne more in some countries than in others, but most of all generallie through the couetousnes & vncharitable greedines of such as be great cornemaisters & ingrosers of corne, vsing all the subtill meanes they can, to worke their owne present vnconscionable gaine against the rules of charitie, which hir maiestie of hir princelie care and loue towards hir people, vtterlie condemneth, and earnestlie desireth to remedie, for the releefe of the poorer sort. And therefore, hir maiestie with hir princelie care towards hir people, hauing (with the aduise of hir councell) had good consideration hereof, doth by this hir proclamation, giue expresse commandement and charge vnto all such to whom it shall or maie apperteine, that such good orders as hir maiestie hath commanded to be deuised for that purpose, and now also are sent to all parts of hir realme, be diligentlie and effectuallie put in speedie execution: signifieng withall vnto all hir good and loving subiects, that if anie shall be found obstinat or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise in the obseruation thereof, that then vpon due information and proofe thereof made vnto hir highnesse said councell, which she requireth not to be spared by anie, hauing iust cause of complaint, for respect of anie person, she hath giuen speciall commandement and order, that they shall be speedilie called to answer; & thereupon, according to the qualitie of their offenses, shall receiue sharpe punishment, whereby others maie take example to auoid the like contempt, negligence, or other defaults.

And although this dearth hath in sundrie parts of the realme first growne by the visitation of almightie God, in the alteration of seasonable weather this last yeare, which neuertheless of his great mercie hath not beene so extreme in this realme, as in manie other countries adioining, where the dearth is by manie occasions manifestlie knowne to be far greater than is in this relme hitherto, or by his goodnesse is like to be: yet it is manifestlie knowne the said dearth to haue bin wilfullie increased in verie manie places of this realme, not onelie by & through the couetousnes of manie ingrosers of corne & cornmaisters, but also by vnlawfull transportation of graine, & lacke also of preseruation of store in time requisit. Hir highnesse acknowledging this maner of Gods mercie and fauour in a more fauourable measure towards hir countrie and hir people, than to other forren parts neere adioining, hath thought good and necessarie, for a further remedie against the vncharitable couetousnesse of the cornemaisters, as cause shall require, to notifie, that if such as be the great cornemaisters and owners of graine, or of other necessarie victuals for food of the poore, shall not be willing, or do not performe these orders, whereby the poorer sort maie be releeued in the markets at reasonable prices; or that it shall appeare that other needfull victuals shall by couetousnesse of anie persons grow to excessiue prices, to the pinching of the poorer sort: then hir highnesse doth hereby signifie, that she will not onelie seuerelie punish the offendors for their cruell couetousnesse and offenses against hir orders; but will also for releefe of the excessiue prices of other needfull victuals, giue order that reasonable prices shall be set both on corne and other victuals, to be sold for the releefe of hir maiesties poore subiects, according both to hir prerogatiue roiall, and to the order of iustice, as by speciall law of parlement therefore made in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir late noble and deare father king Henrie the eight, is speciallie in such cases prouided. Giuen at Greenewich the second daie of Januarie, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentith yeare of hir highnesse reigne.

Now the said orders before specified, being a matter of coherence (deuised by the speciall commandement of hir maiestie, for the releefe and staie of the present dearth of graine within the realme) and published at large, do here follow (agreeable to that which was sent from the court at Greenewich abroade into the realme, the second daie of Januarie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, in the nine and twentith yere of hir maiesties reigne, by hir maiesties priuie councell) but abridged according to the annotations. And first; That the iustices shall diuide themselues into sundrie parts to execute these orders: To appoint sundrie iuries to inquire of things hereafter following: The oth of the iurors, with charge to inquire what number of persons be in the houses of them that haue store of corne: For badgers, hoggers, and carriers of corne: Maltmakers, bakers, and brewers: Buiers of corne to sell againe: Buiers of corne vpon the ground: Against such as shall refuse to declare the truth of the matters inquirable: Parties offending to appeare afore the councell: A consideration of all persons that haue corne, to determine how they shall serue the markets with such portions as they maie spare: The forme of the recognisance to be freelie taken.

An abridgment of the orders deuised for the releefe of the poore in this time of dearth, &c.

Orders to be obserued by such as shall be appointed to serue the markets with corne, for the releefe of the poore people first: To whome corne shall be sold, after that the poore are serued: No corne brought to the market vnsold, to be caried out of the towne: None to buie such kind of corne as they shall bring to sell, but by warrant vpon reasonable cause: No corne to be bought & to sell againe: No corne to be bought but in open market: Inquirie to be made against ingrosers: An order for all licences from the iustices of the peace, to be kept in a record: Regard to the bakers for keeping of the assise of bread: Bread faultie in anie excesse to be sold towards the releefe of the poore: No badger to buie corne but in open market, and with a sufficient licence in writing: The badgers to shew weekelie their books of buieng: No iustices seruant to be a badger, nor none other, but such as shall be licenced in open sessions: No badger, baker, brewer, or purueior, to buie graine, vntill an houre after the full market begin: Some iustices to be present in the market, to see the poore releeued vpon reasonable prices.

Where iustices are wanting in anie hundred for

for to appoint some rich persons to supplie the want: That ministers and preachers exhort the rich sort to be liberall to helpe the poore with monie or victels needfull: To make malt of oates in countries where there hath beene vse thereof: No waste of bread corne superfluouslie, nor anie expense thereof but for feeding of people: None suffered to make starch of anie graine: Able poore people to be set to worke: Stocks of monie for prouision of works for poore people: Clothiers to continue their worke-folks: Souldiors hurt, and impotent people, to be relæued in their dwelling places: That no millers be suffered to be common buiers of corne, nor to sell meale, but to attend to the true grinding of the corne brought, & to vse measurable tole these deare seasons: Conferences to be had betwixt the iustices of peace in the shires, and the principall officers of cities and townes corporat for prouisions of graine, for the inhabitants in cities and corporat towns: Order for places exempted from the iurisdiction of the iustices of peace in the bodies of the shires: Regard to staie all transportation of graine out of the realme: Certificat to be made of the execution of these orders monethlie to the shiriffe, and he to certifie the same to the priuie councell within euerie fortie daies: To certifie what iustices be absent from the seruice, that such as without iust excuse shall not attend, maie be displaced, and their rooms, if there be need, supplied.

Starch.

The conclusion of these orders is this *Ad verbum*, That if anie shall offend against the true meaning of these instructions, or of anie part thereof, or shall vse anie sinister meane to the defrauding thereof, that such be seuerelie punished according to the lawes; and for such obstinat persons as shall not conforme themselues, the iustices shall at their pleasure bind them to appeare before the quéenes maiesties priuie councell by a daie certeine, there to be further delt with by seuere punishment, for the better example of all others.

An abridgment of the orders deuised for the releefe of the poore in this time of dearth, &c.

F. T. Now as Holinshed and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie haue thought good before me, to knit vp the seuerall reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies: so haue I béene importuned by manie of my frends, to knit vp the said whole history with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposelie in seuerall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countries written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was (for he is not liuing I suppose that can do the same) yet hauing done my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue done, I praie thée to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue done and could do. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another seuerall thing: yet is it not of purpose done, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and séeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet atteined to that perfection, which hereafter I hope to do in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie, & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not bæne first laid, it had neuer béene after builded: and so to the matter.

A, Abbo Floriacensis liued in the time of Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, to whome he dedicated his booke: Abbas Wiseburgensis, Nicholaus Adams liued in the daies of king Edward the first, Alfric Abbas, Alfric that gathered the liues of the saints in Saxonie, which I sometimes had, it maie be that these two were all one man; Alfridus Beuerlacensis thesaurarius whom Leland calleth Aluredus Fibroleganus; Alanus abbat of Tenkesburie, one of the foure that writ the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket in the time of king John; Alexander Hessebiensis, he writ *Epitome Britannicæ historiæ*; Alexander Somersetensis, Alexander Staffordiensis, Aelius Spartianus, Alured or Alfred king of England in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and three, Adam Merimuth canon of Paules in the reigne of Richard the second, Anianus Marcellinus, Richardus Angeruil surnamed De Berie, bishop of Durham, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and fiue; Antoninus, Arnold of London in the time of king Henrie the eight, Asserius Meneuensis, Aurelius or Aluredus Riualensis, Robert Auersberie.

B, Sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord képer of the great seale vnto quéene Elisabeth, Benedictus Claudiocestrensis, Balantine a Scot, William Baldwin liued in the time of king Edward the first, Stephan Batemaine died in the yere one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure, Beda an English Saxon died in the yere of Christ seuen hundred thirtie and two; G. de Barrie archdeacon of S. Dauids writ the life of Remigius bishop of Lincolne, John Bale flourished in the time of Edward the first, Barnardus Andreas writ a chronicle intituled *Liber Barnardi Andreæ Tolosati poetæ laureati regij historiographi de vita atque gestis Henrici septimi*, in whose time he flourished; Robert Boston in the time of Edward the second, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London vnder Edward the second, Peter Baillet in the time of Henrie the fift, whose life he did write; Robert Bale recorder of London, he died in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and one, about the latter end of the reigne of Richard the second; Edmund Bedenhame writer of the chronicles of Rochester; John Bramus, and not Bromus as saith Bale, a monke of Tedsord; John Brackelow a Benedictine monke, in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourténe; Iohannes Brompton, *historia vetus quam contulit Iornal. monasterio*, as hath Mathew Parker *In vitis episcop. Cantu.* Ferdinando Blake liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, Bodinus, John Bouchet a Frenchman of Aquitaine, Nicholas Brodingham or Brodringham, John Bosue of Burie, Blondus Foroliuiensis, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester a blacke monke there in the time of Henrie the eight, John Burgh a monke in the daies of K. Edward the third, Nicholas Bungeie borne in a towne of the same name in Northfolke in the daies of king Henrie the first, sir John Bourchier knight lord Barnes translated Froissard, Bullerus, Roger Bond, Thomas Buckhurst lord Buckhurst now liuing, Stephan Birchington, George Buckhanan liued in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and foure score.

C, Thomas Castleford: sir William Cecill knight lord Burleigh lord treasuror of England now liuing, William Caxton liued in the daies of king Edward the fourth, Campbell, Carion a Germane, Caradocus Lancarnauensis liued in the daies of K. Stephan, Iulius Cæsar a Romane, John Capgraue borne in Kent an Augustine frier died in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and foure; Cornelius Hibernensis, Cornelius Tacitus, Albertus Crantz, John Caius died in the reigne of our quéene Elisabeth, William Camp-

den now liuing, George Cauendish gentleman vsher vnto cardinall Wolsele, whose life he did write, John Clinu or Linu an Irishman, he flourished in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and fiftie, Rase Coggeshall abbat of Coggeshall in Esser liued in the time of king Henrie the third and writ the appendix to Radulphus Niger, Thomas Cooper bishop of Winchester now liuing, Richard Carguent flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, Thomas Churchyard now liuing. D, Demetrius a Britaine, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius, Dion Cassius, Thomas Dando a Carmelit frier of Marleborow, writ the life of Alphred king of Percia or rather of west Sarons, and liued in the time of king Henrie the first; Diouionensis, Dolensis writ *De laudibus Britonum.*

E, Edmerus a monke of Canturburie liued in the time of Henrie the second; Elwardus, Eutropius a Romane priest, Enguerrant de Monstrellet a Frenchman, and scholer in Paris in the time of king Henrie the fift; Edmund Campian a Iesuit brought vp in Oxford, & executed in the yere of our Lord 1581; John Euersden a monke of Burie flourished in the time of king Edward the first, and so continued in the time of king Edward the third; Ernulphus bishop of Rochester liued in the time of king Henrie the second, and compiled *Textus Roffensis*, conteining the grants of the lands to the same house, & the copies of sundrie ancient lawes in the Saxon tong, Thomas Elmeham prior of Lenton.

F, Robert Fabian alderman of London, liued in the time of Henrie the seuenth, Geffreie Fenton now liuing; Samuell and Abraham Flemings both liuing, brethren by one bellie, and Londoners borne, *Quorum prior historiolam quandam de regimine Mariæ nuper Anglorũ principis, eámq; elegantem, Latino idiomate (nunquã tamẽ excusam) cõtexuit: posterior in hisce chronicis detergẽdis atque dilatandis, vna cum vberrimorũ indicum accessione, plurimùm desudauit*; Iohannes Fibernis or Bever writ the historie of Westminster, John Froissart, Ferculphus, Flaccus Albinus or Alcuinus, Philip Flattesberie a worthie Irish gentleman flourished in the yere 1517, John Fourdon a Scot, John Foxe a learned diuine, that writ the Acts and Monuments, and is now liuing; George Ferres liuing in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and eight, Fabius Questor, Florentius Wigornius died about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eighténe, being about the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the first.

G, Robert Gagwin a Frenchman, John Greie bishop of Norwich in king Johns time, Thomas Gardiner a monke of Westminster in the time of Henrie the eight; Robert Glouer by office named Somerset now liuing a most rare antiquarie, and worthily deseruing to be named *Scientissimus antiquitatũ*; Francis Guiciardine an Italian liuing in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and eighténe, Laurence Guiciardine, Gildas Sapiens, Gildas Cambrensis, Gildas Badonicus, Gildas Albanius, Geffreie of Munmouth liued in the time of king Stephan, John Gower knight died about the second of Henrie the fourth, Giraldus Cambrensis liued in the time of Henrie the second, Richard the first, and king John; Nicholas Gill a Frenchman, Goccelinus first a monke of saint Bertine beyond the seas, and after a monke of Canturburie; Giraldus Cornubiensis *De gestis Anglorum*, Gulielmus Malmsberie in the daies of K. Stephan, Gulielmus Parus alias Gulielmus Nouoburgensis or Newberie, Geruasius Dorobernensis. Geruasius Tilberiensis, Richard Grafton in the time of queene Elisabeth, Robert Greene, Guido de Columna.

H, John Hales, Hugo Albus Petroburgensis, in the time of king John; John Harding esquier liued in the daies of Edward the fourth, Edward Hall a counsellor of Greies inne flourished in the time of Henrie the eight and Edward the first, Abrahamus Hartwellus *Academicus Cantab.* that writ in verse *Regina literata*; Henrie of Marleborow, Gualter Hemigsford a monke of Gisborne in the daies of Edward the third, Hector Boetius a Scot, Hirmannus archdeacon in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and ten, Herbert de Bolham one of the foure that writ the life of Thomas Becket, Hoclet one that liued in the time of Henrie the first in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure, John de Heram and Richard de Heram liued in the daies of king Richard the first, Wilfrid Holme vnder Henrie the eight, Raphaell Holinshed in the time of queene Elisabeth, William Harrison now liuing, John Harrison doctor of arts and of physicke, Rase Higden alias Cestrensis flourished in the time of Edward the third, John Higgins now liuing, Roger Houeden liued in the time of king John, Hugo de sancto Victore; Hugo Abbas Petroburgensis, it maie be that Hugo Abbas before & this Hugo were one man, although for this time I suppose the contrarie; Hugo de Genesis an Italian, John Hooker alias Vowell now liuing.

I, Iehan de Bauge, Iohannes Maior a Scot, Iohannes Seuerianus, Iohannes Carnotensis one of the foure that writ the *Quadrilogium* of the life of Thomas Becket, Iohannes Anglicus writ *Historiam aureã*, Iehan Maior de Belgis, Iohannes Londonienſis, John a monke of Ford, Iossridus Crowlandensis, Ingulfus abbat of Crowland in the daies of William Conqueror, Thomas Ichingham whome Leland calleth Thomas Vicanius, Iosephus Domnonienſis, Joceline of Furneis, Peter de Icham or Icham a monke, whose booke beginneth *Non solum audiendis sacræ scripturæ verbis aurem sedulus auditor accomodare tenetur*, which booke *Caius de antiquitate Cantab.* doth ascribe to Robert Kemington, as after shall appeare; Iulius Capitolinus *In vita Antonij Pij.*

K, Albertus Krantz a Dane, Kentigernus, Henrie Knighton liued in the time of king Richard the second. L, Lanfrancus that writ a chronicle in Welch, Stephan Langton bishop of Canturburie writ the life of king Richard the first, John Leland in the time of Henrie the eight and Edward the first, William Lambard esquire now liuing, and deseruing well of all antiquitie; George Lillie, Humfreie Lhoid, he died in the time of queene Elisabeth; Piers de Longtoft, Thomas Lanquet, John Lesle a Scot bishop of Rosse in Scotland now liuing, John Langden bishop of Rochester.

M, Marcerius an Englishman, of whom John Baconthorpe speaketh in the prolog of the fourth booke of Senten. quæst. 10. John Maluerne monke of Worcester continued Ranulphus in the yeare of Christ, one thousand three hundred three score and sirténe; Marianus Scotus liued about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure score and ten, Matthew Paris, Matthew Westminster alias Flores historiarum a monke of Westminster, and liued in the time of king Edward the third; Thomas More knight lord chancellor of England, Thomas de la More knight liued in the daies of Edward the second, Radulphus Marham, Merlinus Ambrosius, Merlinus Sylueſter, Melkinus, Nicholas Montacute liued in the time of Henrie the first, Edmund Molineux now liuing, Sebastian Munster a Germane.

N, Nennius Helius brother to Cassiuelane & Lud k ings of Britaine, Nennius Banchorensis, Nauclerus Alexander Neuill now liuing, Laurence Nowell died about the sixtéenth yere of queene Elisabeth,

Ninianus

Ninianus that wrote Eulogium. O, Osbert de Clare prior of Westminster, Osbernus Dorobernensis in the time of William the Conqueror, Thomas Otterborne a Franciscan or greie frier lived in the time of Henrie the fift, Abraham Ortuelius now living a Fleming; Christopher Ocland now living sometime schoolemaister in Southwarke.

P, William Pakington clerke & treasurer to the blacke prince of his household in Gascoigne, Patricius Consul, Ioannes de Prato a writer of Aquitaine & protonotarie, Paulus Aemilius, Petrus Blessensis archdeacon of Bath, Philip de Comines alias monsieur de Argentone secretarie to Charles duke of Burgoine, Polydor Virgill an Urbinat Italian and canon of Paules in the daies of Henrie the eight, Paulus Iouius an Italian bishop of Nucerne, John Pike, John Price knight died in the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, William Paten now living, John Proctor schoolemaister of Tunbridge to whom I was sometime scholer, Ptolomeus, Dauid Powell now living.

R, John Read in the time of Edward the first, John Rastall, Radulphus Londoniensis, Radulphus Niger lived in the daies of king Henrie the third, Radulphus de Diceto deane of Paules in London in the time of king John, Reutha king of Scots, Michaell Ricius, William Rishanger a monke of saint Albons in the daies of Edward the second, Richeffer a monke of Westminster lived in the time of Edward the third, and wrote an excellent chronicle beginning at the comming of the Saxons in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and nine, & continued it vntill the yeare one thousand three hundred fortie and eight, conteining eight hundred fourescore and nineteene yeares; Richardus Deuisiensis, Richardus Cadneus, Richardus Eliensis whose storie beginneth *Cùm animaduerterem excellentiam Elienſis inſulæ, &c.* Richardus Eliensis an other from the former that wrote an other historie of Elie, Robert abbat of saint Michaels mount florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight; Robertus Montensis, Robertus sine cognomento, Robertus Remingtonus *De geſtis Anglorum, cuius initium, Non ſolum audiendis ſacræ ſcripturæ verbis, &c.* This saieth Caius *In antiquitate Cantabrigiæ.* But others attribute that worke to Peter Ickam, See before in the letter I.

Robert Record living in the time of quéene Marie, Robert bishop of Hereford which lived in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three scoze and twelue, Robertus de Paterna that wrote the register of Orford, Robert a prior of Shrewsburie, Roger of Abindon, Roger of Winsore. Roger de Windore, Roger of Chester lived in the daies of Edward the third, John Rouse borne in Warwikeshire lived in the daies of Henrie the seuenth, and being a canon of Osnete died at Warwike in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, Thomas Rudborne archdeacon of Sudberie after bishop of S. Dauids in Wales lived in the time of Henrie the fourth, Henrie the fift, and Henrie the first; Thomas Rudborne an other from the former was a monke of Winchester and followed manie other authors, amongst which was the said Thomas Rudborne bishop of S. Dauids.

S, Saxo Grammaticus a Dane, Samuel Britannus, Sextus Aurelius, Sentleger, Edward Segeswike now living, Iohannes Sulgenus or Sullenus, Solinus, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Thomas Spot who lived in the reigne of Edward the first, Antonius Sabellicus a Venetian, John Sleidan a Germane, Richard Sowthwell, Reginald Scot now living, Simon Dunelmensis, John Stow now living, John Knish a Cornish man in the daies of Henrie the eight, Richard Stanihurst borne in Ireland now living, Sharton now living, John Swapham, Stephanides alias Fitzstephan. T, Titus Liuius Patauiensis, Titus Liuius Foroliuiensis an Italian lived in the time of Henrie the fift, John Tartor a monke of Burie, Andrew Theuet a Frenchman, Nicholas Triuet a blacke frier borne in Northfolke sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight one of the kings iustices lived in the daies of Edward the third, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and eight; John Tilberie florished in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred fourescore and ten; John Treuisa a Cornishman préest and vicar of Barkleie, Telesinus a Briton, Francis Boteuile alias Thin now living, Brian Duke knight lived in the daies of Henrie the eight, John Twine died in the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, William Thorne lived in the daies of Richard the second, Richard Turpin borne of a worshipfull familie in England serued in the garison of Calis, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one; Tobias Roffensis, Turgotus which lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and eight in the time of William Rufus wrote a chronicle of Durham.

V, Veremund a Spaniard, Raphaell Volateran, Giouanni Vilani a Florentine, Ponticus Virunnius an Italian, John Ufford, John Uton. W, John Whethamsted otherwise called Frumentarius a learned man abbat of S. Albons lived in the daies of Henrie the first, Roger Wall an herald who in Latine writ the doings of Henrie the fift, Thomas Walsingham a monke of the abbeie of S. Albons lived in the reigne of Henrie the first, William of Riuall lived in the age of king Stephan, Willielmus Cantuariensis one of the foure that wrote the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket lived in the time of king John, Willielmus Gemeticensis, Willielmus filius Stephani a clerke of the Chancerie and deane of the chapell of Thomas Becket in the daies of Henrie the second, Willielmus Summersetensis, Willielmus Crowlandensis (for the other Williams see in the letter G, in the name of Gulielmus) Thomas Wike canon of Osnete, John Walworth, Walterus Excestrensis, Walterus Couentrensis.

Annales Burtonenses, Memoriale historiarum, Chronica Dunstable, Chronicle of Tinmouth, Chronicles of S. Albons, Deflorationes Galfridi, Historia obsidionis Eliensis insulæ, Chronica, *cuius initium, Calendarium Bruti*, Chronicle beginning *Rex Pictorum*, Chronica Westmonast. Chronicle beginning *In diebus ſanctiſſimi regis Edwardi*, Chronicle beginning *Aeneas cum Aſcanio*, Chronica chronicorũ, Supplementum chronicorum, Fasciculus temporũ, Historia Richardi secundi beginning *De parte Bruti*, Eulogiũ, Historia Iornalensis, Historia Carina written in Latine compiled in the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second by whom it was caused to be written, as the title declareth, which for that it sheweth no name of the author, and for that maister For borowed the same of maister Carie citizen of London, maister For in his Acts and Monuments the second edition calleth the same booke *Historia Carina*.

Anonymall or nameleſſe chronicles, treating wholie or in part of England.

The epitome of chronicles from Brute to Henrie 6. beginning *Ab origine mundi concurrunt anni ſecundũ Hebræos, 6646.* Chronicle beginning *Chronicorũ verò quæ ſunt imagines hiſtoriarum*, Chronicle of genealogies beginning *Cuilibet principi congruum*, The chronicles of S. Swithin, The commentaries of Hide, The continuances of Roger Houeden beginning *Excerpta ex dictis viri religioſi*, An other chronicle of S. Albons beginning *Fecit rex Edwardus tertius comites, Hiſtoria*

ſtoria regia vel ſancti Edmundi, Chronicle of Elie beginning *Anno ab incarnatione dominica, 616. qui eſt annus 21, ex quo Auguſtinus cum ſocijs ad prædicandum genti Anglorum miſſus eſt*, Hiſtoria Anglorum beginning *Conſiderans hiſtoriæ Britonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, Saxonum, Anglorum, Danorum, & Normannorũ prolixitatem, &c.* Le mer des hiſtories, Les annales de France, Les annales d'Acquitaine, Les grand cronicqz de Britane, Les petit cronicqz de Britane, Les cronicqz de Normandi, Le Roſarie, Les genelogies des roys, Cronicles de Flandres, The chronicles of London, The chronicle called Brute, The Saxon chronicle of the church of Worceſter, The Saxon chronicle of the abbete of Peterborrow, The Saxon chronicle written in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred foure ſcore and fiue, The chronicles of England. Thus far this catalog. Now peraduenture ſome will loke for a rehearſall omnigatherum of ſuch as haue written in the reigne of our bleſſed ſouereigne: but herein as it paſſeth our poſſibilitie to ſatiſfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and manie of them vnknowne and vnworthie of remembrance: ſo it were to be wiſhed that ſome fauourer of learned mens fame, would compriſe their names and works in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Geſner; or elſe the commendable method of John James the Friſlander, printed at Tigurie one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and three, either of which courſes being taken would well ſerue the turne.

The concluſion of A. F.

✠ Thus far (bleſſed be Chriſt) the ertent of Engliſh chronicles; a long labour, of great care and expenſe: howbeit at length conquered and ouercome, by the benefit of his grace who enableth vs to go through with all things that be good: his name be praiſed therefore. Wherein if the helpe of ſuch as are furniſhed with varietie of knowledge, or as by gorgeous ſhew of words and rich pompe of phraſe pretend profound ſkill, had bene as forward to aduance this worke (being of vnexpected magnitude by means of the multitude of contents) as ſome of low ſaile, willing to laie out their poze talent, haue affoorded what furtherance they were able (ſomewhat to the ſatiſfieng of thoſe honeſt minded men and parteners, at whoſe great coſts and charges the ſame is now newlie printed, though not to their full contentment, who were euer deſirous and diuerſlie made aſſaies to haue it ſo abſolute, as nothing might want of due perfection, if the meanes might haue bene obteined) the chronicles of England, both for matter & maner, had bene comparable to anie hiſtorie or annals in Chriſtendome. Howbeit perfected as it is, though not with exquiſit curiouſnes to pleaſe euerie fickle fanſie, yet according to the proportion of ſkill vouchſafed of God to the dealers therein (men of commendable diligence though not of deepeſt iudgement) ſomewhat to ſatiſfie the well affected and indifferent mind, the ſame is now come abrode, yelding matter no leſſe manifold than the ſpring doth floures, and the ſame maruellous frutefull, if they haue their right vſe and due application: which indeed is the verie end of hiſtories and chronicles. And ſo craning a fauorable acceptation of this tedious trauell, with a toleration of all ſuch defaults as haplie therein lie hidden, and by diligent reading maie ſone be ſpied; we with that they which beſt maie, would once in their life grow reſolute and at a point, in this laudable kind of ſtudie (moſt neceſſarie, next to the word of God, for common knowledge) little or much to exerciſe their head and hand. Finallie beſeeching God to bleſſe the realme of England, and the pretious iewell of the ſame (euen good quæne Eliſabeth) to ſaue as the apple of his eie; to protect hir with the target of his power againſt all the pernicious practiſes of ſatans inſtruments; to lengthen the lines of hir highneſſe honorable counſellors, by whoſe vigilant policie this whole land fareth the better; in preuenting, intercepting and making fruſtrat (God directing and proſpering their conſultations and proceedings) all the attempts of traitors, to whom O Lord in vengeance giue the iudgement of Iudas, as they haue bene partakers of his ſinne; let them be intangled and taken in the traps of their trecheries, and ſwallowed vp in the ſeas of deſerued confuſion, that they be no more a familie. And we beſeech God to increaſe the multitude of loiall ſubiects, to make them ſtrong in faith towards him, and in loue one with another, that the goſpell (which is the doctrine of pacification and obedience) maie be glorified in the commonwealth of England, a corner of the world, O Lord, which thou haſt ſingled out for the magnifieng of thy maieſtie, and wherof we praie thee to giue vs a dailie remembrance: ſo ſhall we make conſcience of ſin, & addict our ſelues to the exerciſes of righteouſneſſe, Amen.

FINIS.

The third table for the Chronicles of England from the conqueſt vntill this preſent regiment: wherin the reader is to obſerue *theſe notes for his better direction; namelie, to ſeeke for the ſurnames of* perſons as more commonlie knowne than the proper; and alſo when the name faileth *to looke for the dignitie, title, office and degree of ſuch perſons; as Armenia, Cipriots, Spaine,* France, Portingall, Nauarre, Denmarke, &c; if they were kings: Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Pope, Car*nall, Legat, &c; if they were Clergiemen: Chancellors, Treaſurors, Lord high conſtables, Lord wardens* of the cinque ports, &c; Duke, Earle, Marqueſſe, Queene, Ducheſſe, Counteſſe, &c; if they were great *ſtates: Maior, Sargents at law, officers, &c: if they were of that degree: knights and eſquires excepted, who as* they were of renowme, are accordinglie noted by their vſuall names. Likewiſe for ſuch as haue beene *executed as notorious offendors againſt the prince and the ſtate, to come to the knowledge of their names, looke* for the qualitie of their offenſe; as counterfeting, coineclippers, conſpiracie and conſpirators, murther and murtherers, rebellion and rebels, treaſon and traitors, preeſts ſeminaric, &c: of all which this table affoordeth infinit examples. Finallie, whereſoeuer you find this word (Note) there dooth matter of conſideration come to hand.

If the reader be not ſatiſfied with this table, let him not blame the order, but his owne conceipt. Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

A.

Abbaſie of Wincheſter obteined for monie, 21, a 40
Abbat Ageinothus, ¶ See Ageinothus. Of Battell in reſcuing Wincheſcete is put to flight, 427, a 50. Egelſin. ¶ See Egelſin. Egelwine. ¶ See Egelwine. Feckham of Weſtminſter inſtalled, 1132, b 20. Frederike. ¶ See Frederike. Joachim, a man of great fame, 126, a 10. Of Glaſtenburie an erls ſon, 42, a 60. Loſauage. ¶ See Loſauage. Paule. ¶ See Paule. Of ſaint Auguſtine capteine of an armie, 2 a 10. Of S. Edmundſburie, Robert Lou an earls ſonne, 20, a 40. Thurſtan. ¶ See Thurſtan. Of Weſtminſter dieth ſuddenlie, 516, b 30. ¶ See Conſpiracie.
Abbats ordeined by William Rufus, 20, a 60. They and priors deprined, and whie, 30, b 10. Not to be made knights, &c: note, 30, b 50
Abbie of Battell with the roll thereof, 3, 4, 5. The firſt of white monks when and by whom founded, 26, a 60. Of S. Albons repared by Lanfranke, 18, a 60
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Abiuration for ſpeking againſt the popes authoritie, 898, b 30. Of biſhop Pecocke, 646, a 60. ¶ See Biſhop Pecocke.
Abſolution to be purchaſed from Rome, 214, b 60. Of the clergie ſued for from Rome, 201, b 60. Of Oxford by legat Otho, 222, a 50. For vowes & other offenſes, 257, b 60. For an oth obteined, 313, b 60. For the offenſe of diſobedience, 201, b 10. Pronounced by cardinall Poole to the parlement houſe, 1123, b 10
Aburgauennie lord arreigned at Weſtminſter, 872, b 10. Aſſembleth a power againſt Wiat, & putteth them to flight, 1094, a 10, b 20
Accuſation falſe for a time preuailed but in fine fruſtrate: note, 223, b 50, 60. Of a iuſtice for taking of bribes, 243, b 50. Of two noble men that had the cuſtodie of the king and queene of Scots, 251, a 30. Againſt prince Henrie to king Henrie the fourth his father, 539, a 10. Vniuſt redoundeth to the accuſants ſhame, 937, b 60. Interchangable and doubtfull tried by combat: note, 992, b 60, 993, a 10. Falſe puniſhed, 968, a 50. By the philozie: note, 1132, b 30. Of a maiſter againſt his ſeruant whereof followed ſecret vengeance, 1084, b 20, 30
Acon knight his rebellion, ſurpriſed, he and his complices condemned of treaſon and hereſie, 544, a 60, b 40
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Adelicia. ¶ See Queene.
Admonition. ¶ See Warning.
Adnothus maſter of the hoſpitall to king Harold ſlaine in fight 6, a 60
Aduenturers, 875, b 10. Soldiers and whie ſo called, 880, b 60, 881, a 10. Their capteine ſlaine, and they diſcomfited, 882, b 10. Good ſeruitors, 882, b 60. Slaine and diſcomfited, their ſmall end, 883, b 50. ¶ See Kreekers.
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Aduiterie puniſhed with hanging, 211, b 60. Seuerelie corrected in a maiors time of London, 440, b 10. ¶ See Inceſt and Whoredome.
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Agatha the mother of Edgar Etheling driuen by tempeſt into Scotland, 6, a 30
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Ageinothus abbat of Glaſtenburie, 5, a 10
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Aiſle a towne, burned by the Engliſh, 810, b 30
Alane earle of Britaine aduanced by duke William his vncle, 7, a 60
Alane the blacke earle, illaieſſe, 7, b 20
Alane le Rous, illaieſſe, 7, b 20
Alan the ſon of Stephan, 7, b 30
Alanſon beſieged & yelded vp, 561, a 40
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Albemarle William, whoſe ſon ſhould haue beene made king of England, 22, a 10
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Duke of Clarence lord Lionell, 395, b 50. Sent to aid the duke of Orleance, 539, b 60. Marcheth towards Guisnes, 540, a 20. Made a rode into Anjou, 579, b 60. He is betraied by Fergule a Lombard, 580, a 10. He and diuerse nobles slaine, a 20, 30. Before Paris with his armie, 570, b 20. Seeketh to make peace betweene Edward the fourth and the earle of Warwike, 682, a 50. Weighing the inconuenience of discord, wareth wise, & slow to aid the earle of warwike, his dissimulation, 681, a 60, b 1050, 60. He and the earle of warwike sojourned at Excester to passe ouer the seas, they arriue on the English coasts, 676, b 10, 60. A conspirator against his brother Edward the fourth, he taketh the seas, 674, a 40. His promise to a damsell persuading him to peace, 675, a 10, 20. Drowned in a but of Malmeseie, 703, a 40
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Duke of Gelderlands letters to Richard second, 475, b 50. Cõmeth into England, disuadeth Richard the second from peace with the French K. 477, b 30
Duke of Glocesters protestation vpon his oth, 458, a 16. Arested, 489, a 30. Confesseth all wherwith he was charged, he is smothered to death: note, 489, a 60, b 10. He & Richard second at priuie grudge, talke betweene them, 487, b 40, 50. Accused to K. Richard second by the duke of Lancaster & Yorke, he & the abbat of S. Albons conspire, 488, a 40, b 10, &c. Made duke of Ireland, his iournie thither vnluckilie stated, 479, b 50, 60. His iournie into Pruzenland, in great fauour with the commons, 475, a 60. A seuere man, 464, a 40. His death, the doers therein exempted from king Henrie the fourths pardon, 514 a 50. In question, 525, b 40. His death in part reuenged, 513, b 20 Much adoo about it: note, 512, a 50, 60, 513, a 10. His complaint to Henrie sixt against the cardinall of Winchester, 620, a 50. Liketh well of the kings mariage with the earle of Armenaks daughter: note, 624, b 60. Winneth Rockelburgh castell, 657, a 60. His death, & what mischiefe followed it, 627, a 60. He is commended: note, b 10, &c. Discharged of all gouernment, the faint quarell piked against him, he is suddenlie murthered, 627, a 10. Ill practises against him vnder faire countenances, 622, b 60. Spoileth Flanders, 614, b 60. Calleth a parlement, Henrie the sixt in France, 607, b 10. Articles against the bishop of Winchester, 591, a 60. Marriage in question, he wareth werie of his wife, 590, a 60 He and bishop of Winchester at dissention, 590, a 60, 591, a 10, &c. Murthereth Henrie the sixt in the Towre, 690, b 60. Inenimie to peace, 697, a 10. Proclamation against the lord Hastings, &c: 724, a 20. Marieth another mans wife: note, 586, a 30. His behauiour in the assemblie of lords, 722, b 10. His oration to the lords against the queene, 717, a 10. His resolution to go through with his diuelish enterprise, 721 b 20 Solicitations tending wholie to trouble and bloudshed, 714, a 60. His & Buckinghams practises, 715, a 30. Made protector, 716, b 50. ¶ Sée duke of Buckingham.
Duke of Guise with a great armie commeth towards Calis, entreth the English frontiers, his policie, 1135, a 20, 40, b 10. His proclamation to bring in monie, plate, &c, 1136, a 10. Marcheth to the towne and fort of Guisnes, 1137, a 40. And monsieur Dandelot with their powers, in a rage with his souldiors, a trumpetter from him to the lord Grete, they haue communication one whole houre, 1139, a 10, 30, b 30 Appointed to be a principall leader and executor of forren inuasion, 1371, b 30, 40, &c, b 60
Duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Northfolke of treason, 493, b 20. Beloued of the people, honourablie interteined with the French king, 493, b 30
Duke of Irelands passage stopped by the lords, his souldiors reuolt from him, he flieth from his armie, getteth him into Holland, letters found in his trunks, 421, a 10, 50, 60. He and his associats attainted of treason by parlement, 463, b 30
Duke of Lancaster and the Londoners submit their quarels to the kings order, 416, a 20. He & Yorke excuse the duke of Glocester to king Richard the second, 488, a 40. High steward of England at an arreignment, 491, a 60. He & Yorke assemble their powers to resist Richard the seconds dealings, 490, a 10. Returneth into England out of Gascoigne, 467, a 60. Created, 380, b 50. Debate betwixt him and the duke of Brunswike, 381, a 10. Goeth ouer sea with a nauie, and two of Edward the thirds sonnes with him, 382, a 30. Is sent to aid the king of Nauarre, 386, b 30. Perswadeth Edward the third to peace with the French king, 393, b 50. Maketh a iournie into France, 404, a 50. Sent into France with an armie, fortifieth his campe, 403, b 30, 50. Commeth to Burdeaux, 408, a 50, &c. In danger by the Londoners: note, 412, a 20. Goeth into Spaine with an armie, 448, b 60. He landeth at Brest, and winneth two bastides from the French, landeth at Groigne, 449, a 50, 60. He & the king of Portingall aied, they inuade Castile, he returneth out of Portingale into Gascoigne, 450, a 20. Reconcileth the king and the lords, 467, b 10. Made duke of Aquitaine, 473, a 10. Commeth to Chester citie, the countrie submit them selues vnto him, Holt castell deliuered vnto him, 500, a 10, 30. He and Glocester sent into France to treat of peace, 480, a 30. The grant of the duchie of Aquitane vnto him reuoked 485, b 10. He marieth a ladie of meane estate, whom he kept as his concubine, b 60. Calleth a parlement in Richard the seconds name, 502, a 10. His behauiour to the king, their meeting, his demand, & receiuing into London, 501, b 10, 20, 50. His bastards made legitimat, 487, b 10. Imbassador for the K. into France, 475, b 30. A prince of great renowme, 477, a 60. Saileth into Aquitaine, 481, a 60. Solicited to expell king Richard the second, b 60. And to take vpon him the regiment, 497, b 60. The duke of Britain his great freend, the commons bene to resist the duke, he landeth in Yorkeshire, his oth to the lords that aided him, the harts of the commons wholie bent vnto him, he marcheth to Bristow, 498, a 10, 50, 60, b 10, 30, 60. Feastly strangers, 474, a 20. Enuied of the rebels: note, 431, a 20, &c. Not suffred to enter into the towne of Werwike, 439, a 10. Chargeth the erle of Northumberland with manie crimes, commeth to the parlement with a great troupe of men, 439, a 20, 60, b 10. Sent into France to treat of peace, 446, a 40. Misliking the manners of the court getteth him-

seike to Killingworth castell, 419,b 20. He & the erle of Cambridge apointed protectors, 418,a 20. Saileth to Britaine with a great power, 420, a 60. Getteth him to his castell of Pomfret and fortifieth it, 446,b 60. Laieth challenge to the crowne, 505, b 40. He is placed in the regall throne, b 60. King elect, his words to the lords, 507, a 60. His coronation, proclamed by the name of Henrie the fourth, 507, b 10, 30. Inuaded Scotland with an armie, 445, b 10. Appeached of treason, 445, b 40. His decease, 395, b 10, 496, a 20. ¶ See Edmund.

Duke of Normandie commeth downe into Britaine, 364, b 10

Duke of Northfolke in armes against Wiat, ariueth at Stroud 1094, b 50. He with the capteine of the gard put to their shifts, 1095, a 10. He and Suffolke elected into the order of S. Michaell, 929, a 10. Ambassador into France, 950, a 50. Henrie the eights lieutenant, 942, b 60. Cõmeth with a power against the rebels in Suffolke, 891, b 40. He & the earle of Surrie on Richard the thirds side, 755, b 20. His constancie & allegiance to Richard third, he is slaine, 759, b 10. Accused of treson, 493 b 20. Obiections against him, 494, a 30. Committed to the Towre, atteinted, and the atteindor reuersed, 976, b 10, 50. Deceaseth, 514, a 60, b 10, 891, a 60, 1121, b 30. Inuested into the order of S. Michaell, 1209, a 20. Sent to the Towre, 1211, b 60. Remoued from the Towre to the Charterhouse, 1222, a 20. Cõmitted to the Towre, 1226, b 30. Arreigned, condemned, and iudged, 1227, b 60. Beheaded, foren nations write therof, his attire, behauior & speech at his execution: note, 1229, a 50, 60, b 10, &c: 1230

Duke of Northumberlands enterprise against the ladie Marie incouraged, 1085, b 50, 60. His words to the lords of the councell about quéne Jane, who adhered vnto him, he setteth forward with all speed, 1086, a 10, &c: b 10, 20. Writeth for more succours, 1087, a 30. His sons released out of the Towre, 1127, a 10. Arrested by the earle of Arundell and committed to the Towre with his adherents, 1088, a 60, b 30. Arreigned, his request to vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points, 1089, b 40, 50. His foure requests after his iudgment to die, he with others are executed at Towre hill, 1090, a 10, 50

Duke of Orleance partaker with the duke of Britaine against the French king, 768, b 10. How long prisoner in England, his ransome and release, 618, b 20, 50. Chalenge, 524, b 60 He besieged Vergi in Guien, 525, a 20. Besiegeth townes in Gascoigne, 533, a 50. Commeth to the English armie, 540, b 30. Murthered, 537, a 60

Duke Richard his singular dissimulation, 731, b 10. He speaketh otherwise than he meaneth, 731, b 20. His electiõ hard to be preferred, 730, b 20. Preferred at last by voices of confederacie, 730, b 60. Aduised by bishop Morton, their conference, he openeth himselfe and his secrets to the bishop, complaineth of lacke of preferment in K. Edwards daies, 738, all. His title to the crowne, with the office and dignitie of a king, he is commended to the people as worthie and sufficient, 730, a 20, 30. ¶ See Duke of Gloucester and Richard.

Duke of Richmond a martialist or warrior Henrie the eights base sonne, 929, a 10. Henrie Fitzroie Henrie the eights base sonne deceaseth, 941, a 10

Duke of Saxonie in disfauour and exile, 105, b 60. Commeth into England, his godlie stature, 212, b 40. Pardoned and reuoked out of exile, 108, a 10

Duke of Suffolke created, 627, b 30. Winneth the goodwill of the quéen Dowager of France 836, b 10. They married togither, b 30. Entreth France with an armie, 879, a 50. Breaketh vp his armie & commeth to Calis, 881, a 40. Chiualrie & valiant seruice in France, he knighteth diuerse gentlemen, 879, b 60, 880, all. Hope hindered by cardinall Woolsey, 839, a 60. And others sent into France to fetch the French quéne into England, 836, a 50. Incountereth with a strong and tall Almaine, 833, b 60. He foileth the Almaine, 834, a 10. Deceaseth, his iust commendation, 969, b 30. The commons exclaime against him, 631, a 10, 20, 40. Committed to the Towre, his wretched deth, 632, a 10, 50. He with others brought to the Towre, 1099, a b 10. Committed to the Towre and released, 1088, b 40. Goeth downe into Leicestershire, is a fauourer and furtherer of Wats practises, he is kept out of Couentrie, apprehended, 1095, a 40, 60, b 10. Arreigned, condemned, beheaded, 1100, b 20, 40, 50. What words he spake to the people at his death, b 60.

Duke of Summerset made regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke discharged, 625, b 30. Made capteine of Calis, 650, b 60. His valiantnesse, 619, a 30. Reuolteth from Edward the fourth, taken & beheaded, 666, a 40, &c: b 20, &c. Made lord protector, 979, a 40, 50. His returne from Scotland, 992, a 60. Not desirous of slaughter, 988, b 20. With his power against Scotland, 980, a 30, &c: b 30. Sendeth an herald to summon a castell, 981, a 10, 20. Answer to a Scotish herald at armes, 983, b 60. His diligence to further the fortification to Rockesburgh, 991, b 10. His statelie stile with his epistle exhortatiue sent to the Scotish nobles, &c: 998, b 10, &c. He & the earle of Warwike outwardlie freends, 1062, a 50. And others submit themselues to Edward the fourth, 665, b 60. Againe apprehended and committed to the Towre, 1066, b 60 Charged sir Peter Carew with the rebellion, 1022, b 30. He and the earle of Deuonshire comfort quéne Margaret, 685, b 60. Politike & puissant, 687, b 60. More hardie than wise, 687, b 60, 688, a 10, &c. Striketh out the lord Wenlocks braines, 688, a 50. His infortunatnesse, 615, b 60. Arested, 642, a 20. Set at libertie, made deputie of Calis, 40, 50. Accuseth the earle of Yorke of high treason, 639, a 50. Burthened with all things that happened amisse, 643, a 40. He is slain, b 10. His displacing out of his protectorships consulted on, remoueth in hast with K. Edward sixt to Windsore, his letter to the lord priuie seale 1057, a 20, 50, 60. His letters to the lords, 1058, a 30. Proclamation with articles against him, b 20, 30, &c. Prisoner, committed to the Towre, articles obiected against him, 1059, b 10, 30, 40, 1060, a 10, &c. Released & restored, 1060, b 10, 20. Deliuered out of the Towre, 1062, a 50. Arreigned both of feilonie & treason, condemned of feilonie, people murmur at his condemnation, deliuered to be executed, his behauior at his death, 1067, a 10, 30, 40, 50, b 40, 60. His words at his death, a sudden noise & feare among the people assembled, 1068, a 10, &c: 50, b 19, 1069, a 60. Described, b 10. Beheaded, 688, b 60

Duke of Surris marshall of England, 493, b 50

Duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, 497, a 10. Misliketh the court & goeth home, 496, a 60. Noted for crueltie, what maner of man he was, his end, 712, a 10, 20. Plantagenet afterwards Richard third, 595 b 40. Made regent of France, enuied of duke of Summerset, 612, b 10, 617, b 10, 619, a 30. Appointed againe to be regent of Normandie, 625, b 50. Persecuting enimie to the duke of Summerset: note, 630, b 20. Assembleth an armie, his words in writing sent to the K. 642, a 50, b 20, &c: 643: a 10. His comming against the K. iustified, he is made protector of the realme, 644, b 20. Discharged of his office, 645, a 10, 20. Assembleth an armie, 649, b 30. Cõmeth out of Ireland, his strange demeanors bold speech and oration to the lords of parlement, 655, a 30, &c. Crowned with sedge or bulrushes in derision, 659, b 50. He and his complices flie, 650, b 20. He and others atteinted, 652, a 10, &c. Articles that he and the other earles sent to the archbishop of Canturburie and the commons, 652, b 10, &c. Articles of peace and agreement betweene him and Henrie the first, his claime to the crowne, 657, b 20, &c. Proclamed heire apparant to the crowne, he is slaine, 659, a 30, b 10. Tempering about his title to the crowne, 627, b 40. Reconciliation to Henrie the first, he accuseth the duke of Summerset of treason, 639, a 40. Set at libertie and whie, his submission to king Henrie the first vnder his oth, 639, b 50. Maketh claime to the crowne, 637, a 50. Raiseth a great power to recouer it, his letter to Henrie the first, 637, a 50, b 10, 50, 638, a 10, &c. Fauourers executed and spoiled, 653, b 20. Seeketh the destruction of the duke of Summerset, banded himselfe with Neuils, 641, b 60. Slaine in Agincourt field, 555, b 60. Buried at Fodringhaie castell, 556, a 20. Calleth indenture tripartite of the conspired noblemen out of his sonnes bosome: note, 515, a 20. Deceaseth, 520, b 30. Accused by his sister the ladie Spenser, 527, b 30. His head set on a pole at Yorke, 659, b 60. ¶ See Richard the third.

Dukes of Gloucester infortunate: note, 627, a 50. Of Normandie were the kings of Englands eldest sons, 38, a 30. Of Yorks honorable emulation, 776, a 50

Dukes and earles, &c: created, 537, b 60, 546, b 30, 625, a 10, 702, a 60, 1081, a 60, b 10, &c, 1066, b 60, 492, b 40, 448, a 60, 395, b 50. Deprined of their titles, 513, b 10. Of England from the first to the last, all set downe in a collection, 1230, b 30, &c, to 1238, a 10.

Duncane a Scot wasteth Kendall, 91, b 10

Dunkirke sworne & sacked by the English, 442, b 50. Taken and burnt by the French, 1150, a 40

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Eclipse of the sunne strange, 102, b 50, 348, b 30, 212, b 40, 229, a 10

Eclipse of the moone, 241, a 50. At thirténe daies old, 212, b 40. Of foure houres continuance, 251, a 50. Of the sunne and moone extraordinarie, 44, a 40. Verie strange: note, 128, b 50.

Eclipses foure in a yere, 961, a 60

Edenburgh castell besieged, 353, b 40. Entred forceablie by the English, 962, a 60. Deliuered to Edward the first, 300, a 60. Burnt by Richard the second, 447, b 10. Left desolate, 445, b 10

Edgar Etheling where borne, 6, a 30. Pursueth the Normans, 6, b 40. Flieth into Scotland, 7, a 50. Ioineth forces with Osborn against the Normans 6, b 50. Should haue bene made king of England, 1, a 40. And whie he was not aduanced to the crowne of England, 1, a 50. Sent into Scotland with an armie, and whie, 23, a 30. The sonne of king Malcolme to be placed in the kingdome, 23, a 30. In seruice at the warres vnder the Scotish king, 19, b 30. In great account with Robert duke of Normandie, 19, b 50. Deprined of his honor by William Rufus, 19, a 50. Obteineth licence of duke William to depart the realme, 14, b 10. Groweth in fauour & honor with duke William, 10, b 60, 11, a 10. Capteine in rebellion against duke William after a reconcilement and pardon, described: note, 9, b 60. Second flight into Scotland, 10, a 40. ¶ See Edwin.

Edgar the K. of Scotlands sister wife to Henrie the first, 29, a 10

Edmund son to Henrie the third, 236, a 60. Shewed in parlement as K. of Naples, 255, b 10 Inuested king of Sicill & Naples, 252, b 60. Created duke of Lancaster, 249, a 10

Edmund of Longlie borne, afterwards duke of Yorke, 363, a 30

Edmund the great, sonne to Harold, his exploits, 6, a 60

Edrike Syluaticus rebelleth in the absence of duke William, 5, a 10

Edward the first proclamed king of England, his coronation and beginning of regiment, 477, all. He entreth into

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Receiueth a golden rose for a present from pope Clement, 883, a 60. What moued him gratiously to receiue the ladie regents ambassadors of France, 887. Passeth ouer to Calis, an interuiew betweene him & the French king, 928, b 40, 60. His base son made erle and duke in one date, 892, a 40 Sworne to performe the league concluded, 893, a 10. His articles for the reformyng of religion, 940, b 60. His supremasie confirmed, 938, a 10. Proclamed K. of Ireland, 955, a 60. Taketh a lone of monie, 957, a 10. His munificence to the earle of Angus, archbishop of S. Andrews his debtie to, 959, b 10. Sent a power ouer against French king, 960, a 60, b 10. His message to the lord Grete by sir Thomas Palmer: note, 975, b 50. Passeth the seas to Bullen, 964, a 60. Entreth into the towne, returneth to England 965, a 10, 20. Goeth in progresse into Yorkeshire, gifts giuen him, 954, b 10, 20. A good archer and full of nativenesse: note, 806, a 40, 50, 60, b 10, 20, &c. Wake more staues at iusts than the rest, & had the prise giuen him, 809, a 50. Runneth at tilt, diuerse passimes therin he was a principall actor, he runneth at the ring, 805, a 10, &c: b 60. Forced to take armes against the Scots, 957, b 30. Magnificent and munificent to the French kings ambassadors, &c: 848, a 10, 20, &c. 849, a 10, &c. Purposeth in person to passe the seas to see the French K. his brother, 835, b 60. Receiueth the order of S. Michaell, 898, b 10. He commeth to westminster hall & there sitteth in iudgement himself vpon the rioters at Shrouetide, his gracious & generall pardon, he and the duke of Suffolke runne at tilt, 844, a 20, 30 50, b 30. Lying to Portesmouth, appointeth captains ouer his ships, &c. 841, a 40. His name letteth dur concluded in parlement that should personallie inuade France, 815, a 50, b 10, 50. Taketh the popes part against the French K. 611, b 10. 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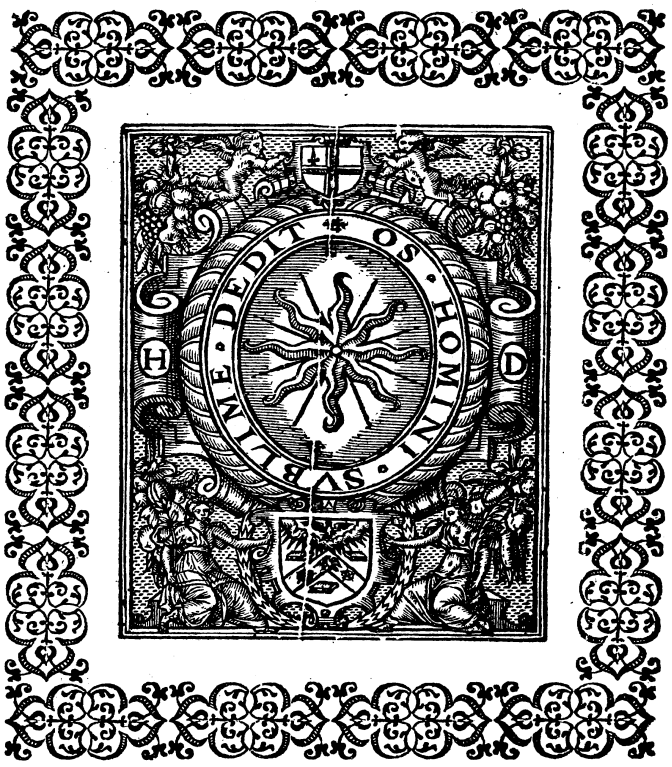
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The rest good reader, as iudgement shall lead thee, reforme.

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Finiſhed in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maieſties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenſes of Iohn Hariſon, George Biſhop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcocke.



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Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricensis. *Aurea Historia.*

B.

Biblia Sacra. *Beda venerabilis.*
Berosus. *Brian Tuke knight.*
Blondus Forliuiensis.
Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicorum.
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.
Chronica de Teukesburie.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.
Couper. *Cuspinianus.*
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
Dion Cassius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
Eusebius. *Eutropius.*
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, conteining much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obteined by reason thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. *Froissart.*
Franciscus Tarapha.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Guiciardini Francisco.
Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrensis.
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
Galfridus Vinsauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Geruasius Tilberiensis.
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Rishanger.
Guilielmus Lambert. *Georgius Lillie.*
Guilamme Paradin.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonensis.
Henricus Leicestrensis.
Hector Boece. *Historie Daniou.*
Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis.
Henricus Mutius.
Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. *Henricus Bradshaw.*
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Herodianus. *Humfrey Luyd.*

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price knight. *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus. *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euersden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptista Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgraue.
Iohannes Fourden. *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monsieur de Desse remained there.
Iohn Fox. *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but also by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. *Iosephus.*

L.

Liber constitutionum London.
Lucan. *Lælius Giraldus.*

M.

Marianus Scotus. *Matthæus Paris.*
Matthæus Westmonaster. aliàs Flores historiarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monsr. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Orosius Dorobernensis.
Osbernus Dorobernensis.
Otho Phrisingensis.

P.

Pausanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina. *Philippus Melancthon.*
Peucerus. *Pomponius Mela.*

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Cestrensis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheshall. *Radulfus Niger.*
Register of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto. *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiscopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuerse.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Sidon Appollinaris. *Simon Dunelmensis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Trebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. *Thomas Walsingham.*
Titus Liuius de Foroliuisys de vita Henrici. 5. *Titus Liuius Patauiensis.*
Thomas Lanquet. *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More. *Tripartita Historia.*

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Whethamsted, a learned man, sometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harrison.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historicall matter I haue seene and perused, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

FINIS.

To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good

Lord and Maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of
the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increaſe of the feare
and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,
infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable
renowme here in this world, and in the world to come
life euerlaſting.



HAuing had iuſt occaſion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlie required of diuers my freends, to ſet downe ſome breefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe things, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the firſt verie loth to yeeld to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelf vnable for want of skill and iudgement, ſo ſuddenlie & with ſo haſtie ſpeed to take ſuch a charge vpon me: ſecondlie, bicauſe the dealing therein might proue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatiſe: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earneſt ſtudie of hiſtories, as iudging the time ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderance vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the miniſterie. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe could ſerue to put by this trauell, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I would ſpend ſuch void time as I had to ſpare, whileſt I ſhould be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt; and ſtand in lieu of a deſcription of my Countrie. For their parts alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helps as they could purchaſe: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hand withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my bookes and I were parted by fourtie miles in ſunder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers haſt would ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtained herein, was by ſuch commentaries as *Leland* had ſomtime collected of the ſtate of Britaine, bookes vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondlie, I gat ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from ſundrie places & ſhires of England, but ſo diſcordant now and then amongſt themſelues, eſpeciallie in the names and courſes of riuers and ſituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole diſcourſe of ſuch points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or ſecretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet foorth the truth abſolutelie, or ſuch things in deed as were moſt likelie to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in ſpeaking wherof, if I ſhould make account of the ſucceſſe, & extraordinarie cõming by ſundrie treaſures not ſuppoſed to be extant, I ſhould but ſeeme to pronounce more than may well be ſaid with modeſtie, & ſay farder of my ſelfe than this Treatiſe can beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

I refer not this succesſe wholie vnto my purpoſe about this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the ſubſtance of that which is here declared, I muſt needs confeſſe that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordſhip haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatiſe in ſuch preciſe order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it ſufficient, truelie and plainelie to ſet foorth ſuch things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the ſlackneſſe ſhewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the reſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatiſe of mine will proue a ſpur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choiſe of matter to handle the ſelfe ſame argument, if in my life time I doo not peruſe it againe. It is poſſible alſo that your Honour will miſlike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyſight viewed ſuch things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I muſt needs confeſſe, that vntill now of late, except it were from the pariſh where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles foorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe things, I vſe their authorities, who either haue performed in their perſons, or left in writing vpon ſufficient ground (as I ſaid before) whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offenſe at my raſh and retchleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordſhips hands. But when I conſider the ſingular affection that your Honour dooth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauell to ſet foorth ſuch profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to ſuch a one as hath ſo manie and ſundrie waies benefited me that otherwiſe can make no recompenſe, I can not but cut off all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is, vnto your Lordſhips tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in anie wiſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnancie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularlie to deſcribe this Ile of Britaine; ſo I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amiſſe. As for the curious, and ſuch as can rather euill fauouredlie eſpie than skilfullie correct an error, and ſooner carpe at another mans dooings than publiſh any thing of their owne, (keeping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common ſort) I force not what they ſaie hereof: for whether it doo pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauell, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatiſe, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompenſe, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preſerue your Lordſhip in continuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue and learning) and the reſt of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wiſh farder increaſe of his holie ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble ſeruant
and houſhold Chaplein. W. H.

A Table of ſuch Chapiters as are conteined *in the firſt booke of this Deſcription.*

1 Of the diuiſion of the whole earth.
2 Of the poſition, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
4 What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
6 Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland.
7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
8 The names of ſuch kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
9 Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
10 Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine.
11 Of riuers, and firſt of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into it.
12 Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
13 The deſcription of the Sauerne, and ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.
14 Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
15 The deſcription of the Humber or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as doo increaſe hir chanell.
16 Of ſuch fals of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
17 Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.
18 Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities of this Iland.
19 Of the foure high waies ſometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
20 Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Britons.
21 How Britaine at the firſt grew to be diuided into three portions.
22 After what maner the ſouereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
23 Of the wall ſometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.
24 Of the maruels of England.



REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES & catalogus.

Wil. Conqu.
Wil. Rufus.
Henricus 1.
Stephanus.
Henricus 2.
Richardus 1.
Ioannes.
Henricus 3.
Eduardus 1.
Eduardus 2.
Eduardus 3.
Richardus 2.
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Elisabeth.

CONqueſtor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanúſque,
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:
Eduardus primus, Gnatúſque, Nepóſque ſequuntur:
His infœlicem Richardum iunge ſecundum:
Henricus quartus ſoboles Gandaui Ioannis,
Præcedit Gnato quinto, ſextóque Nepoti:
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:
Eduardus ſextus, regina Maria, Philippus:
Eliſabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
Seráque promiſſo fœlix potiatur olympo.

CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON Thomæ Newtoni Ceſtreſhyrij.

GRamine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
Labe, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,
Quæ viget ac floret generoſa Britannia, quæque,
Obruta puluereo ſqualluit ante ſitu:
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
Et quod blæſa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
Illud habet rectum pumice terſa nouo.
Loydus in hac pridem gnauus proluſit arena,
Lelandus, Priſius, Stous, Holinſhedius,
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harriſonus,
Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherſtus, Beda, Neuillus,
Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:
Nec te cane ſenex, magne ô Parkere, ſilebo,
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
Omnibus his meritò eſt laus debita & optima merces,
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara ſuæ.
Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua ſenectus,
Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.

Loydus.
Lelandus.
Priſius.
Stous.
Holinſhedius.
Lambardus.
Morus.
Camdenus.
Thinnius.
Hallus.
Vocalis aliâs
Hookerus.
Graftonus.
Foxius.
Harriſonus.
Hardingus.
Gildas.
Staniherſtus.
Beda.
Neuillus.
Flemingus.
Parkerus.

An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine, with a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England, and such commodities as are to be found in the same. Comprehended in three bookes, and written by W. H.

Of the diuision of the whole earth.

Chapter. 1.

WE read that the earth hath bene diuided into three parts, euen sithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his three sons, Iaphet, Cham, and Sem, preserued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them such portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neuertheless reteining the souereignte of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those seuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they toke such names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places wonne or lost, added or diminished to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westerlie regions of late discouered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, supposed to be dissolued and sunke into the sea: as by their writings appeareth.

Noah first diuided the earth among his sonnes.

The diuision of the earth not yet certeinlie knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Meotine mores) and the Ocean sea; and the last from them both by the Mediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythræum. But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition; bicause a no lesse part than the greatest of the three ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are found out and discouered by the diligence of our trauellers. Hereby it appeareth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to shew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their successors; not being able (as appeareth by their treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie. For Salust in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his *De lingua Latina* is not a litle encumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa, (as one not yet resolued whereunto to leane,) that it is;

Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane *lib. 9.* sheweth himselfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saieng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere famæ
Cuncta velis, si ventos cœlúmque sequaris,
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus absunt.

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolued of the diuision of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remoue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue forth a new diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue seuerall parcels, reteining the common diuision in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streicts, and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discouered by Frobisher, and called by hir Maiestie *Meta incognita:* but likewise so manie Ilands as are within 180. degrées Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuision are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatnes, & far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid togither. The fift & last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streicts; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howsoeuer it shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof do not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betweene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South pole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid pricke, yet is it not without

Variance among the writers about the diuision of the earth.

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas Belforrest hath but foure, in Prefat. lib. 4.

Cape di bona Speranza.

The forme of the fift part.

out ſundrie Ilands alſo adioining vnto it, and the inner moſt ſea not deſtitute of manie, as by experience hath béene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our deſcribers of the earth haue made it ſuch in their deſcriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable ſea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it ſelfe northwards into that trace, by no ſmall number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in ſo much that the weſterlie part thereof from America, is ſuppoſed to reach northward ſo far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth ſouthwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no ſmall portion of ground; & I marueil why not obſerued by ſuch as heretofore haue written of the ſame. But they excuſe themſelues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpoſe concealed manie things found out in their trauell, leaſt they ſhould ſéeme to open a gap by doing otherwiſe, for ſtrangers to enter into their conqueſts. As for thoſe Ilands alſo which lie in the peaceable ſea, ſcattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the leſſer Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo: &c. with a number of other, I refer them ſtill vnto Aſia, as before, ſo as they be without the compaſſe of 90. degrées eaſtward from the line of longitude, & not aboue 180. as I doo the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the ſaid proportion, wiſhing ſo litle alteration as I may: and yet not yéelding vnto any confuſion, whereby the truth of the diuiſion ſhould hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (ſpeaking of our Iland) ſaith;

Et penitus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos,

And ſome other authors not vnworthie to be read and peruſed, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with ſundrie the like ſcattered in the north ſeas ſhould be aſcribed, becauſe they excluded them (as you ſée) from the reſt of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie ſake of diuiſion, to refer them all which lie within the firſt minute of longitude, ſet downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reaſon requireth: ſo that the aforeſaid line ſhall henceforth be their Meta & partition from ſuch as are to be aſcribed to America; albeit they come verie néere vnto the aforeſaid portion, & may otherwiſe (without préiudice) be numbred with the ſame. It may be that ſome will thinke this my dealing either to be ſuperfluous, or to proceéd from (I wot not what) ſolish curioſitie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardeſt of euerie attempt. But forſomuch as my purpoſe is to leaue a plaine report of ſuch matter as I doo write of, and deliuer ſuch things as I intreat of in diſtinct and vpright order; though method now and then doo faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other doo conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane ſeaſon therefore it ſhall ſuffice to ſay at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the reſt of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng eaſt of the line of longitude, be ſtill aſcribed vnto Europa: wherevnto ſome good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall ſituations alſo haue not amiſſe referred them.

Into what portion Britaine is referred.

Of the poſition, circuit, forme and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.

Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.

BRitannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our Engliſh tong, or Brutania as ſome pronounce it (by reaſon of the letter y in the firſt ſyllable of the word, as antiquitie did ſometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean ſea, directlie ouer againſt that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greateſt part of litle Britaine, which later region was called in time paſt Armorica, of the ſituation thereof vpon the ſea coaſt, vntill ſuch time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by ſome of the Romane Emperours, or flieng thither from the tyrannie of ſuch as oppreſſed them here in this Iland) did ſettle themſelues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the weſt ſide, on the north the maine ſea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the eaſt ſide alſo the Germane Ocean, by which we paſſe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miſerablie afflicted betwéene the Spaniſh power and popiſh inquiſition (as ſpice betwéene the morter and the peſtell) but alſo into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all ſuch neceſſarie commodities as the ſeuerall countries doo yéeld: through which meanes, and beſides common amitie conſerued, traffike is maintained, and the neceſſitie of each partie abundantlie releeued.

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

It containeth in longitude taken by the middeſt of the region 19. degrees exactlie: and in latitude 53. degrées, and thirtie min. after the opinions of thoſe that haue diligentlie obſerued the ſame in our daies, and the faithfull report of ſuch writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatiſes to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas ſome in ſetting downe of theſe two lines, haue ſéemed to varie about the placing of the ſame, each of them diuerſlie remembring the names of ſundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their ſeuerall courſes: for my part I haue thought good to proceéd ſomewhat after another ſort; that is, by diuiding the lateſt and beſt chards each way into two equall parts (ſo neere as I can poſſiblie bring the ſame to paſſe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerliſle and Newcaſtell vpon Tine, (whoſe longeſt day conſiſteth of ſirtéene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Sheffield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is moſt eaſie and indifferent, and likelieſt meane to come by the certeine ſtanding and ſituation of our Iland.

Longeſt day.

The compaſſe of Britaine.

Touching the length and breadth of the ſame, I find ſome variance amongſt writers: for after ſome, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the fartheſt part of Cornewall weſtwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathneſſe by the Iriſh ſea 800. Whereby Polydore and other doo gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. leſſe than Cæſar doth ſet downe, except there be ſome difference betwéene the Romane and Britiſh miles, as there is indéed; wherof hereafter I may make ſome farther conference.

Martianus writing of the breadth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Oroſius hath 1200. in the whole compaſſe. Ethicus alſo agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he commeth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion *in* Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadeſt, of 289. and where it is narowſt, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the ſouth coaſt to conteine 7000 furlongs, the ſecond; to wit, *à Carione ad Promontorium* 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to conſiſt of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathneſſe, no more than 500. which neuertheleſſe muſt be meaſured by a right line, for otherwiſe I ſée not how the ſaid diuiſion can hold.

The forme.

The forme and faſhion of this Ile is three cornered, as ſome haue deuiſed, like vnto a triangle, baſtard ſword, wedge, or parteſant, being broadeſt in the ſouth part,

part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morweydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as dailie experience by actuall trauell doth confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the three principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, three seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuestæum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to sathe out their true places, whereof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the most part, bicause I haue no sound author that doth leade mée to their knowledge.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

The distãce from the maine.

Further more, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petressa and Scalas, though some like better of blackenesse where the breadth of the sea is not aboue thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marth, which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth nére the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, do yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the neerest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, doth certeinlie appéere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

Of the ancient names or denominations of this Iland. Cap. 3.

IN the diligent perusall of their treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Iland, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Iaphet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thencefoorth for a long while called Samothea. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeuoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune, Amphitrite surnamed Marioticus (bicause his dominions laie among the Ilands of the Mediterran sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds nere vnto shore, as contrariwise his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hils nérer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here, made a voiage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after yer he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulnesse. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Iaphet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeere.

Dis, Samothes.

Neptunus Marioticus.

The first conquest of Britaine.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same *ab olbijs*, or as he wresteth it, *ab Albijs gallis*. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gotthadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vridania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tanquam libera Dania*, as another also doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse do often straie, bicause they wot not whither they go: euen so do these men, whilest they séeke to extenuate the certeintie of our histories, and bring vs altogither to vncerteinties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, *vnde Walli nisi a Gallis*, or from some Spanish colonie, do greatlie bewraie their ouersights; but most of all they erre that endeuour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Diocletian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our history, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogither impertinent. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of nauie (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not séeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, do not naile their ships with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with bast ropes, oziers, rinds of trées, or twigs of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, *lib. 7. cap. 56.* as also botes made of rushes and réeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his naule either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

Neptune God of the sea.

The maner of dressing of ships in old time.

But to proceed, when the ſaid Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the ſpace of ſeauen yeares, it came to paſſe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the ſaid Hercules paſſed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occaſion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Leſtrigo and his iſſue (whom Oſyris his grandfather had placed ouer the Ianigenes) did exerciſe great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but alſo in moleſtation of ſuch princes as inhabited round about him in moſt intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in theſe his doings by Neptune his father, who thirſted greatly to leaue his yrkſom ſonnes ſettled in the mightieſt kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatſoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by ſome meanes or other, not onelie eſtabliſh their ſeats, but alſo increaſe their limits to the better maintenance of themſelues and their poſteritie for euermore. To be ſhort therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conſpired and ſlaine the aforeſaid Oſyris, onelie for that he was an obſtacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his ſonne, ſurnamed Labin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres againſt them all, and going from place to place, he ceaſed not to ſpoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among ſundrie other ouercome the Lommini or Geriones in Spaine, and vnderſtanding that Leſtrigo and his ſonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into thoſe parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a ſeaſon with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he alſo maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a ſonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my ſaid Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large.

Leſtrigo.

Ianigenes were the poſteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had yrkſom ſonnes.

Lommini. Gerones.

Galathea.

Galates or Kelts.

In the meane time Albion vnderſtanding how Hercules intended to make warres againſt his brother Leſtrigo, he thought good if it were poſſible to ſtop him that tide, and therefore ſending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he alſo reigned as ſupreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and ſailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betweene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue loſt the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition ſore waſted in the laſt viage that he had made for Spaine. Herevpon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his ſouldiours ſomewhat to abate, and ſeeing the want of artillerie like to be the cauſe of his fatall daie and preſent ouerthrowe at hand, it came ſuddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himſelfe by throwing ſtones at his enimie, whereof there laie great ſtore then ſcattered in the place. The policie was no ſooner publiſhed than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they ſo preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both ſlaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vſurper (that dailie incroched vpon him, building ſundrie cities and holds, of which ſome were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other alſo euen in his owne kingdome on that ſide) and Leſtrigo greatlie weakened by the ſlaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like ſort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Oſyris) is feigned to throw downe ſtones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defenſe of his ſonne: which came ſo thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile ſhould haue deſcended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came ſo faſt and with ſo great a violence.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus diſcomfited and ſlaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but ſtill remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing heere in the 1116. before Chriſt and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the ſpace of about 600. yeares) but to declare his ſouereigntie ouer the reſt of the Ilands alſo that lie ſcattered round about it, he called them all after the ſame maner, ſo that Albion was ſaid in time to be *Britanniarum inſula maxima*, that is, The greateſt of thoſe Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie alſo confirmeth, and Strabo in his firſt and ſecond bookes denieth not. There are ſome, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland tooke hir name of Brute, do affirme it rather to be ſo called of the rich mettals ſometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the ſame. Vibius Sequeſter alſo ſaith that Calabria was ſometime called Britannia, *ob immenſam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis*, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it ſhould be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I abſolutelie denie not, ſo I willinglie leaue vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, ſith the antiquitie of our hiſtorie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the ſame cauſe I reiect them alſo, which deriue the aforeſaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Tertor (or Prutus or Prytus the ſonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by ſea from thence onelie to eſcape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauiſh and make hir one of his paramours: but if I ſhould forſake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elſewhere I haue made a more large reherſall.

It is altogither impertinent, to diſcuſſe whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument ſeene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the Weſt countrie (called *Promontorium Herculis* in old time) diuers of our Britiſh antiquaries do gather great likelihood that he ſhould alſo be here. But ſith his preſence or abſence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to ſearch out whether the ſaid monument was but ſome token erected in his honour of later times (as ſome haue beene elſewhere, among the Celts framed, & thoſe like an old cripple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough ſkin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Iriſhmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but ſmallie auailable, and therefore I paſſe it ouer as not incident to my purpoſe. Neither will I ſpend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene ſometime a parcell of the maine, although it ſhould well ſeeme ſo to haue beene, becauſe that before the generall floud of Noah, we do not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherfore as Wilden Arguis alſo noteth in his philoſophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie cauſed by the violent motion and working of the ſea, in the time of the floud, which if S. Auguſtine had well conſidered, he would neuer haue aſked how ſuch creatures as liued in Ilands far diſtant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the ſpeedie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inha-

bited

bited ſhortlie after the diuiſion of the earth. For I read that when each captaine and his companie had their portions aſſigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his poſteritie, they neuer ceaſed to trauell and ſearch out the vttermoſt parts of the ſame, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had ſeene and beheld their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It ſhall ſuffice therefore onelie to haue touched theſe things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpoſe, to proceed with the reſt concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto moſt of the Grecians for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to ſaie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Ariſtotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithſtanding that Brute, as I haue ſaid, had changed the ſame into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Yet Timeus, Ephorus, and ſome of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth alſo by Diodorus, &c. before the comming of Cæſar.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodoſius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeuoured, in the remembrance of the two aforeſaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus ſaith. But as this deuiſe toke no hold among the common ſort, ſo it retained ſtill the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and firſt of his reigne, gaue forth an eſpeciall edict, dated at Wincheſter, that it ſhould be called Angles land, or Angelландt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to ſay, touching the ſeuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie miſliking in the meane ſeaſon their deuiſes, which make Hengiſt the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicauſe his anceſtours deſcended from the Angles one of the fiue nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwiſe called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicauſe of Hengiſt the Saxon and his companie that firſt arriued here before anie of the other) and thereto hauing now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole Iland, called the ſame after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengiſt, neither anie Quæne named Angla, neither whatſoeuer deriuation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing ſwaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is Belforeſt, lib. 3. cap. 44.

What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion. Cap. 4.

AS few or no nations can iuſtlie boaſt themſelues to haue continued ſithence their countrie was firſt replenished, without any mixture, more or leſſe, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whoſe manifold commodities haue oft allured ſundrie princes and famous captaines of the world to conquer and ſubdue the ſame vnto their owne ſubiection. Manie ſorts of people therfore haue come in hither and ſettled themſelues here in this Ile, and firſt of all other, a parcell of the linage and poſteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in proceſſe of time, and after they had indifferentlie replenished and furniſhed this Iland with people (which was done in the ſpace of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the ſame to his owne dominion, but brought all ſuch in like ſort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miſerable ſeruitude and moſt extreame thraldome. After him alſo, and within leſſe than fiue hundred and two yeares, came Brute the ſonne of Syluius with a great traine of the poſteritie of the diſperſed Troians in 324. ſhips: who rendering the like courteſie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before vnto the ſeed of Japhet, brought them alſo wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and diſpoſſeſſing the peeres & inferior owners of their lands and poſſeſſions, he diuided the countrie among ſuch princes and captaines as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Samothians.

Britains.

Chemminits.

From henceforth I doo not find any ſound report of other nation whatſoeuer, that ſhould aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the ſtate of the land, vntill the Romane emperours ſubdued it to their dominion, ſauing of a few Galles, (and thoſe peraduenture of Belgie) who firſt comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coaſts, did afterward plant themſelues for altogither neere vnto the ſhore, and there builded ſundrie cities and townes which they named after thoſe of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cæſar where he writeth of Britaine of ſet purpoſe, but alſo elſe-where, as in his ſecond booke a litle after the beginning: for ſpeaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swetſions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightieſt prince of all the Galles, but alſo to hold vnder his ſubiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his ſonne Galba was afterward diſpoſſeſſed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to ſaie with how manie ſorts of people we were daillie peſtered, almoſt in euerie ſtead. For as they planted their forwarne legions in the moſt fertile places of the realme, and where they might beſt lie for the ſafegard of their conqueſts: ſo their armies did commonlie conſiſt of manie ſorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confuſed mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it beſt, bicauſe they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull ghelts to this our Iland: ſith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and exceſſe of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not ſeruitours.

Romans.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spaniſh blod, ſhould arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts ſhould come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scotiſh hiſtories do carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to ſaie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue ſtolne in hither within the ſpace of 100. yeares before Chriſt, than to haue continued here ſo long as they themſelues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to ſettle themſelues alſo in Britaine; ſo the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and ſpeale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Peats or Picts (as the Romans named them, bicauſe they painted their bodies) to helpe them againſt the Britains, after the which they ſo planted themſelues in theſe parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleanſed of them. I find alſo that as theſe Scots were reputed for the moſt Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longeſt without letters; ſo they vſed commonlie to ſpeale ouer into Britaine in leather ſkewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cæſars time. For both

Scots. Picts.

Diodorus *lib.6.* and Strabo *lib.4.* doo ſeeme to ſpeake of a parcell of the Iriſh nation that ſhould inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans fleſh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like ſort doth note the Redſhanks and the Iriſh (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæſar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, ſo that hereby it is found that they are no new gheſtes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuerſie doth reſt in the time of their firſt attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I marueil much whie they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I ſee perfectlie that this ſhift ſhould be too groſſe for the maintenance of their deſired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons tranſlated the word Scotus for Iriſh: whereby it appeareth that thoſe Iriſh, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo ſpeake, are none other than thoſe Scots, of whom Icrome ſpeaketh *Aduerſus Iouinianum, lib.2.* who vſed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate diſhes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots ſo well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Iriſh are all one people. They were alſo called Scoti by the Romans, bicauſe their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themſelues an obſcure nation in the ſight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatſoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is eaſie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redſhankes and Pictones) that they were ſetled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæſar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe ſufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the ſame. So that the controuerſie lieth not in their comming alſo, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doo report) and from whence they came at the firſt into the aforeſaid Ilands. For my part I ſuppoſe with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath ſent out manie companies to inuade and ſpoile the ſame. It may be that ſome will gather, thoſe to be the Picts, of whom Cæſar ſaith that they ſtained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enimies; and ſo inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to ſtaine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius ſaith,

Of the Picts.

Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraitures of beaſts, fiſh and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial ſaith,

Barbara depictis veni Baſcauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothes and Albion, haue ſome likelie limitation: and ſo we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæſar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Roſſe in Wales aſſigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when firſt the Picts, & then the Scots ſhould come ouer into our Iland, as they were obſcure people, ſo the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the reſolution of this point muſt ſtill remaine In tenebris. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that Maximus firſt Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betweene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre alſo againſt the Iriſhmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yeelded to ſubſcribe, that from thence-forth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and ſo much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and diſturbers of the common peace and quietneſſe of their prouinces here in England.

The Saxons became firſt acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practiſed vpon our coaſtes (after they had once begun to aduenture themſelues alſo vpon the ſeas, thereby to ſeeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the Weſt parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie ſpoiled in moſt lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durſt preſume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were ſent for by Vortiger to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defenſe and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengiſt in three bottoms or keeles, and in ſhort time eſpieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our ſoile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conqueſt of ſuch as at the firſt they came to aid and ſuccour. Herevpon alſo they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, ſo that within a while theſe new comlings began to moleſt the homelings, and ceaſed not from time to time to continue their purpoſe, vntill they had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, or at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane ſeaſon being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iland to ſeeke new habitations.

The hurt by forren aid.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that ſucceeded) came at the firſt onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welſhmen or Britons through an earneſt deſire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no leſſe plagued the one than the other, their friends than their aduerſaries, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to eſtabliſh themſelues alſo in the ſure poſſeſſion of Britaine. But ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that they proſpered not long in their deuiſe: for ſo great was their lordlineſſe, crueltie, and inſatiable deſire of riches, beſide their deteſtable abuſing of chaſt matrons, and young virgins (whoſe huſbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and ſlaues, whileſt they ſat at home and fed like drone bees of the ſweet of their trauell and labours) that God I ſay would not ſuffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he ſaw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breath vs, thereby to ſee whether this his ſharpe ſcourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and ſinfull liues, or not. But when no ſigne thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vex vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countrimen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newſtria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, bicauſe the Danes which ſubdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuertheleſſe, I ſuppoſe that the ancient word Newſtria, is corrupted from Weſt-rike, bicauſe that if you marke the ſituation, it lieth oppoſite from Auſtria or Oſt-rike, which is called the Eaſt region, as Newſtria is the Weſt: for Rike in the old Scithian tong doth ſignifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rike, or Franc-reich, Weſtſaxon-reich, Oſtſaxon-reich, Su-rike, Angel-rike, &c, is elſe to be ſeene. But howſoeuer this falleth out, theſe Normans

Danes.

The Normans.

or

or Danish French, were dedlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betweene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their freends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogither in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English priest then liuing in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuertheles, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bolting, Robert the Archbishop being the cheefe instrument of their practise, that he beleeued them, and therevpon vered sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Godwin of Kent was the cheefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fiue of his sonnes with him, whervpon he goeth ouer the sea, and sone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to do: affirming plainelie, that it should be meere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so deeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate.

Archbishop of Can. exiled, and the rest of the French.

By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who gooth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, bicause of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so sone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obteined, and to set his mischeefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogither false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of Iohn Stow my verie freend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incautè agens in aduentu suo in Angliam à Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreouer, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the same onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quéene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obteined, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a passtime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their greedie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders.

Erle Godwine slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

And this onelie I saie againe, bicause we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrees of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie béene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue béene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after greeuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Orenford, sonne to Godwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue béene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must

In this voiage the said Harald builded Portaschith, which Caradoch ap Griffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

nœds haue sustained the vttermost confusion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue perished among vs.

Thus we see how England hath six times bœne subiect to the reproch of conquest. And whereas the Scots seeme to challenge manie famous victories also ouer vs, beside grœuous impositions, tributs, & dishonorable compositions: it shall suffice for answer, that they deale in this as in the most part of their historie, which is to seeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and craking. Indeed they haue done great mischéefe in this Iland, & with extreme cruelties; but as for any conquest the first is yet to heare of. Diuers other conquests also haue bœne pretended by sundrie princes sithence the conquest, onelie to the end that all priuinate lawes and tenures of possession might cease, and they make a new disposition of all things at their owne pleasure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it toke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuertheless was at the last though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Iustice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had some better shew of right, but yet without effect. And the last of all by Q. Marie, as some of the papists gaue out, and also would haue had hir to haue obteined, but God also staied their malices, and hir challenge. But beside the six afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old historiographer speaketh of a seuenth, likelie (as he saith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, sith nothing is to be had in those parts, but hunger & much cold. See more hereof in the historie of S. Albons, and aforsaid author which lieth on the left side of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophesies as one that doubteth from what spirit they do proceed, or who should be the author of them.

Whether it be likelie that any giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not. Cap. 5.

BEsides these aforesaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of sundrie giants that should inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogither incredible, sith the posterities of diuers princes were called by the name: so vnto some mens eares it seemeth so strange a rehersall, that for the same onelie cause they suspect the credit of our whole historie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They also condemne the like in all other histories, especiallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greatest stature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus do make mention, & whose bones do yet remaine to be seene as rare miracles in nature. Of these also some in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a vessell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horsse, or an oxe, & cast it on their shoulders (wherein their verie women haue bœne likewise knowne to come nére vnto them) and of the race of those men, some were séene of no lesse strength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the same of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants. For this cause therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this briefe discourse insuing, as indeuouring therby to proue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of marvellous things: but that there haue bœne such men in déed, as for their hugenesse of person haue resembled rather * high towers than mortall men, although their posterities are now consumed, and their monstruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge. *Esay. 30. vers. 25.

I do not meane herein to dispute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppression of the people, than for their greatnesse of bodie, or large steps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this present) or bicause their parents were not knowne, for such in old time were called *Terræ filij*; or whether the word Gigas doth onlie signifie *Indigenas*, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in stature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet absolutelie I denie neither of these, sith verie probable reasons may be brought for ech of them, but especiallie the last rehearsed, whose confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of sundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in strength and manhood, and yet do not giue the same name vnto them, bicause their quarels were iust, and commonlie taken in hand for defense of the oppressed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whose wrestling declareth that they were equall in stature & stomach. Such also was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquished by the said Hercules, yet if he did eftsoones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the last betweene him and home, so cutting off the farther hope of the restitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduersarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus: Antheus. Lucane lib. 4. in fine.

Incaluere animis dura certare palæstra,
Neptuni quondam filium atque Iouis:
Non certamen erant operoso ex ære lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:
Occidit Antæum Ioue natum viuere fas est,
Est, magistra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.

The like do our historiens report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was slaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poeticall licence do not take place in his report and assertion. But sith (I say againe) it is not my purpose to stand vpon these points, I passe ouer to speake any more of them. And whereas also I might haue proceeded in such order, that I should first set downe by manie circumstances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of such huge and incredible stature as the authours do remember, and finallie whether any of them haue bœne in this our Iland or not, I protest plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any such maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by sufficient authoritie, that there haue bœne such mightie men of stature, and some of them also in Britaine, which I will set downe onelie by sundrie examples, whereby it shall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other bén altogither without them. First of all therfore, & to begin with the scriptures, the most sure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you shall haue out of them such

Corineus. Gomagot.

Cap. 6. vers. 5.

Anti. li. 1.

Nu. cap. 1 verse. 33, 34.

Deut. 3. vers. 11. Og of Basan.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6 Goliah.

Cap. 21. 16, 17, &

such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient proofe of my position. Neuertheleſſe, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations.

Cap. 6. vers. 5. Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the floud, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Berosus also the Chalde writeth, Anti. li. 1. that neere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugenesse of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was deriued from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsummims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto Nu. cap. 13. vers. 33, & 34. his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israell confessed themselues to be but grashoppers. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homebborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

Deut. 3. vers. 11. Og of Basan. Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be ouercome by the Israelits, & whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) conteining 9. cubits in length, and 4. in breadth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, *hom. 2. in Gen.* out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to proue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see Augusti. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12.* Ambros. *&c.* and Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah. In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliah a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maile was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that metall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand breadth. All which do import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heaute a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his vttermost power, doth neuertheleſſe earnestlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c. In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliah: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. *Par.* 20. was nothing inferiour to the first: the third hight also Goliah, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers lome, neuertheleſſe he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Ioabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Whereby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expositors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our christian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to haue some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simplie as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian *Lib. 2. de resurrect.* saith; S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduisement, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof also doth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, saieng that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he getteth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discouered, three of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth. De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap. 9. Iohannes Boccacius.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull was able to conteine manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. Whose teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outerie in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been aliue, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betweene his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it should not fall in peeces: neuertheleſſe, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reserued to be seene of such as will hardlie beleeue these reports. A carcase discouered of 200. cubits.

In the histories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somwhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betweene Brusels and Mechlin. As though there

there were anie preciſe reſemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer beene anie elephant of 27. foot in length. But ſee his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the ſhore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which ſomewhat ſtaieth his iudgement, but not altogither remoueth his error.

Mar. Weſtmon. The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being meaſured it conteined twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

Iohannes Leland. Maſicus, lib. 14. Trinet. Mat. Weſt. There was a carcaſe alſo laid bare 1170. in England vpon the ſhore (where the beating of the ſea had waſhed awaie the earth from the ſtone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it conteined 50. foot in meaſure, as our hiſtories do report. The like was ſeene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

Hector Boet. In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they ſhew in a church, vnder the name of little Iohn (*per Antiphraſin*) being alſo 14. foot in length, as diuerſe do affirme which haue beholden the ſame, and whereof Hector Boetius doth ſaie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembred.

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common ſort of women liuing in thoſe daies.

Geruaſius Tilberienſis. Geruaſius Tilberienſis, head Marſhall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Iſoretum, in the ſuburbes of Paris, he ſaw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beſide the head and the necke, which was miſſing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture beene beheaded for ſome notable treſpaſſe committed in times paſt, or (as he ſaith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that ſhewed himſelfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man maried Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before affured to Alexius, whome he ſtrangled, diſmembred and drowned in the ſea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beſide hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as ſhe liſted.

Zonaras ſpeaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iuſtine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie perſonage, was neuertheleſſe almoſt two foot taller than the talleſt woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas Eliot. A carcaſe was taken vp at Iuie church neere Saliſburie but of late yeares to ſpeake of, almoſt fourteene foot long. *in Dictionario Eliotæ.*

Leland in Combrit. In Gilleſland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chapell of the Moze, ſix miles by eaſt from Carleill, a coffin of ſtone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like ſort Leland ſpeaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you ſhall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

Richard Graſton. Richard Graſton in his Manuell telleth of one whoſe ſhinbone conteined ſix foot, and thereto his ſcull ſo great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall ſymmetrie of theſe parts, his bodie muſt needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie meaſured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, anſwereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the ſame place vnto the ſole of the foot, meaſured by an imagined line, and ſeuered into ſo manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall deſcription of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this ſymmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face,

The Symmetrie or proportion of the bodie of a comelie man.

for *recta, orbiculata* (or *fornicata*) *prona, reſupinata*, and *lacunata* (or *repanda*) do ſo far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby alſo they make the face taken in ſtrict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, frõ the higheſt part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, ſo that in the vſe of the word face there is a difference, wherby the 9. part is taken (I ſay) from the crowne (called *Vertex*, becauſe the haire there turneth into a circle) ſo that if the ſpace by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or higheſt part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would eaſilie appeare, & ſhew it ſelfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the waiſt to the top of the ſame finger, a tenth part: the length of the ſhinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obſeruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie ſuch carcaſes happen to be found hereafter, it ſhall not be hard by ſome of theſe bones here mentioned, to come by the ſtature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the reſt of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may reſort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, ſith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpoſe. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the Syluester Giraldus. *In vita Seruorij de Anſheo.* yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the ſame. Finallie the carcaſe of William conqueror was ſeene not manie yeares ſince (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, Conſtans fama Gallorum. by the iudgment of ſuch as ſaw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which teſtimonies I note togither, becauſe they proceed from chriſtian writers, from whome nothing ſhould be farther or more diſtant, than of ſet purpoſe to lie, and feed the world with fables.

In our times alſo, and whileſt Francis the firſt reigned ouer France, there was a man ſeene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in thoſe parties made of his gard, whoſe height was ſuch, that a man of common heigth might eaſilie go vnder his twiſt without ſtoping, a ſtature incredible. Moreouer Caſanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briat a giant Briat. found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whoſe ſcull was two cubits, and the breadth of his ſhoulders foure, as he himſelfe beheld in the late ſecond wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes *De Galliarum illuſtrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcaſe of the ſame giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the ſcull to the ſole of the feet, doth yeeld ſufficient teſtimonie. Alſo Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no leſſe, adding that he was found 1556. & ſo doth Baptiſta Fulgoſus, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* ſaieng farther, that his graue was ſeene not farre from Valentia, and diſcouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The ſaid Caſanion in like ſort ſpeaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whoſe teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Alſo of the ſepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes caſtell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eieſight did not confirme it in our owne times, and theſe carcaſes were not reſerued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by theſe relikes vnderſtand, that ſuch men were in old time in deed, of whoſe ſtatures we now begin to doubt. Now to ſay ſomwhat alſo of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be ſeene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time paſt was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, ſo that it is ſhorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another alſo

Philoſtrate.

is

is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath beene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is first in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I toke no great heed, bicause I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the chiefest authors.

Now it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowme and praise, they do procure vnto themselues in the end nothing else but meere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe do seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie one his bundle.

In vita Sertorij de Antheo. Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, neere to the streicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleeue it, vntill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made sometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saw it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Pausanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Aiax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adiudged so broad as a pretie dish: also that the bodie of Asterius somtime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being perswaded and led from his opinion.

Philostrate. Philostrate *in Heroicis* saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Liuie in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whose stature was not much inferiour to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whome Herodot speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was fiue common cubits of stature, which make but fiue of the kings standard, bicause this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Iew, of whome Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of heigth fiue cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention *lib. 12. cap. 13. Hist. eccles.* of fiue cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, bicause Casanion of Mutterell hath alredie sufficientlie discoursed vpon these examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *Alterum carcasse Herculem*, as the said Casanion doth merilie charge and vpbraid him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which discouered the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Neuertheless I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare *Per sua capita*, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantasticall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserued *In conditorio Sallustianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to sweare. Lib. 7.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macrosyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Greeke were found withall, Trallianus.

Sepultus ego Macrosyris in longa insula
Vitæ peractis annis mille quinquies: which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, conteining 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in *Periegesi* telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in seuerall coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certeine carcases were found, whose ribs conteined 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. sith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some couing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Assanes were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and such was the heigth of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose heigth was within 4. fingers breadth of fiue cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. *lib. 7.* Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I do read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech tooth (taken one with another) conteined 12. inches ouer at the least. Now forsomuch as in such as be full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the wideneste of this mans chaps be welneere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the least. A large A mouth of fifteene foot wide.

mouth

mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peason with Ladies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies. When this carcase was thus found, euerie man marueiled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whether he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remoue the dead out of his resting place, but rather somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to shape a carcase of light matter, after the proportion of the tooth, that at the least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind, and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties. To be short, when the image was once made and set vp on end, it appeered rather an huge colossie than the true carcase of a man, and when it had stood in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie satisfied with the sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peeces, and the tooth sent againe to the carcase frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wise not to dismember the corps, nor from thence forth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more. Pausan. *lib.* 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Osyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she feared to be molested by Hammon hir first husband, whilest she remained vpon the Thoumasian hill, *In ipso loco*, saith he, *spectantur ossa maiora multo quàm vt humana existimari possint, &c.* Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in steed of all his ribs on ech side I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in bredth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an are in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heigth than either of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remembred shall suffice to prooue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the marke stone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was such as that twelue chosen and picked men (saith Virgil,

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*)

were not able so stur and remoue out of the place: but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and secondlie for a confirmation, that bugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble. Finallie they were such indeed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieng of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt statura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam disciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam insipientiam, &c.* that is, There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great stature and expert in warre, those did not the Lord chose, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were destroied, because they had no wisedome, and perished through their owne foolishnesse. Cap. 3. 26.

What the bodies of men also do dailie decaie in stature, beside Plinie *lib.* 7. Esdras likewise confesseth *lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. whose authoritie is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do affirme so much, whereas Goropius still continuing his wonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his proposition first by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & thereupon concludeth that men in these daies be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude against the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies of the oldest pagans. But see how he would salue all at last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I denie not but that od huge personages haue bene seene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time the common sort did so much wonder at the like as we do at these, bicause they were seldome seene, and not commonlie to be heard of. 4. Esd. cap. 5.

Of the languages spoken in this Iland.
Cap. 6.

WHat language came first with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remaineth in writing, which may resolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of so much are we certeine, that the speach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, so that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as either nation with small helpe of interpretors might vnderstand other, and readilie discerne what the speaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake Greeke, and how the British tong resembled the same, which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I see that these men do speake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did speake Greeke, why did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that language, because that if they should be intercepted they might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnderstand the Galles, he being so skilfull in the language without an interpretor? Yet I denie not but that the Celtish and British speaches might haue great affinitie one with another, and the British aboue all other with the Greeke, for both do appeere by certeine words, as first in tri for three, march for an horsse, & trimarchia, whereof Pausanias speaketh, for both. Atheneus also writeth of Bathanasius a capitaine of the Galles, whose name is meere British, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And whereas he saith that the reliques of the Galles tooke vp their first dwelling about Isther, and afterward diuided themselues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordsai, and the other that inha- British. Small difference betweene the British and Celtike languages.

inhabited within the dominion of Tyrroll) Brennt, whose seate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Iscaredich in British, from whence the word Scordisci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then, and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the British and the Celtish speaches had great affinitie one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likenesse of religion in both nations) doth also auerre; & Tacitus *in vita Agricolæ*, in like sort plainlie affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Greece were meere Britons, of whose likenes of speech with the Greeke tong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Brennt calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their owne language, or else that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe three waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the relikes of the ancient speech remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speech of the Britons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peraduenture associat in this votage, or mixed by invasion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers do remember. This also is euident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth *In vita Mary*) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therfore I beleeue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the slaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Daui for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearsall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Greekes and Latines.

British corrupted by the Latine and Saxon speeches.

The British tong called Camberaec doth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the primitiue integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speaches withall. Howbeit, manie poesies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, whereby some difference betweene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue beene most slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praising the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Greeke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderstanded and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betweene the Celts & the Britith tongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to haue some sauour of the Greeke. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the Britith speach came once ouer into this Iland, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie maner of wise.

The Britons diligent in pedigrees.

Petigrees and genealogies also the Welsh Britons haue plentie in their owne tong, insomuch that manie of them can readilie derriue the same, either from Brute or some of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Trolans, and so forth vnto Noah without anie maner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must néeds confesse that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salaris for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did verie solemnelie preserue the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselues of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

Sed senuata quid fadiunt? quid prodest Pontice longo
Sanguine celsa seni? Bitho quid auorum dicere turmas? &c.

Latine.

Next vnto the Britith speach, the Latine tong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this tong I will not say much, bicause there are few which be not skilfull in the same. Howbeit, as the speach it selfe is easie and delectable, so hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Britaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old Britith denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borowed from the Romans, that all our deeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine tong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

The Saxon toong.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Britons call Saysonaec, as they do the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speach, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of vttérance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be auouched how there is no one speach vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varieties of words, copie of phrases, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our English tong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, bicause the most of our words (as they do indéed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inserted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shipper, &c: beside manie other relikes of that speech, neuer to be abolished.

The French toong.

After the Saxon tong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decree taught first to speake the same, and therevnto inforced to learne their constructions in the French, whensoeuer they were set to the Grammar schole. In like sort few bishops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the English tong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which brauerie toke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wax wearie of there mother tong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French rascall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie bicause he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to

The Britons dili-

exile

erile the English and British speaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the misst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, toles and words of art reteine still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said tong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Queene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the nature of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie seeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English tong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English trulie. It is a pastime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, speaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest doth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger do hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our tong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is worse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue seene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled.

The helpers of our English toong.

The Cornish toong.

The Cornish and Deuonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speach in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in deed more affinitie with the Armoricane tong than I can well discusse. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of British, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them do meete with a Welshman, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one another, except here and there in some od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell in mine opinion that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh tong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland doth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Iland, as I haue said alreadie.

Scottish english.

The Scottish english hath been much broader and lesse pleasant in vtterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in maner, as Englishmen themselues did speake for the most part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come neere, if not altogither to match our tong in finenesse of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocripha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining fiue books, except my memorie do faile me.

This we see how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue these seuerall tongs, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the English speach for one: notwithstanding that for breadth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the side of the maine Iland, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare footed and clad in mantels ouer their safron shirts after the Irish maner) do inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gachtlet, as they say of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past been fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapter precedent, and whereunto *Vincentius cap. de insulis Oceani* doth yeeld his assent, saieng that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; *Scotia eadem* (saith he) *est Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c.* Out of the 14. booke of Isidorus intituled *Originum*, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, whereof in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

The wild Scots.

Redshanks.

Rough footed Scots.

Irish scots.

Irish speech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coasts of Britaine as do abbut vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speach is altogither in vse, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held those Ilands so long vnder their subiection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, because that the verie soile of them is enimie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those fiue languages now vsuallie spoken within the limits of our Iland.

Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided. Cap. 7.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discord, grounded vpo ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Cæsar, but also in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prouince. It should seeme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that vsurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Iland among themselues

Britaine at the first one entire kingdome.

zakales diuided into three kingdomes.

Cwinhed.

Venedotia.

Angleſei.

Arfon.

Merioneth.

ſelues) each great citie had hir freedome and ſeuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir ſelfe, beſide a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the ſame, wherein were ſundrie other cities alſo of leſſe name, which ought homage and all ſubiection vnto the greater ſort. And to ſaie truth, hereof it came to paſſe, that each of theſe regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, toke his name of ſome one of theſe cities; although *Ciuitas* after Cæſar doth ſometime ſignifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot ciuitates quot regna*, and contrariwiſe as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was ſo called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whoſe territories conteined all Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire, euen as the iuriſdiction of the biſhop of London is now extended, for the ouerſight of ſuch things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors alſo of theſe regions, called themſelues kings, and therevnto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for ſomuch as I am not able to ſaie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their ſeuerall portions, I will paſſe ouer theſe ancient times, and come nerer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yeere of Chriſt, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which ſeaſon there is euident proofe, that there were twelue or thirteene kings reigning in this Iland.

Wales diuided into three kingdomes.

We find therefore for the firſt, how that Wales had hir three ſeuerall kingdomes, which being accompted togither conteined (as Giraldus ſaith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof three were in his time poſſeſſed by the French and Engliſh) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in thoſe daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dee, of which two ſtreames this doth fall into the Iriſh ſea at Weſtchcſter, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somerſetſhire and Southwales, as their ſeuerall courſes ſhall witneſſe more at large.

Gwinhed.

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to ſaie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwiſe called Dehenbarth) and Demetia, for which we now vſe moſt cõmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a ſhort proceſſe of time a third ſprung vp in the verie middeſt betweene them both, which from thence-forth was called Powiſy, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter. For Roderije the great, who flouriſhed 850. of Chriſt, and was king of all Wales (which then conteined onlie ſir regions) leauing three ſons behind him, by his laſt will & teſtament diuided the countrie into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he aſſigned one vnto either of them, whereby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anaralt Powiſy, as Giraldus and other do remember. Howbeit it came to paſſe that after this diuiſion, Cadelh ſuruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his ſucceſſors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themſelues within the compaſſe of Demetia, which (as I ſaid) conteined 29. of thoſe 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powiſy did ſir, and Gwinhedh foureteene, except my memorie do faile me.

Venedotia.

The firſt of theſe three, being called as (I ſaid) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius ſaith Malſabrene, for he diuideth Wales alſo into three regions, of which he calleth the firſt Dumbera, the ſecond Berſrona, and the third Malſabrene) lieth directlie ouer againſt the Ile of Angleſet, the chiefe citie whereof ſtood in the Ile of Angleſei and was called Aberfraw. It conteineth 4. regions, of which the ſaid Iland is the firſt, and whereof in the chapter inſuing I will intreate more at large.

Angleſei.

Arfon.

The ſecond is called Arfon, and ſituate betweene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy. The third is Merioneth, and as it is ſeuered from Arfon by the Conwy, ſo is it ſeparated from Tegenia (otherwiſe called Stradcluyd or Tegenia. Stradcluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuer Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended alſo euen vnto the Dee it ſelfe, and of theſe foure regions conſiſteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times paſt the region of the Canges was not the ſmalleſt portion.

Powiſy.

The kingdome of Powiſy, laſt of all erected, as I ſaid, hath on the north ſide Gwinhedh, on the eaſt (from Cheſter to Hereford, or rather to Deane forreſt) England, on the ſouth and weſt the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie ſeuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the firſt Salopſburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Puwithig, but now Shrowſburie, a citie or towne raiſed out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (ſtanding 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekenceſter and Wrokeceſter, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with mere Engliſh, and where in old time the kings of Powiſy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Engliſhmen draue them from thence to Matranall in the ſame prouince, where they from thenceforth abead. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holt caſtell, vpon ech ſide of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, ſtood ſometime the famous monaſterie of Bangor, whileſt the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnextinguiſhed, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned ſort did preach the Goſpell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themſelues, and to ſuſtaine their preachers. This region was in like ſort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Hailor or Hailroſſe, the other reteined ſtill hir old denomination, and of theſe the firſt laie by ſouth, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

Bangor.

Hailroſſe.

As touching Hailroſſe, I read moreouer in the geſts of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William ſonne to a certeine ladie ſiſter to Paine Peuerell, the firſt lord of Whittington, after the conqueſt did win a part of the ſame, and the hundred of Elleſmore from the Welſhmen, in which enterpriſe he was ſo deſperatlie wounded, that no man highte him life; yet at the laſt by eating of the ſhield of a wild bore, he got an appetite and recouered his health. This William had iſſue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refuſed mariage with anie man, except he were firſt tried to be a knight of proweſſe. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that againſt ſuch a daie & at ſuch a place, whatſoeuer Gentleman could ſhew himſelfe moſt valiant in the field, ſhould marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his caſtell of Whittington with ſufficient liuelihood to mainteine their eſtates for euer. This report being ſpred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a ſhield of ſiluer and pecocke for his creſt, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings ſonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir had iſſue as in the treatiſe appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Mellent was the daughter ſometime of one of the lord Roſſes, called Kudall, who bare ſuch good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that ſhe made him carie hir awaie on horſſebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood ſake, which preſentlie was tried. For being purſued & ouertaken, ſhe made him light, & held his cloke whileſt he killed and drawe hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Hailroſſe, whereof this may ſuffice, ſith mine intent is not as now to make anie preciſe deſcription of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to ſhew how thoſe regions laie,

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene.

Mellent.

The original of Fitz-Henries.

which ſometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie, The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, ſometime knowne for the region of the Sylures, whereunto I alſo am perſuaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the eaſt part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howſoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir ſouth, the Iriſh ſea on hir weſt parts, on the eaſt the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powiſy, whereof I ſpake of late. Demetia.

Of this region alſo Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the cheefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the laſt through forren and ciuill inuaſions of enimies, the princes thereof were conſtrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and ſituate neuertheleſſe vpon the ſame riuer Tewy, whereon Caermarden ſtandeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe mariſes. In this region alſo lieth Pembroke *alias* Penmoroc ſhire, whoſe fawcons haue béene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewiſe is Milford hauen, whereof the Welſh wiſards do yet dreame ſtrange toies, which they beléeue ſhall one daie come to paſſe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but more to beléeue ſuch blind prophecies as haue béene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not ſuppoſed to haue the ſpirit of prophecie. Cair Maridunum.

That Scotland had in thoſe daies two kingdoms, (beſides that of the Ochades) whereof the one conſiſted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Iriſh race, and named Scotland: I hope no wiſe man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotiſh ſea alſo was ſo diuided, that the Picts laie on the eaſt ſide, and the Scots on the weſt, ech of them being ſeuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the ſouth into the north betweene them. It ſéemeth alſo that at the firſt theſe two kingdoms were diuided from the reſt of thoſe of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them deſirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the caſe being ſo plaine, I will ſaie no more of theſe two, but proceed in order with the reherſall of the reſt of the particular kingdoms of this our ſouth part of the Ile, limiting out the ſame by ſhires as they now lie, ſo néere as I can, for otherwiſe it ſhall be vnpoſſible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likelieſt quantities of theſe their ſeuerall portions. Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots.

The firſt of theſe kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghiſt in the 456. of Chriſt, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it ſelfe no farther than the ſaid countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyrg now Canturburie) ſo it indured well néere by the ſpace of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the Weſt Saxons, Athelſtane his ſonne, being the firſt Earle or Heretoch of the ſame. Maiſter Lambert in his hiſtorie of Kent doth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the Iland was firſt inhabited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howſoeuer that caſe ſtandeth, ſure it is that it hath béen the onelie doore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conqueſt of the region, but firſt of all Cæſar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eightéenth Cal. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himſelfe confeſſeth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) ſo that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, ſo the ſaid region and eaſt part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Chriſt was firſt brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of ſaluation, and from the darkeneſſe of miſtie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the ſhining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlaſting comforts. Kent Henghiſt.

The ſecond kingdome conteined onelie Suſſex, and a part of (or as ſome ſaie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon firſt held: who alſo erected his cheefe palace at Chicheſter, when he had deſtroied Andredſwald in the 492. of Chriſt. And after it had continued by the ſpace of 232. yeares, it ceaſed, being the verie leaſt kingdome of all the reſt, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to ſaie truth, it conteined little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewiſſes or Weſtſaxons, notwithſtanding that before the kings of Suſſex pretended and made claime to all that which laie weſt of Kent, and ſouth of the Thames, vnto the point of Cornwall, as I haue often read. Southſax. Ella. Deira. Ella. Eaſtangles Offa, à quo Offingæ.

The third regiment was of the Eaſt Saxons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whoſe cheefe ſeat was in London (or rather Colcheſter) and conteined whole Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herfordſhire. It indured alſo much about the prick of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the Eaſt Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and others do report, & ſo it continueth ſeparated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the ſaid riuer be now growne verie ſmall, and not of ſuch greatneſſe as it hath béene in times paſt, by reaſon that our countriemen make ſmall accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horſſe and cart to be the leſſe chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will elſe-where make manifeſt declaration. Eaſtſax. Erkenwin.

The fourth kingdome was of the Weſt Saxons, and ſo called, bicauſe it laie in the weſt part of the realme, as that of Eſſex did in the eaſt, and of Suſſex in the ſouth. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdiic, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the laſt all Wiltſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſet, Southampton, Somerſetſhire, Glocеſterſhire, ſome part of Deuonſhire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the reſt of Surrie, as the beſt authors do ſet downe. At the firſt it conteined onelie Wiltſhire, Dorcetſhire, and Barkeſhire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatſoeuer the kings of Suſſex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became firſt Dorcheſter (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Wincheſter the cheefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the ſaid Kinigils gaue him Dorcheſter, and all the land within ſeauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall ſea, by meanes whereof he himſelfe remoued his palace to Wincheſter. Weſtſax. Cerdiic. Mertia. Creodda.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Chriſt, and was called Northumberland, bicauſe it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghiſt to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the ſaid Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It conteined all that region which (as it ſhould ſéeme) was in time paſt either wholie apperteining to the Brigants, or whereof the ſaid Brigants did poſſeſſe the greater part. The cheefe citie of the ſame in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others do ſet downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scotiſh ſea, vntill the ſlaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward deſcending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter deſtruction of the Picts, hath not béene ſithens vnited to the crowne Bzennicia, *alias* Northumberland. Ida.

of

of England, nor in possession of the meere English, as before time it had béene. Such was the cruéltie of these Picts also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euensong, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laie holy vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saued themselues by flight.

Deira. Ella. Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that reuolted vp all his portion, which lay betweene Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but reteining the rest still vnto his owne vse, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 21. yeares it was reunited againe, and so continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Iesus Christ our Sauiour.

Eastangles Offa, à quo Offingæ. The seauenth kingdome, called of the East-angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Offa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Elie, and continuing 248. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of liberte, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and vassallage of the Mercians, who had the souereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie sore, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons vnited it to their crowne. Some saie that Grantcester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chéefe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolue the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeeld to their assertions, I meane it of Leland himselfe, whose helpe I vse chéefelie in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolued that he doth iudge aright.

The 8. & last was that of Mertia, which indured 251. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It tooke the name either of Meere the Saxon word, bicause it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the same) or else for that the lawes of Martia the Quéene were first vsed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a méere coniecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Christ, & indured well neere 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the same; but as he was soone reiected for his follie, so it was not long after yer the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worcester, Bedford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Gloucester, Hereford (*alias* Hirchford) Warwike and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the sonne of Penda for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthie to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Estangels; Kenelme and Wistan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confessor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Iland also into prouinces, as the Romanes seuered it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being doone, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoeuer is promised in the title of this chapter.

Limits of Mertia.

The Romans therefore hauing obteined the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and conteined the east part of England (as some do gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The second was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpwle vnto Tokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flauia Cæsariensis, and conteined all the countrie which remained betweene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane bysouth of the Thames, and whereunto (in like sort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cæsariensis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnsought out of the greedie Romanes, bicause of the great plentie of fish and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of household and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrate *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Britannia prima. Valentia. Britannia secunda. Flauia Cæsariensis. Maxima Cæsariensis

Mertia. Creodda.

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samothes vnto the birth of our sauiour Christ, or rather the comming of the Romans: secondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth conteined in our Histories.

Of the kings of Britaine, from Samothes *to Brute.*

Samothes.
Magus.
Sarronius.
Druiyus.
Bardus.
Longho.
Bardus Iunior.
Lucus.
Celtes.
Albion.
Celtes after Albion slaine.
Galates.
Harbon.
Lugdus.
Beligius.
Iasius.
Allobrox.
Romus.
Paris.
Lemanus.
Olbius.
Galates. 2.
Nannes.
Remis.
Francus.
Pictus.
After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either neglected by the Celts, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636. yeares, in such order as foloweth.
Brute.
Locrinus.
Gwendolena his widow.
Madan.
Mempricius.
Ebracus.
Brutus Iunior.
Leil.
Rudibras.
Bladunus
Leir.
Cordeil his daughter.
Cunedach and Morgan.
Riuallon.
Gurgustius.
Sisillus.
Iago.
Kimmachus.
Gorbodug.
Ferres and Porrex.
(These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land straue for the superioritie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yeares (after the race of Brute was decaied) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwall subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstanding

ding that the aforeſaid number of kings remained ſtill, which were but as vaſſals & inferiours to him, he being their cheefe and onelie ſoueraigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his ſonne, in whoſe time Brennus vſurpeth.
Gurgwinbatrus.
Guitrellinus.
Seiſill.
Kymarus.
Owan *aliàs* Ellan.
Morwich *aliàs* Morindus.
Grandobodian *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus *aliàs* Heſidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen *aliàs* Higanius, & Petitur *aliàs* Petidurus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones *aliàs* Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohugo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coellus.
Pyrrho *aliàs* Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganius *aliàs* Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgius.
Vrian.
Helſindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clotenis Claten.
Gurguintus.
Merian.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus *aliàs* Oghwen.
Siſillus or Sitſiltus.
Blegabridus.
Arcimalus Archiuall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three monethſ.
Rodingarus *aliàs* Rodericus.
Samulius Penyſell.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis *aliàs* Capporis.
Dynellus *aliàs* Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few monethſ.
Lhoid.
Caſibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Aruiragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.

Hitherto I haue ſet forth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in ſuch ſort as it is to be collected out of the moſt ancient hiſtories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will ſet forth the order and ſucceſſion of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borowed them firſt out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iuſt courſe of them from Iulius Agricola forward, becauſe there is no man that reherſeth them orderlie. Yet by this my doing herein, I hope ſome better table may be framed hereafter by other, wherof I would be glad to vnderſtand when ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God that it may come to paſſe.

Aulus Plautius.
Oſtorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few monethſ.
Petronius Turpilianus.
Trebellius Maximus.
Veſtius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.

Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherſeth theſe vicegerents or deputies in order.

Saluſtius Lucullus.
Cneius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helrius.
Vlpius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinas.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, *alias* Iulius Seuerus.
Liuius Gallus.
Lollius Vrbicus.
Maximus.
Oſtauius.
Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Actius.

Other Legates whoſe names are taken out of the Scotiſh hiſtorie but in incertein order.

Fronto ſub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Baſſianus.

Wales.
1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Chriſt.

Vortiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambroſius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Conſtantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.

¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaſeth, and the gouernance of the countrie is tranſlated to the weſtſaxons by Inas, whoſe ſecond wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obteined the principalitie of Wales but alſo of Cornwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

Kent.
2.

¶ Hengiſt in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himſelfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & ſauior Ieſus Chriſt.

Hengiſt.
Oſrijc *aliàs* Oſca.
Oſca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lother.
Edrijc.
The ſeat void.
Withredus.
Adelbert Iunior.
Eadbert.
Alrijc.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.

¶ As the kingdome of Wales was vnited vnto that of the weſtſaxons by Inas, ſo is the kingdom of Kent, at this preſent by Ecbert in the 827. of Chriſt, who putteth out Alfred and maketh Adelſtane his owne baſe ſonne hertoth of the ſame, ſo that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an hertochie or Dukedome, and ſo continueth for a long time after.

Southſex.
3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes erecteth a kingdom in Southſex, to wit, in the 492. of Chriſt whoſe race ſucceedeth in this order.

Ella.
Cyſſa.
Ceadwin.
Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.

¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may ſee, for it was vnited to that of the weſtſaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Chriſt, according to the vſuall ſupputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had erected the ſame, as is aforeſaid.

Eſtſex.
4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our ſauiour Chriſt beginneth to reigne ouer Eſtſex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romaine obedience.

Erkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredus and Sywardus.
Sigebert ſil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgard.
Offa.
Selredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbcanna.
Sinthredus.

¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the weſtſaxons vnited the kingdome of Eſtſex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt. I cannot as yet find the exact yeares of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am conſtrained to omit them altogither, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill ſuch time as I may come by ſuch monuments as may reſtore the defect.

Weſtſex.
5.

¶ Cerdijc entreth the kingdome of the weſtſaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Chriſt, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine ſeruitude.

Cerdijc *aliàs* Cercic.
Cenrijc.
Ceaulijn.
Kinrijc *aliàs* Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceuwalch.
Sexburgh.
The ſeat void.
Conewinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.
Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrijc.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethebald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelfrid.
Alfrid.
Edward 1.
Adelſtane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Haraldt 2.

¶ The ſaxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the ſame into a perfect monarchie, are now diſpoſſeſſed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

Bernicia.
6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt.

Ida.
Adda.
Glappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrijc.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oſwald.
Oſwy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Oſred.
Kinred.
Oſrijc.
Kilwulf.
Edbert.
Offulfe.
Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alfwold.
Oſred.

Ethelred.

Ethelred.
Oſbald.
Eardulf.
Aldeſwold.
Eandred.
Edelred.
Redwulf.
Edelred againe.
Oſbright.
Ecbert.
Riciſiuus a Dane.
Ecbert againe.
¶ Alfride king of the weſtſaxons ſubdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our ſauiour Chriſt, and 33. after Ida.

Deira.
7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the ſouth Humbers, whoſe kingdome reched from Humber to the Theſe, in the 590. after the incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt our ſauiour.

Ella.
Edwin.
Athelbright.
Edwin againe,
Oſrijc.
Oſwald.
Oſwin.
¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuiſion of the kingdome of the Northumbers betweene the ſons of Ida was of the ſmalleſt continuance, & it was united to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I ſaie in time paſt a member) by Oſwin in the 91. after Ella, when he had moſt traitorouſlie ſlaine his brother Oſwin in the yeer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Chriſt) and conteined that countrie which we now call the biſhoprike.

Eſtanglia.
8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Eſtangles or Oſſings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Chriſt, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.

Offa.
Titellius.
Redwaldus.
Corpenwaldus.
The ſeat void.
Sigebert.
Egricus.
Anna.
Adeler.
Ethelwold.
Adwulf.
Beorne.
Ethelred.
Ethelbert.
¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and uniteth Eſtanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Chriſt, after it had continued in the poſteritie of Offa, by the ſpace of 228. yeers and yet of that ſhort ſpace, it enioyed oncle 35. in libertie, the reſt being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforeſaid.

Mercia.
9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our ſauiour Chriſt, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.

Creodda.
Wibba.
Cherlus.
Penda.
Oſwy.
Weada.
Wulferus.
Ethelred.
Kinred or Kindred.
The ſeat void.
Kilred.
Ethebald.
Beorred.
Offa.
Egferth.
Kinwulf.
Kenelme.
Kilwulf.
Bernulf.
Ludicane.
Willaf.
Ecbert.
Willaf againe.
Bertulf.
Butred.
Kilwulf.
¶ Alfride uniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the weſtſaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was ſone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearſed.

❧ The ſucceſſion of the kings of England from William baſtard, vnto the firſt of Queene ELIZABETH.

William the firſt.
William his ſonne.
Henrie 1.
Stephen.
Henrie 2.
Richard 1.
Iohn.
Henrie 3.
Edward 1. *aliàs* 4.
Edward 2.
Edward 3.
Richard 2.
Henrie 4.
Henrie 5.
Henrie 6.
Edward 4. *aliàs* 7.
Edward 5.
Richard 3.
Henrie 7.
Henrie 8.
Edward 6.
Marie his ſiſter.
Elizabeth.
¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath beene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions ſince the conqueſt few men haue erred that haue vſed any diligence, yet in the times before the ſame, fewer haue gone any thing neere the truth, through great ouerſight & negligence. Their ſeuerall yeres alſo do appeere in my Chronologie inſuing.

Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
Cap. 9.

Samothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt, and ſo long as the poſteritie of Japhet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and publiſhed with his lawes in the ſecond of his arriuall, was exercised among the Britains. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curioſitie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlineſſe) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre exceded the beſt of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the ſuperſtitious rites, which Cham and his ſucceſſours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot eaſilie ſay, but that it ſhould be naturall philoſophie, and aſtrologie (whereby his diſciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vſe of the word Magus (or Magusæus) among the Perſians doth yeeld no vncerteine teſtimonie.

Sarron.

In like maner, it ſhould ſeeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſaid Magus, diligentlie followed the ſteps of his father, and thereto beſide his owne practiſe of teaching, opened ſchooles of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby ſuch as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes ſtill among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his *De magia* doth confeſſe; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth thereunto, that they firſt brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Grækes. Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus the ſon of Sarron (as a ſcholer of his fathers owne teaching) ſeemed to be exquiſit in all things, that perteined vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may ſafelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the ſkill of philoſophie and the quadriuials, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept and preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reſerued verie religiouſlie, and had in great eſtimation of ſuch as ſought vnto them. Druiyus.

How and in what order this prince left the ſtate of religion, I meane touching publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not read: howbeit this is moſt certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaie. For ſuch is mans nature, that it will not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or ſubtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for ſuch as do come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and reſtore the ſame againe vnto the former perfection. Corruptors of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iuſt as an vpright iudge in puniſhing the wicked; that the ſecrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as Cæſar.

the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, ſo ſhall all things likewiſe haue an end, when he ſhall ſee his time. He taught them alſo with more facilitie, how to obſerue the courſes of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall induſtrie, to find out the true quantities of the celeſtiall bodies by geometricall demonſtration, and thereto the compaſſe of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the ſame by philoſophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his ſucceſſors, for vnto the immortalitie of the ſoule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which tranſlation Ouid ſaith;

Morte carent animæ, ſempérque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque recepta.)

The ſecond or ſuccedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deſerued by his merits, whileſt he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is ſaid by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his ſoule thruſt into the bodie of a ſwanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wreſtler, of Therſites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after ſundrie changes into a man, whereof he himſelfe ſaith;

Ipſe ego námq; fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbuſtum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piſcis.

For ſaid they (of whom Pythagoras alſo had, and taught this errour) if the ſoule apperteined at the firſt to a king, and he in this eſtate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it ſhould after his deceaſe be ſhut vp in the bodie of a ſlaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horſe, aſſe, worme, or monſter, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and puniſhment, for a certeine period of time. Beſide this, it ſhould peraduenture ſuſteine often tranſlation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it ſhould finallie be purified, and reſtored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it ſelfe more orderlie than at the firſt: after the next death, it ſhould be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great eſtate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our ſoules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer ſtand ſtill, nor long yeld one repreſentation and figure. For this cauſe alſo, as Diodorus ſaith, they vſed to caſt certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceaſed frends, whereby they might vnderſtand of the eſtate of ſuch as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moſcouits do write vnto S. Nicholas to be a ſpeach-man for him that is buried, in whoſe hand they bind a letter, and ſend him with a new paire of ſhoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they ſhould deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in alſo the worſhipping of manie gods, and their ſeuerall ſacrifices: they honoured likewiſe the oke, whereon the miſſle groweth, and dailie deuiſed infinit other toies (for errour is neuer aſſured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them anie preſcription.

Strabo. li. 4. Socion lib. ſucceſſ. Cicero diuinat. 1.

Plinius. lib. 16. cap. vltimo.

Metempſuchôſis.

Oke honored whereon miſſle did grow, and ſo doo our ſorcerers euen to this daie thinking ſome ſpirits to deale about ſ ſame, for hidden treaſure,

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophraſt, Ariſtotle, and partlie alſo by Cæſar, Mela, Val. Max. *lib.* 2. and other authors of later time, who for the moſt part do confeſſe, that the cheefe ſchole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (ſaith Plinie) was ſo hotlie profeſſed and followed, *vt dediſſe Perſis videri poſſit, lib.* 30. *cap.* 1. and whither the Druiydes alſo themſelues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often reſort to come by the more ſkill, and ſure vnderſtanding of the myſteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, ſo we likewiſe had from them ſome vſe of Logike & Rhetorike, ſuch as it was which our lawiers practiſed in their pleas and common cauſes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reaſon of diſtance betweene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common acceſſe one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whoſe entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more ſecuritie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in ſacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our pleas alſo out of France, Iuuenal is a witneſſe, who ſaith;

Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia.

Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, ſo we had alſo ſome Sophiſtrie from them; but in the worſt ſenſe: for from France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not ſo ſone as often tranſported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of ſo great authoritie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them alſo in the Iles of Wight, Angleſey, and the Orchades, in which they held open ſchooles of their profeſſion, aloofe as it were from the reſort of people, wherein they ſtudied and learned their ſongs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I ſay, remained ſtill in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations alſo (beſide the Galles) would of cuſtome repaire, when ſoeuer any controuerſie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At ſuch times alſo the reſt were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in ſuch caſes they had their ſynods and publike meetings, and therevnto it grew finallie into cuſtome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common ſorts of people liuing in theſe weaſt parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, bicauſe they honoured hir preeſts (the Druiydes) as the Athenians did their Areopagites.

Bardus

Gen. 4.

The B degene

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to ſay the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiyſh religion was frequented, ſuch was the eſtimation of the preeſts of this profeſſion, that there was little or nothing done without their ſkilfull aduiſe, no not in ciuill cauſes, perteining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge alſo of all ſacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Eſtimation of the Druiydes or Druiyds preeſts.

Touching their perſons alſo, they were exempt from all temporall ſeruices, impoſitions, tributes, and exerciſes of the wars: which immunitie cauſed the greater companies of ſcholers to flocke vnto them from all places, to learne their trades. Of theſe likewiſe, ſome remained with them ſeuen, eight, ten, or twelue years, ſtill learning the ſecrets of thoſe vnwritten myſteries by heart, which were to be had amongſt them, and commonlie pronounced in verſe. And this policie, as I take it, they vſed onelie to preſerue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might eaſilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common ſort. It helped alſo not a little in the exercise of their memories, wherevnto bookes are vtter enimies, inſomuch as he that was ſkilfull in the Druiyſh religion, would not let readilie to rehearſe manie hundreds of verſes togither, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole proceſſe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, ſo in ciuill affairs, hiſtoricall treatiſes, and ſetting downe of lawes, they vſed like order and letters almoſt with the Grecians. Whereby it is eaſie to be ſeene, that they reteined this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath

Immunitie of the clergie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the goſpell.

not

Luca

not béene void of letters and learned men, euen ſith it was firſt inhabited. I would adde ſome thing in particular alſo of their apparell, but ſith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I paſſe it ouer, ſignifieng neuertheleſſe, that it was diſtinguiſhed by ſundrie deuiſes from that of the common ſort, and of ſuch eſtimation among the people, that whoſoeuer ware the Druiyſh wood, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen alſo vnto the prælts in Rome, inſomuch that when Voluſius was exiled by the Triumuirate, and ſaw himſelfe in ſuch danger, as that he could not eſcape the hardeſt, he gat the weed of a prælt vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and ſo eſcaped the danger and the furie of his aduerſaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus.

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his ſonne, and fift king of the Celts, ſucceeded not onelie ouer the ſaid kingdome, but alſo in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the ſaid religion, after the afore remembred ſort into verſe, was firſt deuiſed by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no leſſe indued with a ſingular ſkill in the practiſe and ſpeculation of muſicke, of which two many ſuppoſe him to be the verie author and beginner, although vntruſtlie, ſith both poetrie and ſong were in vſe before the flood, as was alſo the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great ſkill in muſicke. But to proceed, as the cheefe eſtimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, ſo did the fame of the Bardes (which were ſo called of this Bardus for their excellent ſkill in muſicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of ſong, which at the firſt conteined onelie the high myſteries and ſecret points of their religion. There was little difference alſo betweene them and the Druiydes, till they ſo farre degenerated from their firſt inſtitution, that they became to be minſtrels at feaſts, drunken meetings, and abhominable ſacrifices of the idols: where they ſang moſt commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puiſſant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vſage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguiſhed among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and Muſicians Barthes, as they doo alſo in Ireland: which Sulpitius alſo writing to Lucane remembreth, where he ſaith that the word Bardus is meere Celtike, and ſignifieth a ſinger. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beſide themſelues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto miſliking vtterlie the rough muſicke of the Bardes, entred ſo farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they aſcribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwiſe the Scythians and ſuch as dwell within the northweaſt part of Europe, did vſe the ſame word in verie honourable maner, calling their beſt poets and heroicall ſingers, Singebardos; their couragious ſingers and capiteins that delited in muſicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame muſician Lambard aboue all other, of whoſe ſkilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurniſhed, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call ſuch men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in ſtead of harps they ſing vnto timbrels made of ſhels ſuch ſonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of anceſtrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be ſmall difference betweene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our ſort, Lucane in his firſt booke writeth thus, among other like ſaiengs well toward the latter end;

Lucan. li. 1.

Vos quóq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque ſiniſtrum
Sacrorum Druidæ, poſitis recepiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſſe Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut ſolis neſcire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ canitis ſi cognita, vitæ
Mors media eſt, certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignauum eſt reditvræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we ſée as in a glaſſe the ſtate of religion, for a time, after the firſt inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in ſuch ſoundneſſe, as the originall authors left it, in good ſooth I cannot ſay, yet this is moſt certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earſt imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samothes with their children taught nothing elſe than ſuch doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his diſciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their ſteps, gaue their minds wholie to ſeduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his poſteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with moſt filthie trades and practiſes; but alſo all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and moſt vngodlie conuerſation. For from Cham and his ſucceſſours proceeded at the firſt all ſorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull luſt, without reſpect of ſex, age, conſanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or ſtreames deriued from a moſt filthie and horrible ſtinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithſtanding all theſe his manifold lewdneſſes, ſuch was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he firſt reigned and taught) that whileſt he liued they alone had him in great eſtimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickedneſſe, calling him Chemeſenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but alſo after his death reputed him for a god, calling the higheſt of the ſeuen planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Oſyris his ſonne, whom they likewiſe honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

What doctrine Cham and his diſciples taught.

Chemeſenua.

Chem Min.

Cham made a god.

Certes it was a cuſtome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vſe almoſt in euerie place in proceſſe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to aſcribe ſome forme or other of the ſtars vnto his perſon, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their tranſlation in heauen, ſo that he which had any ſtarre or forme of ſtarres dedicated vnto him, was properlie ſaid to haue a ſeat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romiſh ſaints, (although the one was written in the celeſtiall or immateriall orbes, the other in ſheeps ſkins, and verie brickle paper) but yet ſo eſteemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermoſt aduentures, thereby to win ſuch fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue ſuch place in heauen, among the ſhining ſtarres. Howbeit, euerie of thoſe that were called gods, could not obteine that benefit, for then ſhould there not haue béene ſtars enow in heauen to haue ſerued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a ſecond calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. *Semones dici voluerunt* (ſaith Fulgentius *In vocibus antiquis*) *quos cœlo nec dignos aſcriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; ſicut Priapus Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nes terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem*, as alſo a third place that is to ſay an earth, where thoſe gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Tranſlation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Cyril. aduerſus Iul. lib. 6. ſect. 8.

officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the ſecond or firſt companie, which was a follie diuiſion.

Thus we ſee in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the ſtarres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the firſt, which follies in proceſſe of time came alſo into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as ſhall appeare hereafter. And here ſith I haue alreadie ſomewhat digreſſed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and ſhew forth the originall vſe of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor ſhall ſee a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point alſo of the rot of all the confuſion that is to be found among the ancient hiſtories. Certes it was vſed for a few yéeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeare after the floud) that the beginners of ſuch kingdoms as were then erected ſhould be called Saturni, whereby it came to paſſe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and ſo forth other of ſundrie other countries. Their eldeſt ſonnes alſo that ſucceded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or ſonnes ſonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Which were properlie called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

In like ſort they had ſuch another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himſelfe permitting the ſame vnto them for a time) as before the floud, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the ſoner furniſhed with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The ſiſter therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Iſis, or Io. Beyond theſe alſo there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to deriue the petigree of anie prince, or potentate, but ſuppoſed his dutie to be ſufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto ſome Saturne or other, wherat he might ceaſe, and ſhut vp all his trauell. They had likewiſe this opinion grounded amongſt them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themſelues did meane, ſith theſe denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne*, Pater Deorum, and ſuch like, were onelie aſcribed vnto Noah: as * Terra, (*the Earth*) Veſta, Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we ſée, holy Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldeſt god, or firſt prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therfore ſith theſe names were diſperſed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is ſuch confuſion in ancient hiſtories, and the doings of one of them ſo mixed with thoſe of another, that it is now impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them in ſunder. This haue I ſpoken, to the end that all men may ſee what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the poſteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie groſſe idolatrie or ſuperſtition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the ſtarres, and erection of huge images, beſide ſorcerie, witchcraft, and ſuch like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the autors. Neither were theſe errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added ſuch deuiſes vnto the ſame, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence alſo he brought Helenus the ſonne of Priamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his prieſt and biſhop thorough out the new conqueſt, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Iſis, Io, and Iuno all one.

Cœlum or Cœlus. Ogyges. Sol. Pater deorum. * Tydea. Veſta. Terra. Luna. Aretia. Deorum mater.

From whence Brute did learne his religion.

After Brute, idolatrie and ſuperſtition ſtill increaſed more and more among vs, inſomuch that beſide the Druiyſh and Bardike ceremonies, and thoſe alſo that came in with Albion and Brute himſelfe: our countriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to paſſe that in the ſtead of the onelie and immortall God (of whome Samothes and his poſteritie did preach in times paſt) now they honored the ſaid Samothes himſelfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: alſo Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houſes, with their limits and bounds (as the papiſts did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) becauſe fortitude and wiſedome are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they aſcribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whoſe names I now remember not. In lieu more- Mela. Diodorus. Strab. 4. Plin. Cæſar. 5. ouer of ſheepe and oxen, they offred mankind alſo vnto ſome of them, killing their offendors, priſoners, and oft ſuch ſtrangers as came from farre vnto them, by ſhutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge images made of wicker, réed, haie, or other light matter: and then ſetting all on fire togither, they not onelie conſumed the miſerable creatures to aſhes (ſometimes adding other beaſts vnto them) but alſo reputed it to be the moſt acceptable ſacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible cuſtome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to moſt nations, not onlie to conſume their ſtrangers, captiues, &c; but alſo their owne children with fire, in ſuch maner of ſacrifice: beſide the text of the Bible, the prophane hiſtories do generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of cuſtome or of particular neceſſitie, of which later Virgil ſaith; Dis or Samothes made a god.

Sanguine placaſtis ventos & virgine cæſa, &c.

As Silius doth of the firſt, where he telleth of the vſuall maner of the Carthaginenſes, ſaieng after this maner;

Prima reducebat miſerandos annua caſus, &c.

But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpoſe than the reherſall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like ſort were builded vnto them, ſo that in the time of Lucius, when the light of ſaluation began ſtronglie to ſhine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the goſpell, the chriſtians diſcouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beſide Ioſephus. Philip. Freculphus To. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40. Iſidorus lib. de vita & obit. dict. patrum. W. Malm. de antiq. Glaſconici monaſt. Ptol. Lucenſis. thoſe Archflamines, whoſe preeſts were then as our Archbiſhops are now, in that they had ſuperior charge of all the reſt, the other being reputed as inferiours, and ſubiect to their iuriſdiction in caſes of religion, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies.

Of the quantities of their idols I ſpeake not, ſith it is inough to ſaie, that they were monſtrous, and that each nation contended which ſhould honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iuſt heigth of the god or goddeſſe whom they did repreſent. Apollo Capitolinus that ſtood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the leaſt; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the ſonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whoſe toe few men could fadam;) Tuſcanus Apollo that ſtood in the libraris of the temple of Auguſtus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France paſſed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years ſpace, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, ſo without meaſure were they alſo in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greateſt idoll, and lay moſt coſt thereon. Monſtrous proportions of idols.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of ſuch as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs ſee the ſucceſſe of the goſpell, after the death and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt our ſauiour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, wherevpon ſome repoſe great aſſurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apoſtle ſhould preach the word of ſaluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie, Theodoret. Sophronius.

Claudia Ruffina & Britiſh ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

Li. 11. Ep. 54.

uitie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Christ. But sith I cannot verifie the same by the woords of Theodoret, to be spoken more of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities, whereof we haue more certeintie. First of all therfore let vs see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more assurance. Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

Quid sacer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,
Arctos, meridies, hic plenus vesper & ortus,
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quásq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Glessenburg or Glastenburie, an epitaph affirmed thereunto is prose sufficient. Howbeit, sith these things are not of competent force to persuade all men, I will adde in few, what I haue read elsewhere of his arriuall here. First of all therefore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares) seuered themselues in sunder, to make the better shift for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than by their flight, the gospell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did set forth the gospell amongst them. Of the coming of Zelotes you may read more in the second booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner: *Operepretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galileæ ortum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, summámq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est hic referre, accepit enim is cœlitùs adueniente spiritu sancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandémque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insuláque Britannicas perfert.* And this is the effect in a litle rome, of that which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside these two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this sixtie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptised and remained, either in Rome, or else-where. And of this sort I suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie seene in the Greeke and Latine tongs, but also with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuersation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his second epistle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moreouer Martial speaketh, in reioising that his poesies were read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who vsed to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams and send them to hir frends for tokens, saieng after this maner, as himselfe doth set it downe:

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he addeth these woords:

Claudia cœruleis ciim sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam crederet æs
Italides possint, Atthides esse suam.
Dij bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quot sperat, generos, quótque puella nurus.
Sic placeat superis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine scholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bishop or elder ouer the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find, but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but *Episcopus Ebroicensis*, for which such as perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may some write *Eboracensis*, as certeinlie mine author out of whom I allege this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therefore the Chronologie is it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of Yorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other also imbraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enimies of the word became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it set forth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decree, that the Druiysh religion should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose surname is now perished) tooke aduise of his councell what was best to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, bicause he knew it * impossible for man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & subiects vtter enimies to the Romane deuotiõ (for that they made so many gods as they listed, & some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and therunto being pricked forwards by such christians as were conuersant about him, to chose the seruice of the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the slauish seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolued with himselfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the gospell of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and greatest philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiection to his sea, which then was not required, but to say with such as were picked in mind, Acts. 2. verse. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres?* I meane that they were sent to be perfectlie instructed, and with farther commission, to make earnest request vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and trauell, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which conteined his kingdome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren togither, they agreed to ordeine, euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall praier vnto God and earnest supplication for the good successe of these men, they sent them home againe with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their custo-

Iosephus. Philip. Freculphus To. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40. *Isidorus lib. de vita & obit. dist. patrum. W. Malmes. de antiq. Glasconiæ monast.*

Claudia Rufina a British ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

Li. 11. Epig. 54.

Lib. 10. cap. 17. Taurinus.

* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheists who say, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and authoritie vpon earth, and let God take heauen and his religion to himselfe to doo withall what he listeth.

Lucius openeth his eares to good counsell, as one desirous to serue God & not prefer the world.

The purpose of Lucius opened vnto the congregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

cuſtodie.

The firſt of theſe was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder thoſe godlie paſtours and their diſciples, whom Philip ſent ouer at the firſt for the conuerſion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto ſurnamed Belga, bicauſe he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp alſo in one ſchole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of ſuch grauitie and godlineſſe, that Eleutherus ſuppoſed none more worthie to ſupport this charge, than they: after whoſe comming home alſo, it was not long yer Lucius and all his houſhold with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptiſed, beſide infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie reſorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganiſme.

A zealous prince maketh feruent ſubiects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe of theſe learned doctours, and ſuppoſing with himſelfe, that they two onlie could not ſuffice to ſupport ſo great a charge as ſhould concerne the conuerſion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare inſuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerſe other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. Theſe men therefore after their comming hither, conſulted with the other, and forthwith wholie conſented to make a diuiſion of this Iland amongſt themſelues, appointing what parcell each preacher ſhould take, that with the more profit and eaſe of the people, and ſomewhat leſſe trauell alſo for themſelues, the doctrine of the Goſpell might be preached and receiued. In this diſtribution, they ordeined that there ſhould be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as cheefe elder and biſhop, for that preſent time, worthilie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the firſt comming of the Saxons; and alſo Guthelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid againſt the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus alſo Eluanus ſucceeded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the firſt librarie neere vnto the biſhops palace. The ſaid Lucius alſo placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodoſius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuer Uſke, builded ſometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgantia, but now Cheſter (in which three cities there had before time beene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their ſtæds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent acceſſe vnto thoſe places, and therewithall vnderſtand for certeintie, whither to reſort for reſolution, if after their conuerſion they ſhould happen to doubt of any thing. In like ſort alſo the reſt of the idoll-temples ſtanding in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for chriſtian congregations to aſſemble in, as our writers do remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my natiue citie to ſpeake a little: for although it may and doth ſeeme impertinent to my purpoſe, yet it ſhall not be much, and therefore I will ſone make an end. There is a controuerſie moued among our hiſtoriographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London ſtood at Weſtminſter, or in Cornehill. For there is ſome cauſe, why the metropolitane church ſhould be thought to ſtand where S. Peters now doth, by the ſpace of 400. od yéeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Auſtine the monke, if a man ſhould leane to one ſide without anie conference of the aſſeuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh ſome ſcruple, for beſide that S. Peters church ſtood in the eaſt end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the weſt, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to ſpeake of to one ſtreet) may eaſilie be miſtaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the weſt end of the citie by that name, where Weſtminſter now ſtandeth, bicauſe of the wildneſſe and buſhineſſe of the ſoile; ſo I do not read of anie ſtréete in London called Cornehill before the conqueſt of the Normans. Wherfore I hold with them, which make Weſtminſter to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeares, as Malmesburie ſaith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Auguſtine. Read alſo his appendix *in lib. 4. Pontif.* where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Auguſtine in the 596. of Chriſt, which is a manifeſt accompt, though ſome copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifeſt corruption and error.

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir aliàs Niger.

3. Cheefe Biſhops in Britaine.

Theonus. Theodoſius London. Yorke. Caerlheon.

Thus became Britaine the firſt prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the goſpell was freelie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with greedineſſe, yet was not the ſucceſſe thereof either ſo vniuerſall, that all men beléeued at the firſt; the ſecuritie ſo great, as that no perſecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his deceaſe; or the proceeding of the king ſo ſeuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forſake and relinquiſh his paganiſme: but onelie this freedome was enioied, that who ſo would become a chriſtian in his time might without feare of his lawes profeſſe the Goſpell, in whoſe teſtimonie, if néed had béene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue ſhed alſo his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being conſtant aboue the common ſort of women, refuſed not after his deceaſe by fire, to yeld hir ſelfe to death, as a ſweet ſmelling ſacrifice in the noſtrels of the Lord, beyond the ſea in France.

Britaine the firſt prouince that receiued the Goſpell generallie.

Pſal. 24.

Pſal. 45.

Pſal. 71.

Here wanteth.

Emerita neece vnto Lucius.

The faith of Chriſt being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Chriſt, and Faganus and Dinaw with the reſt ſent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to paſſe in the third yeare of the Goſpell receiued, that Lucius did ſend againe to Eleutherus the biſhop, requiring that he might haue ſome breefe epitome of the order of diſcipline then vſed in the church. For he well conſidered, that as it auaileth little to plant a coſtlie vineyard, except it afterward be cheriſhed, kept in good order, and ſuch things as annoie, dailie remoued from the ſame: ſo after baptiſme and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of chriſtians, except we do walke in the ſpirit, and haue ſuch things as offend apparentlie, corrected by ſeuere diſcipline. For otherwiſe it will come to paſſe, that the weedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will ſo quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good ſéed ſowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickedneſſe with déeper ſecuritie than before, or elſe to become meere Atheiſts, which is a great deale worſe.

Lucius ſendeth againe to Rome.

Pſal. 55.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

For this cauſe therefore did Lucius ſend to Rome, the ſecond time, for a copie of ſuch politike orders as were then vſed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus conſidering with himſelfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore thoſe conſtitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and ſéeing alſo that beſide the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be ſo perfect in all points, but that as time ſerueth, they will require alteration: he thought it beſt not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Chriſt and his apoſtles had already ſet downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his meſſengers, he ſent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the conſulſhips of Commodus

The wiſedome of Eleutherus.

and

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

and Vespronius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the scriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole * kingdome, if he would submit himselfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfullie translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doo deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the historie of our nation.

* Though most princes cannot here on that title.

Epistle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may excuse refuse, but those of God can neuer be found fault with all. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the rotall prophet saith; Psal.24. The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Psal.45. Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saieng of the same prophet; Psal.71. Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The gospell saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to chearish and mainteine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would doo them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of such as be their enimies. * Woo vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise vp earlie to banket and féed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & vnskedfastnesse, of whom the prophet saith; Psal.55. The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue forth halfe their daies. * By féeding I vnderstand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saieng of Salomon the king; Wisedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shalbe a king whilest you rule well, but if you doo otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghost, &c.

Here wanteth.

Hitherto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie prætie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordeined to saluation, increased dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, bicause of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall sée (if they list to looke) how far they haue béene deceiued.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the souldiors) Constantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Diocletian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betweene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a traie or by some other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie sorow, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peraduenture neuer regard of hell. Finallie he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of praier wherein to serue the liuing God, which after sundrie alterations came in processe of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

Chlorus had three sons, & a daughter by Helena.

Lucion becommeth a christian.

Lucion a bishop.

In this also he and diuers other of his frends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euen by this short narration it is now easie to sée, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Hereunto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and néere vnto the citie Augusta conuerted the Curienses vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be séene at Glocester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I said, doo yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may resort vnto Boudet in his first booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitane, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, néere vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it apéereth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Necham in his most excellent treatise *De sapientia diuina*, setteth downe this Distichon:

Hermannus Schedelius. Bruschius cap.3.

Festum Lucionis. John Bouchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius esse
Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinensis. But then will not the history agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and

Vinde-

Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other do make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increaſed by ſmall riuelets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and ſtinking gutters, that deſcend into the ſame: ſo the puritie of the goſpell, preached here in Britaine, in proceſſe of time became firſt of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and moſt execrable hereſie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the eaſterlie regions of the world, was there at the laſt made an elder or biſhop, by ſome of the monkes, vnto whoſe profeſſion he had not long before wholie addicted himſelfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holineſſe than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an houſe of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but alſo ſowed the peſtiferous ſeed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Iland, whereby he ſeduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Jeſus Chriſt his ſonne. By this meanes therefore he brought aſſurance of ſaluation into queſtion, and taught all ſuch as had a diligent reſpect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the ſame, whereas to ſuch as regard this latter, there can be no quietneſſe of mind, but alwaies an vnſtedfaſt opinion of themſelues, whereby they cannot diſcerne, neither by proſperitie nor aduerſitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheleſs it behoueth the godlie to repoſe their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Jeſu Chriſt, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his ſon, to the end that we may at the laſt find the teſtimonie of his ſpirit working with ours, that we are his choſen children, whereby commeth peace of conſcience to ſuch as do beleeue.

Hereſie and monaſticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Thus we ſee how new deuiſes or orders of religion and hereſie came in together. I could ſhew alſo what Comets, and ſtrange ſignes appeared in Britaine, much about the ſame time, the like of which with diuers other haue been perceiued alſo from time to time, ſithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I paſſe them ouer, onelie for that I would not ſeeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the reherſall of anie new inconueniences.

To proceed therefore with my purpoſe, after theſe there followed in like ſort ſundrie other kinds of monaſticall life, as Anachorites, Heremits, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profeſſion was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Auguſtine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine ſect, framed after the order of the houſe which Benedict ſurnamed Nurſinus did firſt erect in *Monte Caſſino*, about the 524. of Chriſt, & was finallie ſo well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I ſuppoſe) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In proceſſe of time how Benedict Biſcop alſo our countrieman reſtored the ſaid Benedictine profeſſion greatlie decaied in England, our hiſtories are verie plentifull, which Biſcop went oft into Italie, and at one time for a ſpeciall confirmation of his two monaſteries which he had builded at other mens coſts vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So faſt alſo did theſe and other like humane deuiſes proſper after his time, that at their ſuppreſſion in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houſes at the leaſt, of which 373. might diſpend 200. li. by the yeere at the leaſt, as appeareth by the record of their ſuppreſſion, which alſo noteth the totall ſumme of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men conteined in the ſame, to be 10000. which would make a prettie armie, whereunto if you adde thoſe 45. of late ſtanding in Scotland, you ſhall ſone ſee what numbers of theſe dens of ſpirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of ſaincts alſo haue been hatched in them I could eaſilie remember, and beſide thoſe 160. which Capgraue ſetteth down, & other likewiſe remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Exceſter, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furniſh vp a calendar, though the yere were twiſe as long.

Anachorites. Heremites. Cyrillines. Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houſes in England at their diſſolution.

As touching Pelagius the firſt heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notablie knowne) and parent of Monachiſme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of ſingular learning, deepe iudgement, and ſuch a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and ſtrictneſſe of life, no ſmall peece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wiſedome of the fleſh, without the feare and true knowledge of God? and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and ſound iudgement? Wherefore euen of this man, we may ſee it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were meaſured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the ſcriptures or guidance of the ſpirit; Better it is ſaith he, to heare a rude and ſimple idiot preach the truth, without aparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to ſet forth error, with great ſhew of learning, and boaſt of filed vtterance. Gerſon in like ſort hath ſaid fullie almuch. Theſe follies of Pelagius were blaſed abroad about the 400. of Chriſt, and from thencefoorth how his number of monkes increaſed on the one ſide, and his doctrine on the other, there is almoſt no reader that is vnſkilfull and ignorant.

Auguſtin the monk

Roger Bakon his ſaieng of the preachers of his time who were the beſt lawyers and the worſt Diuines.

Auguſti

This alſo is certeine, that within the ſpace of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered togither in his houſe, whoſe trades notwithſtanding the errors of their founder, (who taught ſuch an eſtimation of merits and bodilie exerciſe (as Paule calleth it) that therby he ſought not onlie to impugne, but alſo preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occaſion of the erection of his houſe) were yet farre better and more godlie than all thoſe religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the profeſſours liued to themſelues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of thoſe parts, that are beneath the bellie. For theſe laboured continuallie for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Serapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whome he himſelfe was Abbat) and likewiſe for the better maintenance of ſuch learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues alſo were correſpondent to their doctrine, ſo that herein onelie they ſeemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their ſuccor & defenſe, but were ſuch a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raiſed by the roots.

More than 2100. monkes in the College or Abbaie of Bangor in whoſe territories the pariſh of Dauerton ſtandeth.

Monks Cantu rie pla

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Chriſt in Britaine, ſo the liuing God hath had a ſeaſon alſo to purge and cleanſe the ſame, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, ſith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and ſuch like leaning for the moſt part vnto the monaſticall trades, did not ſo much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as maintaine the ſame, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke ſeemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, ſo Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus alſo praied, as Palladius vpheld the ſtrictneſſe of life, in monaſticall profeſſion to the vttermoſt of his power. Wherefore God wrought this purgation of his houſe at the firſt, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous ſcholemaiſters of errour out of this life:

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Seuerus Sulpitius in vita Patricij.

Meate Pictes Caled niens

hoping

hoping that by ſuch meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in proceſſe of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our countriemen returned to their former diſorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vnhonored, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beaſtlie image (*Cumpene intenſo*, and as if he had bene circumciſed) whome they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in manner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie ſhame vnto the moſt ancient and ſober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could alſo take no place, and the ſheepe of his paſture would receiue no wholeſome fodder, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in ſo much that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, whereby it was to be ſeene, how they fell from the truth into hereſie, and from one hereſie ſtill into another, till at the laſt they were drowned altogither in the pits of error digged vp by Antichriſt, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithſtanding to their followers ſeemed to be moſt ſound doctrine, and ciſterns of liuing water to ſuch as imbraced the ſame.

Auguſtine the monke.

Auguſtine.

This Auguſtine, after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in deed from paganiſme, but as the prouerbe ſaith, bringing them out of Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them with no leſſe hurtfull ſuperſtition, than they did know before: for beſide the onelie name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I ſaie) made an exchange from groſſe to ſubtill treacherie, from open to ſecret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for their ſoules health, and the ſtabliſhment of his monachiſme, of which kind of profeſſion, the holie ſcriptures of God can in no wiſe like or allow. But what cared he? ſith he got the great fiſh for which he did caſt his hooke, and ſo great was the fiſh that he caught in deed, that within the ſpace of 1000. yeares, and leſſe, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the beſt ſoile of the Iland, which was wholie beſtowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched ſince his time, as may hereafter appeere in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c.

Monks of Canturburie plagued.

In the meane ſeaſon what ſucceſſe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were ſpoiled by enimies, their houſes burned by caſualtie, and brethren conſumed with peſtilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruaſe, and the reſt of their owne hiſtoriographers. And ſo ſore did the peſtilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whoſe daies the præſts, clerks and monkes ſang their ſeruice togither in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed againſt that malignant generation. It came alſo to paſſe at the laſt, that men vſed to praie for helpe at the ſaid Auguſtines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer ſaint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelſtane was one, whome Elnothus the abbat ſtaied ſo long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his ſoldiours waiting for his comming, and ſuppoſing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an aſſault and ſet fire vpon the houſe.

Meates. Picts. Caledoniens.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, in the ſouth part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scotiſh ſea, receiued alſo the faith, by preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great ſucceſſe and increaſe of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this proſperous attempt paſſed all mens expectation, for that theſe nations were in thoſe daies reputed wild, ſauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie then well-minded people (as the wild Iriſh are in my time) and ſuch were they (to ſaie the truth) in deed, as neither the ſugred courteſie, nor ſharpe ſwords of the Romans could mollifie or reſtraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cauſe alſo in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie caſt them off as an vnprofitable, brutiſh, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

Scotland conuerted to the faith of Chriſt.

This conuerſion of the north parts fell out in the firſt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after the death of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion continued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of their paſtors and biſhops (after the vſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iland) till the Romane ſhepheard ſought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countriemen, whereby in the end he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done alreadie in England: and in ſtéed of the ſame did furniſh it vp with thoſe of his pontificall ſee, although there was great contention, and no leſſe bloodſhed made amongſt them, before it could be brought to paſſe, as by the hiſtories of both nations yet extant may be ſeene.

Paladius.

In the time of Cœleſtine biſhop of Rome, who ſate in the 423. of Chriſt, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in ſpiritu*) and ſometime diſciple to Iohn 24. biſhop of Jeruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to ſuppreſſe the Pelagian hereſie, which not a little moleſted the orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſaid opinion there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotland, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but after he had trauelled ſomwhat in confutation of the Pelagians in thoſe parts, he ſhould eaſilie perſuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue done before hand in the ſouth. But as Faſtidius Priſcus archbiſhop of London, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here; ſo did the Scotiſh prelates withſtand him there alſo in this behalfe: howbeit, bicauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleaſant perſuaſion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his harpe, and Hercules ſuch as heard him by his tong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their ſucceſſors alſo from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather alſo for that he came from Rome) to take him for their cheefe apoſtle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of their hiſtorie doth verie well confirme.

The firſt attempt of the biſhop of Rome to bring Scotland vnder his obedience.

Faſtidius biſhop of London.

Paladius reckompted for the apoſtle of the Scots.

Thus we ſee what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our countrie. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was ouerſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it dailie ware worſe & worſe, till that it pleaſed God to reſtore the preaching of his goſpell in our daies, whereby the man of ſinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romiſh ſathan, and his popiſh adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermoſt of their power, yeelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghoſt. But ſuch is their peruerſe ignorance (notwithſtanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Theſſ. 2. calling him (as I ſaid) the man of ſinne, and ſaieng that he ſitteth as God in the temple of God, ſhewing

himſelfe in his chalenge of power, as if he were God, vnder pretenſe of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather ſhut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the ſcriptures, becauſe they will not be drawne out of his ſnares and bondage.

Of the manifold conuerſions and alterations of the eſtate of the common-wealth of Britaine, ſithens the time of Samothes.

THere is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they ſuffer ſome notable alteration. And as in the aforeſaid ſeaſon there is ſet a time of increaſe and decaie, ſo we find that before the execution of Gods purpoſe doth come to paſſe, in changing the eſtate of things, ſundrie tokens are ſent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and viſit our offenſes. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his firſt booke *De oſtentis* intreating of the ſame argument, telleth of a ſtrange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any ſuch plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Perſians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; alſo of the beard that ſuddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetelle, ſo often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. *Nam* (ſaith he) *deſcriptas eſſe diuinitus ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum ſtatus duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm exiſteret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs numini cordi eſſent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, &c. Hæc tandiu ſupra nos conſpecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur*, &c. Plato referreth ſuch changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that reſteth hidden in ſundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do conſiſt. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & meaſure, & that after an incomprehenſible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuertheleſſe, he appointed not theſe three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we muſt not aſcribe theſe changes to the force of number with Plato, much leſſe then vnto deſtinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called deſtinie as S. Auguſtine ſaith, for of other deſtinie it is impietie to dreame. Ariſtotle aſcribing all euents vnto manifeſt cauſes precedent, doth ſcoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in ſundrie cauſes of the alteration of the ſtate of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppreſſion, ambition, treaſon, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great neceſſitie and miſerie in manie. But whatſoeuer Ariſtotle geſſeth at theſe things by humane reaſon as at the firſt cauſes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as ſinne, which being ſuffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iuſtice of the high God, the cheefe cauſe of all, who foreſeeing the wickednelle of ſuch as dwell on earth, doth conſtitute ſuch a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as beſt ſtandeth with the execution of his purpoſe, and correction of our errors. The cauſes therefore that Ariſtotle doth deliuer, are nothing elſe but the meanes which God vſeth to bring his purpoſes to paſſe; and yet they deſerue the name of cauſes, in that they preceed thoſe effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than ſecondarie or third cauſes no man can iuſtlie call them. Bodinus in his hiſtoricall method, cap. 6. making a large diſcourſe of the conuerſions of commonwealths, doth ſeeme at the firſt to denie the force of number, but after a while he marueileth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any diſcourſe of the excellencie of ſuch numbers as apperteine to the eſtate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he ſheweth himſelfe vpon the ſudden to alter his iudgement, ſo that he ſetteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, three vnto women, and ſeauen and nine vnto men, which (ſaith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura poteſtatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their firſt erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for ſickenelle, health, change of habitation, wealth, and loſſe, &c: and for the confirmation of the ſame, he ſetteth downe ſundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuiſion of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforeſaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather reſtoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we chriſtians, in reſpecting of cauſes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cauſe of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto theſe points in any wiſe as cauſes: for we know and confeſſe that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaſeth him. Neuertheleſſe, I hope we may without offenſe examine how theſe aſſertions hold, ſo long as we vſe them rather as *Indices* than *Cauſas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practiſe at this preſent the example of Bodinus, firſt in the alterations of our ciuill eſtate paſſed; and ſecondlie, of the like in caſes of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the firſt comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby ſomewhat to ſatiſfie my ſelfe, and recreate the readers; but ſtill proteſting in the meane ſeaſon that I vtterlie denie them to be any cauſes, or of themſelues to worke any effect at all in theſe things, as Bodinus would ſeeme to vphold. As for thoſe of other countries, I referre you to Ariſtotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther reſolued, if you be deſirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpoſe; Firſt becauſe the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it ſhall not be amiſſe to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, ſo that if you diuide the ſame by nine, you ſhall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the ſame number. Secondlie, for ſo much as the confuſion of tongs was the originall cauſe of the diſperſion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it ſhall not be amiſſe alſo to examine the ſame. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the ſaid 133. by ſeauen, you ſhall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence alſo vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the ſecond of his arriuall in this land, we find by exact ſupputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or ſeauen ſheweth ſuch a concluſion as maketh much for this purpoſe. Doubtleſſe I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, ſith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this preſent the circumſtances hold not, ſith he diſpoſſeſſed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, ſo that he arriued here in the 335. or 248. ſeptenarie, which alſo concurreth with the 590. after the flood. In like ſort the regiment of Albion continued but ſeauen yeares, and then was the ſouereingtie of this Ile reſtored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our eſtate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whoſe time and death of Albion there paſſed full 601. yeares (for he ſpent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) ſo that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you ſhall haue 86. ſeptenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his poſteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine,

Fatal numbers.

Fatal numbers.

taine,are 630. yeares,or 70. nouenaries,than the which where ſhall a man find a more preciſe period after this method or preſcription,for manie and diuers conſiderations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewiſe 49. yeares, or ſeauen ſeptenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his ſubiection,and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled againſt Beline his brother, whereupon inſued cruell bloodſhed betweene them. So that here you haue 14. ſeptenaries, as you haue from thoſe warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæſar into this Iland(whereat our ſeruitude and miſerable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance)48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man ſhould imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæſar we haue 54. or fiue nouenaries to Chriſt, whoſe death and paſſion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and ſure faith take hold of the ſame,and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Chriſt to our countrie deliuered from the Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains choſe them a king,and betoke themſelues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts,which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the ſaid Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. ſeptenarie after Chriſt)did ſend for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies,for our aid and ſuccour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conqueſt of the whole Ile,and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we ſee therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finiſhed in the tenth nouenarie, the ſequele is too too plaine. In like ſort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons,the Danes entred,who miſerablie afflicted this Ile by the ſpace of 182. yeares or 26. ſeptenaries, which being expired, they eſtabliſhed themſelues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time laſting not long,the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare,and thus you ſee how theſe numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conqueſt. The like alſo we find of the continuance of the Normans or ſucceſſion of the Conquerour,which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguiſhed in Stephen, and that of the Saxons reſtored in Henrie the ſecond,although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries,which is a ſmall thing,ſith vpon diuers occaſions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or prorogued, as in direction and progreſſion aſtronomicall is often times perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Iohns daies, whereupon inſued the reſignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope,are eight ſeptenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the depoſition of Richard. 2. and vſurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. ſeptenaries. From hence to the conſpiracie made againſt Edward. 2. after which he was depoſed & murdered are 117. yeares,or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betweene the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter (wherein foure ſcore and od perſons of the blod rotall were ſlaine and made awaie firſt and laſt, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Glocester, whoſe murther ſeemed to make free paſſage to the ſaid broile)are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the tranſlation of the crowne from the houſe of Lancaſter to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two ſeptenaries, and laſt of all to the vnion of the ſaid houſes in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of ſeuen multiplied in it ſelfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part ſuffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Chriſt to the faith firſt preached in Britaine(by Ioſephus ab Aramathia, and Simon Zelotes)as ſome write 70. yeares or 10. ſeptenaries. Whence alſo to the baptiſme of Lucius,and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuerſion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After theſe the Saxons entred and changed the ſtate of religion for the moſt part into paganiſme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had beene baptiſed, which is 39. ſeptenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. ſeptenarie, Auguſtine came,who brought in poperie,which increaſed and continued till Wicklif with more boldneſſe than anie other began to preach the goſpell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Auguſtine,and yeeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulſion of the pope 175 yeares,or 25. ſeptenaries,thence to the receiuing of the pope and popiſh doctrine 21. yeares or 3. ſeptenaries, whereunto I would ad the time of reſtoring the goſpell by Queene Elizabeth,were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden myſterie or thing conteined in theſe numbers,yet the ſame extendeth not vnto the diuine diſpoſition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor meaſure ſhall be able to aſpire.

Henrie.8.

Marie.

Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine. Cap. 10.

THere are neere vnto, or not verie farre from the coaſts of Britaine many faire Ilands,whereof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) ſeeme to be the cheefe. But of the reſt, ſome are much larger or leſſe than other,diuers in like ſort enuironed continuallie with the ſalt ſea (whereof I purpoſe onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the flood)and other finallie be clipped partlie by the freſh and partlie by the ſalt water, or by the freſh alone, whereof I may ſpeake afterward.

Of theſe ſalt Ilands (for ſo I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) ſome are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and paſture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, becauſe they are onelie repleniſhed with conies, and thoſe of ſundrie colours(cheriſhed of purpoſe by the owners, for their ſkins or carcaſes in their prouiſion of houſehold) without either man or woman otherwiſe inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greateſt number of theſe Ilands haue townes and pariſh-churches, within their ſeuerall precincts, ſome mo, ſome leſſe: and beſide all this,are ſo inriched with commodities,that they haue pleaſant hauens, freſh ſprings, great ſtore of fiſh, and plentie of cattell, wherby the inhabitants do reape no ſmall aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, becauſe mine informations are not ſo fullie ſet downe,as the promiſes of some on the one ſide, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit,firſt of all that there are certeine which lie neere togither, as it were by heapes and cluſters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of theſe alſo thoſe called the Neſiadæ, Inſulæ Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ,now the Sorlings,and Iles of Silley, lieng beyond Cornwall are one,and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and ſeauen (each of them bearing graſſe) beſides ſhelfes and ſhallowes. In like ſort the companie of the Hebrides in old time ſubiect vnto Ireland are another, which are ſaid to be 43. ſituat vpon the weſt ſide of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland,and of which there are ſome that repute Angleſei,

Neſiadæ. Inſulæ Scylurum. Sileuſtræ. Syllanæ. Sorlingæ. Sylley. Hebrides. Hebudes. Meuaniæ. Orchades.

Mona Cæſaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluſter or bunch conſiſteth of thoſe that are called the Orchades, and theſe lie vpon the northweſt point of Scotland, being 31. *alias* 28. in number, as for the reſt they lie ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courſes ſhall come about. There are alſo the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther diſtant from them, of which Iohn Frobuſer I doubt not touched vpon ſome in his voiage to *Meta Incognita:* but for ſomuch as I muſt ſpeake of the Shetlands hereafter, I do not meane to ſpend anie time about them as yet.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpoſe, *De inſulis Britanniæ*, as Cæſar doth confeſſe. The like alſo may be ſeene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that ſhould ſet forth an exact treatiſe of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine deſert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to ſundrie gods and goddeſſes, but of one eſpeciallie, where Briareus ſhould hold Saturne and manie other ſpirits faſt bound with the chaines of an heauie ſléepe, as he heard, of which ſome die now and then, by meane whereof the aire becommeth maruellouſlie troubled, &c: as you may ſée in Plutarch *De ceſſatione oraculorum, &c.* But ſith thoſe bookes are now periſhed, and the moſt of the ſaid Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknowen, euen to our owne ſelues (for who is able in our time to ſay where is Glota, Hiuerion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æſarea, Barſa, Iſandium, Icdelis, Xantiſma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whoſe names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I ſaie their places not ſo much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to ſet downe ſo manie of them with their commodities, as I do either know by Leland, or am otherwiſe inſtructed of by ſuch as are of credit. Herein alſo I will touch at large thoſe that are moſt famous, and briefflie paſſe ouer ſuch as are obſcure and vnknowen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined courſe (for I neuer ſailed it) by the ſouth part of the Iland into the weſt. From thence in like ſort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide into the fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I will ſtrike ſaile, and ſafelie be ſet a ſhore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener béene ſet a ground, eſpeciallie on the Scotiſh ſide.

In beginning therefore, with ſuch as lie in the mouth of the aforeſaid riuer, I muſt néeds paſſe by the How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compaſſe of my deſcription at this time, but almoſt an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninſulas, and I do engliſh a Byland, vſing the word for ſuch as a man may go into drie-ſoted at the full ſea, or on horſeback at the low water without anie boat or veſſell: and ſuch a one almoſt is Rochford hundred in Eſſex alſo, yet not at this time to be ſpoken of, becauſe not the ſea onelie but the freſh water alſo doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occaſion wherefore it is called an Iland. This How lieth betweene Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochéſter, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

How.

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beſide pilfering ſea-men ſhall find durt ynow.

Greane. Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Ile ſuppoſed to be foure miles in length, and two in breadth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining ſeauen miles in length, and three in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborow, and a parke, beſide foure townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Eaſtchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoile being throughlie fed with ſheepe, verie well

Shepey.

wooded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirteene miles by water from Rocheſter, but the caſtell is fifteene, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Ilands, whereof the one is called Elmeſie, and the more eaſterlie Herteſie. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithſtanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuerſham, and Shepey reteineth one eſpeciall Bailie of hir owne. Elmeſie. Herteſie.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time paſt to one Raculphus, who erected an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Hereupon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Athanatos, becauſe ſerpents are ſuppoſed not to liue in the ſame, howbeit ſith it is not enuironed with the ſea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and deſcribe it as I go, becauſe it is ſo fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth alſo that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantſume, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be paſſed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore ſaieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much leſſe in breadth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue ſeauen miles from Nordtmuth to Sandwich, and foure in breadth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the ſouth to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland alſo noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwiſe it is verie fruitfull, and beſide that it wanteth few other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſaid to be found there. Herein alſo did Auguſtine the monke firſt arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in proceſſe of time, ſundrie religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoile much bettered (as the ſuperſticious ſuppoſed) by the ſteps of that holy man, & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. pariſh churches at the leaſt in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minſter, S. Gyles, and all Saincts, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his deſcription of Kent, and placed the ſame in the Lath of ſainct Auguſtine and hundred of Kingſlow, as may eaſilie be ſéene to him that will peruſe it.* Sturrey. Thanet. The ſait verſe of or couple an firſt of an other. Scoleſey Beles th taken. Thorne. Hyding. Port. In Lincolneſhire the word Hide or Hideland, was neuer in vſe in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vſed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and theſe were of no leſſe compaſſe than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Petroburgenſi.*

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptaceſter, ſtood alſo in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is ſhut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in theſe daies Richborow, and as it ſhould ſeeme builded vpon an indifferent ſoile or high ground. The large brickes alſo yet to be ſeene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old Britiſh workemanſhip. But as time deceaieth all things, ſo Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become deſolate, and out of the duſt thereof Sandwich produced, which ſtandeth a full mile from the place where Reptaceſter ſtood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was ſlaine; at which time the ſaid rebell came againſt his ſouereigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Iriſh, Norwegiens, &c. and with Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto béene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie péeces of ſiluer and gold, ſo well as of braſſe, copper, and other mettall haue often béene ſhewed vnto me. It ſhould appéere in like ſort, that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome do not a little confirme by theſe words of Lucane, to be read in his firſt booke ſome after the beginning: Rutupium. Wight. Guidh.

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinâq; littora feruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.

The last verse of one couple and first of an other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doo worke,
And Calidons of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast nere Andredeswald, which in time past was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Selesey, which sometime (as it should seeme) hath beene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherin the chéefe sée of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of three hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops.

Selesey of Seles there taken.

Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the most easterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie leaff of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched vpon the Yaling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situat of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Yaling lieth the Port (the greatest of the three alreadie mentioned) and in this standeth Portsmouth and Kingsteed, whereof also our Leland, saieth thus: Port Ile is cut from the shore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about three miles aboue Portsmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by marish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth. Then breaketh there out another creeke from the maine sea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length six miles, and three miles in bredth, verie good for grasse and corne, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Iland north northwest of Port Ile, which is now so worne and washed awaie with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finallie being past all these, and in compassing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & southeast of Baie hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, sauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographicall tables of all those Ilands which enuiron our Albion.

Thorne.

Yaling.

Port.

The Wight is called in Latine *Vectis*, but in the British speach Guidh, that is to saie, Eese or easie to be séene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, bicause that by a breach of the sea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italie, Anglesei from Wales, Foulenesse from Esser, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth nerest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betweene Hirst castell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minuts, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. od minuts from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie, and such as folow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an egg, and so well is it inhabited with meere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castels to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parsons, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

Wight. Guidh.

1 Newport, a chap.		15 Mottesson.	p.
2 Cairsbrosie.	v.	16 Yarmouth.	p.
3 Northwood.		17 Thorley.	v.
4 Arrium.	v.	18 Shalflete.	v.
5 Goddeshill.	v.	19 Whippingham.	p.
6 Whitwell.		20 Watton.	p.
7 S. Laurence.	p.	21 Chale.	p.
8 Nighton.	p.	22 Kingston.	p.
9 Brading.	v.	23 Shorwell.	p.
10 Newchurch.	v.	24 Gatrombe.	p.
11 S. Helene.	v.	25 Brosse.	
12 Yauerland.	p.	26 Birston.	p.
13 Calborne.	p.	27 Bensted.	p.
14 Bonechurch.	p.		

P. signifieth parsonages, V. vicarages.

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases it yeeldeth obedience to the sée of Winchester, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the soile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, medow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In processe of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Sussex, who held the souereigntie of the same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reserued the souereigntie of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for euermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride sometime bishop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospell also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, wherevnto he yéelded himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Wilfride was first conuerted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the first Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Westsaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious stir of his Barons, practised by the clergie: the said Iland being as then in possession of the Forts, as some doo write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without issue by this ladie, she was maried the second time to Earle Yaundeuile, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skipton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Hereby it came to passe also, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through monie & faire words, that he gat the possession of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, vntill Henrie the first, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Yardesey and Gardesey with his owne hands, and thervnto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of *Comes comitum Angliæ*, lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of Bilsow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy

theſe great honors, ſith he died 1446. without iſſue, and ſeuen yéeres after his father.

After we be paſt the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keyſy, in which was ſometime a pariſh-church, and but a chapell at this preſent, as I heare. There are alſo two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names. Brunt Keyſy.

We haue (after we are paſſed by theſe) another Ile, or rather Byland alſo vpon the coaſt named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Golwy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure ſcore houſholds in it. There is but one ſtreet of houſes therein, the reſt are diſperſed, howbeit they belong all to one pariſh-church, whereas in time paſt there were two within the compaſſe of the ſame. There is alſo a caſtell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the biſhop of Wincheſter be patrone of the church, the parſonage whereof is the faireſt houſe in all the peece. The people there are no leſſe excellent ſlingers of ſtones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the ſame with their ſlings, and therefore their parents vſed to hang their meate verie high vpon ſome bough, to the end that he which ſtrake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas ſuch as miſſed were ſure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vſe for the defenſe of their Iland, and yet otherwiſe are verie couetous. And whereas in time paſt they liued onlie by fiſhing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet doo they burne much cow dong dried in the ſunne, for there is I ſaie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would ſome grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the ſoile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long ſince this was united to the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe. Portland.

Being paſt this we raiſe another, alſo in the mouth of the Golwy, betweene Colſford and Lime, of which for the ſmalneſſe thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I caſt about to Jardſey, and Gardeſey, which Iles with their appurtenances apperteined in times paſt to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Queene, as parcell of Hamſhire and iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a compoſition made betweene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the ſaid prince began ſo faſt to decreaſe, as Thomas Sulmo ſaith. Jardſey. Gardeſey.

Of theſe two, Jardſey is the greateſt, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compaſſe, as moſt men doo coniecture. There are likewiſe in the ſame twelue pariſh-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is diſtant from Gardſey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact done there in Queene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Maſſie wife vnto an honeſt miniſter or preeſt, being great with childe by hir huſband, was burned to aſhes: through the exceeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifeſtlie againſt God for the mainteinance of their popiſh and antichriſtian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at ſuch time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there iſſued a goodly manchilde from hir, with ſuch force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduerſarie to an other to looke vpon, whoſe eies being after a while ſatisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcaſe of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was conſumed to aſhes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & whereunto it miniſtred (as you heare) an hurtleſſe paſſage. In this latter alſo, there haue béene in times paſt, fiue religious houſes, and nine caſtels, howbeit in theſe daies there is but one pariſh-church left ſtanding in the ſame. There are alſo certeine other ſmall Ilands, which Henrie the ſecond in his donation calleth Inſulettas, beſide verie manie rocks, whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein ſometime was a monaſterie) is ſaſt vpon Jardſey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a caſtel not paſſing an arrow ſhot from Gardſey. The Serke alſo is betweene both, which is ſix miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Iſthmus or Strictland, wherein was a religious houſe, & therwithall great ſtore of conies. S. Hilaries. Iliad. 6. Cornet. Serke. Iliad 5. & 7

There is alſo the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compaſſe, and therein was ſometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into an houſe of Franciſcanes. There are two other likewiſe neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whoſe names I haue no notice. There is alſo the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, ſo called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwiſe it be replenithed with infinit ſtore of conies, betweene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the ſame which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among thoſe few houſes that are to be ſeene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath béene more ſtore of building in this Ile than is at this preſent to be ſeene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantiſe that I may ſafelie truſt vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increaſed ſo faſt that they draue away the people. Varro ſpeaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increaſe of mice & frogs; and ſo manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now perteining to Spaine) that the people began to ſtarue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of graſſe. And becauſe the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Auguſtus was conſtreined to ſend an armie of men to deſtroie that needleſſe brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55. A towne alſo in France ſometime became deſolate onelie by frogs and toades. Another in Africa by locuſtes and alſo by graſhoppers, as Amicla was by ſnakes and adders. Theophraſt telleth of an whole countrie conſumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpiller. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and ſcorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waſpes had almoſt driuen the Epheſians out of Epheſus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is moſt wonderfull, that when the Cretenſes were chaſed out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bées, the ſaid bees conuerted their houſes into hiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reſerued their honie. Which things being dulie conſidered, I doo not denie the poſſibilitie of the erpulſion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, although I ſay that I doo not warrant the effect, becauſe I find it not ſet downe directlie in plaine words. Brehoc. Gytho. Herme. Burhoo, alias the Ile of rats. Turkie conies. Bruchſey. Mount Iland. S. Nicholas Iland. Greeke. Inis Pelagium. Cauſes of the deſolation of ſundrie cities and townes.

Beſide this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about ſeuen miles in compaſſe, wherin a preeſt not long ſince did find a coffin of ſtone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whoſe fore teeth were ſo big as a mans fiſt, as Leland doth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, ſith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a toth alſo haue they in Spaine whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Chriſtophers toth, but it was one of his eie teeth, if Ludouicus Viues ſay true, who went thither to offer vnto the ſame Alderney. Comment. Brit. Horrible murther. Gardſey.

same. S. Augustl. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 9. writeth in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the warre of Troy. See his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrow him. Virgill also doeth no lesse in his owne deuise, but Iuuenal breefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he saith:

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decrescebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque adsurit, videt, & odit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants do reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Jardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one cattell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nearer vnto the coast of England (for these do lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bzuch or the Bzuchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Bruchsey.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illeston rocke neere vnto Peritozie, Hozeffan Ile a mile from Peritozie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritozie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chefker, otherwise called Plegimundham: but how (to saie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheless sith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

Mount Iland.

From hence the nert Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well neere three miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeare, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Promontorie) is such another named the Greefe, wherein is great store of gulles & sea foule. As for Inis Pzynin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newlyn is not far distant, and wherein is a poze filher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendinant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

S. Nicholas Iland.

Greefe. Inis Pzynin.

S. Michaels mount.

The compasse of the rot of the mount of saint Michaels is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is passurable and breedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the fot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first, and then eastward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michaell, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on fot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Pensardz are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers rots and stubs of trees, beside hewen stone, sometimes of dwres & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowlhole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Mowlhole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, *Portus insulæ*, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes neere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, speare heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheefelie betweene Mowlhole and Pensardz.

S. Clements Ile.

Hauing thus passed ouer verie neere all such Iles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardsey) and carieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force doth the southeast wind often shewe vpon poore trauellers in those parts, as the south and southwest doth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and some after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men do account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundreth fortie seauen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities exceed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundreth fourtie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthie to haue anie time spent about their

Sylley Iles or Syl.

their particular deſcriptions, I will ſonelie touch the greateſt, and thoſe that lie togither (as I ſaid) in maner of a roundle.

S. Maries Ile. The firſt and greateſt of theſe therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compaſſe. Therein alſo is a pariſh-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threeſcore houſholds, beſide a caſtell, plentie of corne, conies, wild ſwans, puffens, gulles, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we ſailed ſouthwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries ſound vnto Agnus Ile, which is ſix miles ouer, and hath in like ſort one towne or pariſh within the ſame of fiue or ſix houſholds, beſide no ſmall ſtore of hogs & conies of ſundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long ſince this Ile was left deſolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feaſt holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one perſon left aliue. There are alſo two other ſmall Ilands, betweene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind togither are not comparable to the ſaid Annot for greatneſſe and circuit, ſo they want both hogs and conies, whereof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwiſand, from whence we paſſe by the Smithy ſound (leauing three little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rouſuian, Rouſuiar, and the Cregwin, which ſeauen are (for the moſt part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, ſauing of a ſhort kind of graſſe, or here & there ſome firzes wheron their conies do feed.

Agnus Ile. Annot. Minwiſand. Smithy ſound. Suartigan. Rouſuian. Rouſuiar. Cregwin.

Leauing therefore theſe deſert peeces, we incline a little toward the northweſt, where we ſtumble or run vpon Moncardiar, Inis Welſeck, & Suethiall. We came in like ſort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are ſo manie monſtrous rats, that if anie horſſes, or other beaſts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are ſure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like ſort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, caſtell, and pariſh-church) bringeth forth no leſſe ſtore of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

Moncarthat. Inis Welſeck. Suethiall. Rat Iland. Anwall. Brier.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Ruſco, which hath a Labell or Byland ſtretching out toward the ſouthweſt, called Inis widdon. This Ruſco is verie neere ſo great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a pariſh within it, beſide great ſtore of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a pariſh-church dedicated to that Saint, beſide conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is ſome indifferent ſtore) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being ſituat by ſouth of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iuſt halfe leſſe than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furniſhed with a pariſh-church, and no ſmall plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it ſelfe being next vnto the Ruſco for greatneſſe, and verie well furniſhed with conies & freſh ſprings. Alſo betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, ſmaller, which reach out of the northeaſt into the ſouthweſt, as Knolworth, Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whoſe eſtates are diuers: howbeit as no one of theſe is to be accounted great in compariſon of the other, ſo they all yeeld a ſhort graſſe meet for ſheepe and conies, as do alſo the reſt. In the greater Iles likewiſe (whoſe names are commonlie ſuch as thoſe of the townes or churches ſtanding in the ſame) there are (as I here) ſundrie lakes, and thoſe neuer without great plentie of wild foule, ſo

Ruſco. Inis widdó. Round Iland. S. Lides. Notho. Auing. Tyan. S. Martines. Knolworth. Sniuilliuer. Menwethã. Vollis. 1. Surwihe. Vollis. 2. Arthurs Ile. Guiniliuer. Nenech. Gothrois.

that the Iles of Sylley, are ſuppoſed to be no leſſe beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatſoeuer, within the compaſſe of our Ile, or neere vnto our coaſts. In ſome of them alſo are wild ſwine. And as theſe Iles are ſuppoſed to be a notable ſafegard to the coaſt of Cornewall, ſo in diuerſe of them great ſtore of tin is likewiſe to be found. There is in like maner ſuch plentie of fiſh taken among thoſe ſame, that beſide the feeding of their ſwine withall, a man ſhall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheeſe commoditie is made by Reigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Brittaine, where they exchange it there, for ſalt, canuas, reable monie, or other merchandize which they do ſtand in need of. Alike trade haue ſome of them alſo, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But ſith the author of this report did not ſtatlie auouch it, I paſſe ouer that fiſh as not in ſeaſon at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richeſt and moſt wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we muſt direct our courſe eaſtwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the weſt point of Wales, continuing ſtill our voiage along vpon the weſt coaſt of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forth on we muſt touch ſuch Ilands as lie vpon the weſt and north ſhore, till we be come againe vnto the Scottiſh ſea, and to our owne dominions.

Wild ſwine in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (ſo called, as ſome thinke, becauſe Helenus the ſon of Priamus who arriued here with Brute lieth buried there, except the ſea haue waſhed awaie his ſepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I do know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninſula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet ſith I haue ſpoken of it, you ſhall vnderſtand, that it is called Pendinas, and beſide that the compaſſe thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembred farder thereof, how there ſtandeth a Pharos or light therein, for ſhips which ſaile by thoſe coaſts in the night. There is alſo at the verie point of the ſaid Pendinas, a chappell of ſaint Nicholas, beſide the church of ſaint Ia, an Iriſh woman ſaint. It belonged of late to the Lord Broke, but now (as I geſſe) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is alſo a blockhouſe, and a peere in the eaſt ſide thereof, but the peere is ſore choked with ſand, as is the whole ſhore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, inſomuch that the greateſt part of this Byland is now couered with ſands, which the ſea caſteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants do affirme.

Helenus. Priamus. Pendinas.

There are alſo two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common ſort do repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one deſirous to note all, I thinke it not beſt that theſe ſhould be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes being in deed parcels of ground and low ſoiles fit for little elſe than to beare graſſe for cattell, whereof they take thoſe names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all ſuch places. Of theſe alſo Stepholme lieth ſouth of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the firſt alſo a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they do ſeeme to be the broadeſt.

It ſhould ſeeme by ſome that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet otherſome are of opinion, that they are not altogither ſo baſe, as to be reputed amongſt flats or rocks: but whatſoeuer they be, this is ſure, that they oft annoie ſuch paſſengers and merchants as paſſe and repaſſe vpon that riuer. Neither

Barri.

dow I read of any other Iles which lie by east of these, saue onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, whereunto if a man dow laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Barri is a flight shot from the shore.

Dunwen.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be united to the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish-church with a spire steeple, and a prettie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue bene of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weise, dikresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixteene miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldee, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Deuonshire. Moreouer in this Iland is great plentie of sheepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourtie housholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may keepe off thousands of their enimies, bicause it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onelie at one place; and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen vpon the eastside. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betweene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middest of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicause they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betweene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensiue to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen or Ramsey.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Dauids in Wales (whereunto we must needs come, after we be past another little one, which some men dow call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for tempozall iurisdiction a member of Penbrokshire, as it is vnto S. Dauids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England *lib.* 8. saieth that it contained three Ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Dauids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Dauids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden doth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for sheepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their vpper teeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

Mawr.

After this, proceeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which dow lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church; but without anie parishioners, except they be sheepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much aboue six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mereroste, situat in maner betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horses, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Wardsey an Iland lieng ouer against Perwincle the southwest point or promontozie of Northwales (where Merlin Sylvestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flie to saue themselues, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northest, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discerne whether of both it was, bicause the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was misie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Angleset, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

Tudfall.

Penthlin.

Guelyn.

This Iland (which Tacitus mistaketh no doubt for Mona Cæsaris, and so doth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or praise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be mainteined. But as these things dow either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to

Anglesei cut from Wales by working of the sea.

my

Angleſei. my matter) Angleſei is found to be full ſo great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmounting it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruitfulneſſe of ſoile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouiſion of corne. In like maner the Welſhmen themſelues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus ſaith that the Ile of Angleſei was no leſſe ſufficient to miniſter graine for the ſuſtentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeld plentie of paſture for all the cattell whatſoeuer within the aforeſaid compaſſe, if they were brought togither and left vpon the ſame. It contained moreouer ſo manie townes welnére, as there be daies in a yeare, which ſome conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus ſaith. Howbeit, as there haue bene I ſay 363. townes in Angleſei, ſo now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie ſhronke, and ſo far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be ſéene & diſcerned: and yet it ſéemeth to be méetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundreds in compariſon to that they were in time paſt, addeth (ſo far as I remember) that there are ſix of them in Angleſei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: hereunto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdoms of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the ſouthweſtſide of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welſhmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better inſtruction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Angleſei many townes and villages, whoſe names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall of ſo many as we viewed in ſailing about the coaſts, and otherwiſe heard report of by ſuch as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riſeth at northeaſt aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a creéke) Cornew, Holihed (ſtanding in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter ſtand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, whereupon Aberfraw is ſituate. Within the Iland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Griſtial ſtanding vpon the ſame water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Ladhtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all theſe the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded ſometime by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a ſtrong caſtell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land in quiet. There are alſo as Leland ſaith 31. pariſh churches beſide 69. chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But héerof I can ſaie little, for lacke of iuſt inſtruction. In time paſt, the people of this Ile vſed not to ſeuerall their grounds, but now they dig ſtonie hillocks, and with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much like to thoſe of Deuonſhire, ſith they want hedgebote, fire bote, and houſe bote, or (to ſaie at one word) timber, buſhes and trees. As for wine, it is ſo plentifull and good cheape there moſt commonlie as in London, through the great recourſe of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforeſaid Iland. The fleſhlikewiſe of ſuch cattell as is bred there, whereof we haue frore yearelie brought vnto Cole faire in Eſſex is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent paſture, and ſo much was it eſteemed by the Romans in time paſt, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the emperours themſelues being neere hand alſo cauſed their prouiſion to be made for nete out of Angleſei, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent beefe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Engliſhmen, becauſe they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Cheſter, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they ſpoiled the citie of Gloceſter, ranſacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great botie and pillage, in which voiage alſo they were holpen greatlie by the Iriſhmen, who after three yeares ioined with them againe, and ſlue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welſhmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewiſe is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time paſt bene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readieſt paſſage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not ſpeake at this time, leaſt I ſhuld bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie ſaith, *lib. 4. cap. 16.* that it lieth not farre off from and ouer againſt the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the weſt coaſt of our Iland, and euen ſo farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enyliſnach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcaſes of holie men, which they affirme to haue bene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the leaſt wiſe returne from thence without ſome notable reproch or ſhame vnto their bodies. By ſouth alſo of Hilarie point, ſomewhat inclining toward the eaſt, lieth Inis Lygod, a ſmall thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing elſe inforced the memorall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of ſuch Iles as lie about our Iland. I might alſo ſpeake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north weſt of Angleſei by fiue miles; but becauſe the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and ſtreames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to paſſe them ouer in ſilence, leaſt I ſhould be noted to be farther corrupter of ſuch words as I haue no ſkill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the deſcription of the whole Iland, this I will adde moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the beſt milſtones of white, red, blew, and greene greets, (eſpeciallie in Tindaithin) ſo there is great gaines to be gotten by fiſhing round about this Ile, if the people there could vſe the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnaruon, ſo in ſpirituall cauſes it belongeth to the biſhoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Angleſei, that ſundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vſe of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this ſuffice.

Ancient buriall.

Hauing thus deſcribed Angleſei, it reſteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit about the ſame, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northweſt thereof almoſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that paſſeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpaſſes. It hath to name likewiſe Yſterifd, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the ſecond lieng by north eaſt, ouer againſt the Hilarie point

Adar. Moil. Rhomaid. Yſterifd. Adros.

Holiehead, or Cair kiby.

Enilſnach, holie Ile.

Lygod. point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Wise, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any great nesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall. Seriall or Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, or the Prestholme point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Anglesei hir mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Iland vpon the cost of Wales, hauing now left Anglesei, is called Credine, Credine. and although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the causey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed forth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compasse or more, a fatdle soile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Westchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, because they be so oft spoiled by pirats, although the lord of the same be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good peniworths, as theeues commonlie do of such preies as they get by like escheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onlie at one place. Howbeit they are constreined to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came Hilberie. to the cape of Ile Bree, or Hilberie, and point of Wyrale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betweene foure fadams deepe, as ship-boies haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie fatdle a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of superstitious fooles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and maintained.

The next Iland vpon the coast of England is Man or Mona Cæsaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen do commonlie call Môn, as they do this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, *lib. 2. cap. 75.* It lieth also vnder 53. degrees of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnesfels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesei on the south, and Ulther in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads do ioine so neere, that they do seeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other Eubonia. following Orosius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Meuania. Beda and the Scotish historiographers, the Meuaniæ are all those Iles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, *lib. 1. de regibus* (beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Wherefore it seemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, haue not beene a little deceiued. Iornandes *lib. de Getis* speaketh of a second Meuania; *Habet & aliam Meuaniam* (saith he) *necnon & Orchadas.* But which should be *primia*, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Properlius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called *Nebulosa*, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, *lib. 4. eleg. De vrbe Rom.* Wherefore there needeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of Orosius, *lib. 1. capite 2.* that Scots dwelled sometime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breedth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland also were some time 1500. fatmilies, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through ioining houls to house, and land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prohibition be not made in time to withstand this mischeefe) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabiters want rowme, and wote not how and where to bestowe themselues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue beene in time past, but onelie for that their insatiable desire of inlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will do more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chiefly by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was ouercome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almost from their first arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots got the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwales wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwale inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the rest of those Iles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorenses in the daies of Magnus king of Norwale. And sithens that time the Scottish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after sundrie sales Chronica bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that Tinemuthi. William Scrope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestours of the earles of Darbie, who haue beene commonlie said to be kings of Man, the discourse following shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betweene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a compromise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like do in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reteined the Iland. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners,

inclosed

incloſed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the ſame, ſhould for a great gale vndo manie, and for the leſſe a fewer or ſmaller number. The ſtature of the men and alſo fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter ſuppoſed verie nære to be equall with that of Angleſei, in all commodities.

Tall men in Man.

There are alſo theſe townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Ruſhen, Dunglaſſe, Holme towne, S. Brids, Bala cury (the biſhops houſe) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Chriſt, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala ſala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all theſe Ruſhen with the caſtell is the ſtrongeſt. It is alſo in recompenſe of the common want of wood, indued with ſundrie prætie waters, as firſt of al the Burne riſing in the northſide of Warehill botoms, and branching out by ſouthweſt of kirk S. An, it ſeemeth to cut off a great part of the eaſtſide thereof, from the reſidue of that Iland. From thoſe hils alſo (but of the ſouth halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the ſame name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue alſo the Bala paſſing by Bala cury, on the weſtſide, and the Rame on the north, whoſe fall is named Rameſei hauen, as I do read in Chronicles.

Riuers.

There are moreouer ſundrie great hils therein, as that whereupon S. Mathees ſtandeth, in the northeaſt part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat ſouth, betweene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yéelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I ſpake before. Beſide theſe and well toward the ſouth part of the Ile, I find the Warehils, which are extended almoſt from the weſt coaſt ouerthwart vnto the Burne ſtreame. It hath alſo ſundrie hauens, as Ramſei hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by eaſt Port Iris, by ſouthweſt Port Home, and Port Michell, by weſt. In like ſort there are diuers Ilets annered to the ſame, as the Calfe of man on the ſouth, the Pile on the weſt, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the eaſt. Moreouer the ſheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well woolled, and their tailes of ſuch greatneſſe as is almoſt incredible. In like ſort their hogs are in maner monſtrous. They haue furthermore great ſtore of barnacles breeding vpon their coaſts, but yet not ſo great ſtore as in Ireland, and thoſe (as there alſo) of old ſhips, ores, maſts, peeces of rotten timber as they ſaie, and ſuch putrified pitched ſtuffe, as by wracke hath happened to corrupt vpon that ſhore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie ſaie whether they be fiſh or fleſh, for although the religious there vſed to eat them as fiſh, yet elſewhere, ſome haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

Hilles.

Hauens.

Calfe of man.

The pile.

S. Michels Ile.

Sheepe.

Hogs.

Barnacles.

Barnacles neither fiſh nor fleſh.

For my part, I haue beene verie deſirous to vnderſtand the vttermoſt of the breeding of barnacls, & queſtioned with diuers perſons about the ſame. I haue red alſo whatſoeuer is written by foren authors touching the generation of that foule, & ſought out ſome places where I haue beene aſſured to ſée great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie deſpaired to obteine my purpoſe, till this preſent yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Greenewich from London by bote, I ſaw ſundrie ſhips lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I do not well remember now from which of theſe places) on whoſe ſides I perceiued an infinit ſort of ſhels to hang ſo thicke as could be one by another. Drawing nære alſo, I toke off ten or twelue of the greateſt of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I ſaw the propoſition of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the reſt, ſauing that the head was not yet formed, becauſe the freſh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hong out of the ſhell at leaſt two inches, the wings (almoſt perfect touching forme) were garded with two ſhels or ſheeldes proportioned like the ſelfe wings, and likewiſe the breſtbone had hir couerture alſo of like ſhellie ſubſtance, and altogither reſembling the figure which Lobell and Pena do giue forth in their deſcription of this foule: ſo that I am now fullie perſuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in theſe ſhels, or ſome other ſea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing and forme ſo apparant, it cannot be denied, but that ſome bird or other muſt proceed of this ſubſtance, which by falling from the ſides of the ſhips in long voiages, may come to ſome perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe.

There hath ſometime beene, and yet is a biſhop of this Ile, who at the firſt was called Epiſcopus Sodorenſis, when the iuriſdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is biſhop there, is but a biſhops ſhadow, for albeit that he beare the name of biſhop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is ſuppoſed, the cheefe profit of his ſée (ſauing that they allow him a little ſomewhat for a ſiquriſh) notwithſtanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The firſt biſhop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and ſurnamed Monachus Sauinenſis, who by reaſon of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had firſt his ſight taken from him, & then was ſent into exile. After him ſucceeded another monke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, & ſo other after other in ſucceſſion, the ſée it ſelfe being now alſo ſubiect to the archbiſhop of Yorke for ſpirituall iuriſdiction. In time of Henrie the ſecond, this Iland alſo had a king, whoſe name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and therin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare alſo 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his ſubiects. Then Olauus, after him Hoſbach the ſonne of Oſmond Hacon, 1290. who being ſlaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in ſuch wiſe, that this had all the reſt of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the firſt; but after the ſlaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his ſonne ſucceeded. Then Harald ſonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coaſtes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and ſeuen daies, and then was killed the firſt of June, whereby Olauus *alias* Harald ſonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto him ſucceeded Magnus the ſecond ſonne of Olauus, and laſt of all Iuarus, who held it ſo long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but ſith I can neither come by their names nor ſucceſſions, I ſurceſſe to ſpeake any more of them, and alſo of the Ile it ſelfe, whereof this may ſuffice.

Biſhop of Man.

Patrone of Man.

King of Man.

After we haue in this wiſe deſcribed the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eaſtwards backe againe vnto the point of Ramſhed, where we found to the number of ſix Ilets of one ſort and other, whereof the firſt greateſt and moſt ſouthweſterlie, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we geſſed, about fiue miles and more from the ſoutheaſt into the northweſt, betweene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whoſe names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being ſituate ſoutheaſt of the firſt, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouſe therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra.

Wauay.

Fouldra.

By

Fola. Roa.

By eaſt thereof in like ſort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compaſſe, and yet of all theſe ſir, the firſt and Fouldra are the faireſt and moſt fruitfull.

Rauenglaſſe.

From hence we went by Rauenglaſſe point, where lieth an Iland of the ſame denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finiſhed, nor likelie to be publiſhed. He noteth alſo two other Ilets, betweene the ſame and the maine land; but Leland ſpeaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet ſet forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our ſhore in this part of my voiage.

Having ſo exactlie as to me is poſſible, ſet downe the names and poſitions of ſuch Iles, as are to be found vpon the coaſt of the Queenes Maieſties dominions, now it reſteth that we proceed orderlie with thoſe that are ſcene to lie vpon the coaſt of Scotland, that is to ſaie, in the Iriſh, the Deucalidonian & the Germans ſeas, which I will performe in ſuch order as I may, ſith I cannot do ſo much therin as I would. Some therefore do comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coaſt of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, ſauing that they are either occidentals, the weſt Iles, *alias* the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the firſt betweene Ireland and the Orchades, ſo that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almoſt vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian ſea, and after ſome are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, ſome ſpeaking of 30 Hebudes and ſeuen Hemodes; ſome of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and ſuch as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottiſh writers do product a ſumme of more than 300 of theſe Ilands in all, which ſometime belonged to the Scots, ſometime to the Norwegians, and ſometime to the Danes. The firſt of theſe is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Aliſa a deſert Ile, yet repleniſhed with conies, ſolond foule, and a fit harbor for fiſhermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coaſt thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie ſoile, yet verie plentifull of fiſh all about the coaſt, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer againſt the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is alſo no ſmall defenſe to ſuch ſeafaring men as ſeeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no leſſe fruitfull and ſtored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good ſtore of ſhort and indifferent paſture: it hath alſo a towne there called Roſſe, and a caſtell named the Camps. There is alſo another called the Marnech, an Iland of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground alſo but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewiſe of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the leſſe, not farre in ſunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ſhips, wherof it is called Auon, that is to ſaie, *Portuoſa*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time paſt great vſe of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw ſix miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwiſe vnfruitfull: and therefore ſome thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the ſea betweene that and the Ile of deere is ſo ſwift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not eaſilie navigable. Being paſt theſe, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie ſcattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyraſtell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the laſt three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, ſo called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagſey, Iſdalf, and the Sken (which later is alſo called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, ſauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triaradi. There is alſo the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile *alias* idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Liſmor, wherein the biſhop of Argill ſometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without ſome mines alſo of good mettall. There is alſo the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Trech, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Greſſe, great Ile, Ardis, Muſadell, & Berner, ſometime called the holie ſanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochaſgyr, and Drinacha, now ouergrowne with buſhes, elders, and vtterlie ſpoiled by the ruines of ſuch great houſes as haue heretofore beene found therin. There is in like ſort the Wije, the Ranſe, and the Caruer.

Slate Ile.

Iles in Scotland.

Hemodes of ſome called Remodes, ſee Plinie, *Mela*, *Martianus*, *Capella*. Plutarch. *de defect. oracu.*

Scarba.

In this tract alſo, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the firſt is one of the moſt, that hath not beene leaſt accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the ſouth into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, deere, and alſo lead, and other mettals, which were eaſie to be obteined, if either the people were induſtrious, or the ſoile yeeldable of wood to fine and trie out the ſame. In this Iland alſo there is a lake of ſweet water called the Laie, and alſo a baie wherein are ſundrie Ilands; and thereunto another lake of freſh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is ſituate, wherein the ſouereigne of all the Iles ſometime dwelled. Neere vnto this is the round Ile, ſo called of the conſultations there had: for there was a court ſometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did miniſter iuſtice vnto the reſt, and had the whole diſpoſition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of thoſe Ilands. There is alſo the Stoneheape, an other Iland ſo called of the heape of ſtones that is therein. On the ſouth ſide alſo of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Oſiin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imerſga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naoſig, Rinard, Cane, Tharſcher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Johns Ile, and Stackbed. On the weſt ſide thereof alſo lieth Ouerſey, whereby runneth a perilous ſea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vſabraſt, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanſo.

Ila. Round Ile.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and ſo manie in breth, rough of ſoile, yet fruitfull enough: & beſide woods, deere, & good harborough for ſhips, repleniſhed with diuers and ſundrie townes and caſtels. Ouer againſt Columkill alſo, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great ſtore of ſalmons, and other riuellets now altogither vnfruitfull, beſide two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewiſe in euerie of theſe Ilands a caſtell. The ſea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath alſo in the northweſt ſide Columbria, or the Ile of doues; on the ſoutheaſt, Era: both verie commodious for fiſhing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is worth the noting in this Ile aboue all the reſt, that it hath a pleſant ſpring, ariſing two miles in diſtance from the ſhore, wherein are certeine little egs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and bright-

Mula.

neſſe, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egs being carried by violence of the freſh water vnto the ſalt, are there within the ſpace of twelue houres conuerted into great ſhels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Iona. Iona was ſometime called Columkill, in fame and eſtimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little aboue two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all ſuch commodities, as that climat wherein it ſtandeth doth yeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue ſpoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were ſomtimes alſo two monaſteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a pariſh church, beſide many chapels builded by the Scotiſh kings, and ſuch princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the Engliſh had once gotten poſſeſſion of the Ile of Manaw, a biſhops ſee was erected in the old monaſterie of Columbus, whereby the iuriſdiction of thoſe Iles was ſtill maintained and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials apertaining to the moſt noble families that had dwelled in the weſt Iles; but three aboue other are accompted the moſt notable, which haue little houſes builded vpon them. That in the middeſt hath a ſtone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum Scotiæ*, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they ſaie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with theſe words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, becauſe foure of them lie in that place. The third hath theſe words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried alſo, and all through a fond ſuſpicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in proceſſe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occaſion to manie of his ſucceſſors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Iland there lie ſix other Iles diſperſed, ſmall in quantitie, but not altogither barren, ſometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of ſaint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeld competent paſturage for ſhéepe, yet is it more commodious, by ſuch egs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding do laie within the ſame. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more ſober heads do call it. Alſo Rudan, next vnto that, the Kering. There is alſo the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whoſe bankes do ſwarme with conies: it hath alſo a pariſh church, but moſt of the inhabitants do liue and dwell in Mula. There is alſo the Coarſe or the Arſe, and all theſe belong vnto ſaint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arſe is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and ſufficientlie ſtored with corne and graſſe, & not without a good hauen for ſhips to lie and harbor in. There is alſo the Colſans, an Iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trées. There is not far off alſo the Gomater, Staſa, the two Berneburgs, and the Moſſe Ile, in the old Brittiſh ſpeech called Monad, that is to ſaie Moſſe. The ſoile of it is verie blacke, becauſe of the corruption & putrefaction of ſuch woods as haue rotted thereon: whereupon alſo no ſmall plentie of moſſe is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the ſaid earth, which is fullie ſo good as our Engliſh turffe. There is alſo the Long, & ſix miles further toward the weſt, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the moſt plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fiſh, and ſeafowle aboundantlie. It hath alſo a well of freſh water, a caſtell, and a verie good hauen for great veſſels to lie at ſafegard in. Two miles from this alſo is the Gun, and the Coll two miles alſo from the Gun. Then paſſed we by the Calfe, a verie woddie Iland, the foure greene Iles, the two glaſſe or ſkie Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of wolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the eaſt into the weſt, is ſixteene miles in length, and ſix in breadth, full of mounteins and ſwelling woods: and for aſmuch as it is not much inhabited, the ſeafoules laie great plentie of egs there, whereof ſuch as will, may gather what number them liſteth. Vpon the high cliffes and rocks alſo the Soland géeſe are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles alſo is the Ile of horſes: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogither vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of cuſtome breédeth there, and thereunto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off alſo is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland géeſe. Likewiſe the Sobzatill, more apt to hunt in than méet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

The Ile of Shrewes.

Moſſe Ile.

After this we come to the Skie, the greateſt Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and ſomewhere eight, & in ſome places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are therevnto loaden with great ſtore of wood, as the woods are with paſture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (beſides all other commodities) with no ſmall heards of mares, whereby they raiſe great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers verie much abounding with ſalmons, and other freſh ſtreams not altogither void of that prouiſion. It is inuironed alſo with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yéere. It hath alſo a noble pole of freſh water; fiue caſtels and ſundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine ſmall Ilands about this alſo, as Rauſa a tatable ſoile for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a theuiſh Iland, in whoſe woods théeues do lurke to rob ſuch as paſſe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ſhips; Karſa, full of beéchen woods and ſtags, being in length ſeuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woddie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie théeues. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about ſix miles alſo, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oranſa, Buie the leſſe, and Buie the more, and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whoſe names I haue no notice.

Skie.

After theſe we come vnto the Ile, a prettie fertile Iland, to the Due, to the Aſkome, to the Lindill. And foure ſcore miles from the Skie towards the weſt, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Nagle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ſhips, beſide ſundrie other commodities: and theſe nine laſt rehearſed are vnder the dominion of the biſhop of the Iles. After this we come to the War, an Iland ſeauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for graſſe and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Iſlet, and therein ſtandeth a ſtrong caſtell. In the north part hereof alſo is an hill which beareth good graſſe from the foot to the top, and out of that riſeth a ſpring, which running to the ſea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which ſome do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the ſhore where the water falleth into the ſea, they take vp a kind of ſhelfiſh, when the water is gone, which they ſuppoſe to be ingendred or increaſed after this manner. Betweene the Barre and the Uiſſe lie alſo

War.

theſe

theſe Iland's, Orbans, Oue, Yakerſet, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Yaie, Yelſaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friſkaie. The Uiſſe is thirtie miles long and ſix miles broad; and therein are ſundrie freſh waters, but one eſpeciallie of three miles in length: neuertheleſſe, the ſea hath now of late found a waie into it, ſo that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three ſcore foot, but now and then it will flowe into the ſame, and leaue ſea-fiſh behind it in the lake. There is alſo a fiſh bred therein almoſt like vnto a ſalmon, ſauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogither without ſcales: it is likewiſe a great harbour for theeues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Yelſcher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: then haue we the Yaſker, verie plentifullie benefited by ſeales, which are there taken in time of the yeare. Three ſcore miles from this alſo is the Yirth, whoſe inhabitants are rude in all good ſcience and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth forth theepe farre greater than are elſe-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, ſendeth ouer his bailiffe into the ſame at midſummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a prieſt to ſaie maſſe, and to baptiſe all the children borne ſince that time of the yeare precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (becauſe the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptiſe his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried ſcales and ſea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except three mounteines that lie vpon one part of the ſhore, ſuch as dwell in the other Iles can ſee no part thereof.

Baptiſme without prieſts.

Being paſt the Uiſſe, we came after to Walaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Enſaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Yermodraie, Scarſe, Crie, Ling, Gilling, Yeie, Yoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Iſe, Sein the more, Sein the leſſe, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Yareie, and the ſeauen holie Ilands, which are deſert and bred nothing but a kind of wild ſheepe, which are often hunted, but ſeldome or neuer eaten. For in ſtead of fleſh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie fleſh be, it is ſo vnſauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I ſuppoſe, that theſe be the wild ſheepe which will not be tamed; and becauſe of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for the baſtard tiger. Their haire is betweene the woll of a ſheepe, and the haire of a goat, reſembling both, ſhacked, and yet abſolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be alſo the ſame beaſt which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, ſhewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that ſome take the ſame for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantiſe.

Wild ſheepe.

Tigers.

There is alſo not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Bellas, the two Bernars, the Kirt, the two Buies, the Uiraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is ſo called vpon ſome probable coniecture) for manie little ſculs and bones are dailie there found deepe in the ground, perfectlie reſembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, wherby their coniecture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. There is alſo the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Uiccoll, Yaueraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iſkurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whoſe eaſt ſide is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight ſhot in length, wherevnto meane ſhips do vſe to runne for harbour with full ſaile when a tempeſt ouertaketh them, or the raging of the ſea, in thoſe parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Alſo we paſſed by the old caſtell Ile, which is a prettie and verie commodious plat for fiſh, foule, egges, corne and paſture. There is alſo the Ile Cuſt or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for theeues, as is alſo the Grimort; likewiſe the preſts Ile, which is verie full of ſea foule and good paſture. The Afull, the two Yerberts, to wit, the greater and the leſſe; and the Iles of Horſles, and Yertaika: and theſe 8 lie ouer againſt the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Yaraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of three ſcore miles in length, and ſixteene in breadth, being diſtinguiſhed by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that do poſſeſſe thoſe parts. The ſouth part is called Yaraie, and the whole ſituate in the Deucalidon ſea, ouer againſt the Roſſe, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie prettie villages, as lake Erwin, lake Unſalſago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like ſort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to ſaint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beſide a monaſterie called Roadill. The ſoile alſo of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither woolfe, for, nor ſerpent ſeene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which alſo ſeparate one part from the other. Likewiſe there be plentie of ſtags, but farre leſſe in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland alſo is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with ſalmons. That part alſo called Lewiſa, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the ſea coaſts, and hath riuers no leſſe plentifull for ſalmon than the other halfe. There is alſo great ſtore of herrings taken, whereof the fiſher men do raiſe great gaine and commoditie; and no leſſe plentie of theepe, which they do not ſheare, but plucke euerie yeare; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of moſſe, and the face thereof verie ſwart and blacke, for the ſpace of a foot in depth, through the corruption of ſuch woods as in time paſt haue rotted on the ſame. And therefore in time of the yeare they conuert it into turffe to burne, as need ſhall ſerue; and in the yeare after, hauing well donged it in the meane time with aſhes of the ſea, they ſowe barleie in the ſelfe places where the turffes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and feed. Such plentie of whales alſo are taken in this coaſt, that the verie tithe hath been knowne, in ſome one yeare, to amount vnto ſeauen and twentie whales of one greatneſſe and other. This is notable alſo in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards deepe of water when the ſea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the higheſt; ouer which great numbers do ſit of both ſeres and ages, with hoks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fiſh, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them alſo the more idle.

Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, with no better authoritie than the Inglefeic Mona.

Tithe whales.

Ile of Pigmeies.

Being paſt this about ſixtie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which ſome take for the laſt of the Hebrides, diſtant (as I ſaid) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungiſbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord alſo of the ſoile doth limit their number of houſholds, & hauing aſſigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and ſmaller ſorts of cattell they ſhall ſpend and inioie for their owne proviſion, they ſend the ouerplus yearlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe paiments conſiſt of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, ſowed vp in theepes ſkins. Alſo of mutton and ſea foule dried, that reſteth ouer and aboue, which they themſelues do ſpend. And if it happen

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate doth come vnto, then they ſend alſo the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which meanes they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from ſtrange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done elſe-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken alſo vpon their coaſts, which are likewiſe r ſhed with ſeale, and porpaſſe, and thoſe which are either ſo tame, or ſo fierce, that they abaſh not at the ſight of ſuch as looke vpon them, neither make they anie haſt to flie out of their preſence.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles weſtward, there is another called Suilſcraie, of a mile length, void of graſſe, and without ſo much as heath growing vpon hir ſoile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke moſſe, whereon innumerable ſorts of foules do breed and laie their egs. Thither in like ſort manie do ſaile from Lewiſſa, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they alſo kill and drie in eight daies ſpace, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie ſtrange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little leſſe than a goſe; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the ſpring, to laie hir egs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to ſhift for themſelues, & then they get them awaie togither to the ſea, and come no more vntill that time of the yére which next inſueth. At the ſame ſeaſon alſo they caſt their fethers there, as it were anſwering tribute to nature for the vſe of hir moſſie ſoile: wherein it is wonderfull to ſée, that thoſe fethers haue no ſtalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are ſéene to couer their bodies as it were woll or downe, till breeding time (I ſaie) wherein they be left ſtarke naked.

Suilſcraie.

Colke foule.

Orchades.

The Orchades (whoſe firſt inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from thoſe Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as ſome ſparks yet remaining among them of that language do declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Caliden ſeas, ouer againſt the point of Dunghilbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other ſaie thirtie & one, yet ſome ſaie thirtie three, as Oroſius, but Plinie ſaith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the reſt whereof heretofore I haue made report, ſince we croſſed ouer the mouth of the Solueie ſtreame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of theſe Iſlands reteine much of their old ſparing diets, and thereunto they are of goodlie ſtature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great ſtrength, whitiſh colour, as men that feed moſt vpon fiſh; ſith the cold is ſo extreame in thoſe parts, that the ground bringeth forth but ſmall ſtore of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it ſéemeth that (in times paſt) ſome of theſe Iſlands alſo haue béene well repleniſhed with wood, but now they are without either tree or ſhrub, in ſtéed whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is ſuffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the ſoile of it ſelfe will not yéeld to bring forth trées & bulhes. For what ſtore of ſuch hath bæne in times paſt, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground do yéeld ſufficient triall. Otes they haue verie plentifullie, but greater ſtore of barleie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and ſuch indéed, as will verie readilie cauſe a ſtranger to ouerſhot himſelfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer ſo ſtrong, & they themſelues ſo vnmeaſurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it ſhall not eaſilie be ſéene (ſaith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall fole, meet to weare a cockeſcombe.

If he ſpeake all in truth.

This vnmeaſurable drinking of theirs is confeſſed alſo by Buchanan, who noteth, that whenſoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other ſoiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who firſt preached Chriſt vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and ſo great, that it may ſéeme to be reſerued ſince the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie biſhop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they aſſure themſelues of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheleſſe this exceſſe is not often found in the common ſort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugall; but in their prieſts, and ſuch as are of the richer calling. They ſuccour pirats alſo, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to reſiſt (their Ilands lieng ſo ſcattered) than for anie neceſſitie of ſuch gains as they do get by thoſe men: for in truth, they thinke themſelues to haue little néed of other furniture than their owne ſoiles do yéeld and offer vnto them. This is alſo to be read of the inhabitants of theſe Ilands, that ignorance of exceſſe is vnto the moſt part of them in ſtéed of phyſicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for ſuch few diſeaſes as they are moleſted and incombred withall.

In like ſort they want venemous beaſts, cheeſelie ſuch as do delight in hotter ſoile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes alſo are ſo full of increaſe, that ſome do vſuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are ſuch as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gains. As for wild and tame foules, they haue ſuch plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their ſoile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue alſo neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheeſe: wherein, next vnto fiſh, the cheefe part of their ſuſtenance doth conſiſt. There is alſo a biſhop of the Orchades, who hath his ſée in Pomona the cheefe of all the Ilands, wherein alſo are two ſtrong caſtels, and ſuch hath béene the ſuperſtition of the people here, that there is almoſt no one of them, that hath not one church at the leaſt dedicated to the mother of Chriſt. Finallie, there is little vſe of phyſicke in theſe quarters, leſſe ſtore of éeles, and leaſt of frogs. As for the horſſes that are bred amongſt them, they are commonlie not much greater than aſſes, and yet to labour and trauell, a man ſhall find verie few elſe-where, able to come neere, much leſſe to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The ſeas about theſe Ilands are verie tempeſtuous, not onelie through ſtrong winds, and the influences of the heauens and ſtars; but by the contrarie méetings and worſkings of the weſt ocean, which rageth ſo vehementlie in the ſtreicts, that no veſſell is able to paſſe in ſafetie amongſt them. Some of theſe Ilands alſo are ſo ſmall and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is ſcarſelie ſufficient to ſuſteine one or two men: and ſome of them ſo barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing elſe but moſſe or bare ſhingle. Wherefore onelie thirteene of them are inhabited and made account of, the reſt being left vnto their ſheepe and cattell. Of all theſe Ilands alſo Pomona is the greateſt, and therfore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue pariſh churches, and one towne, which the Danes (ſometime lords of that Iland) called Cracouia: but now it hight Kirkwa. Kirkwa.

wa. There are alſo two pꝛetie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the biſhop: and alſo a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the biſhops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and pꝛomontoꝛies, whereby no ſmall number of baies and ſome hauens are pꝛoduced.

There is alſo tin and lead to be found in ſir of theſe Iles, ſo good and plentifullie as anie where elſe in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathneſſe, being ſeparated from the ſame by the Pictiſh ſea: wherein alſo lie certeine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathneſſe, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathneſſe, is not reputed for anie of the Oꝛchades. Going therefoꝛe from hence northward, we come to the firſt Ile of the Oꝛchades, called ſouth Rauals, which is ſirteene miles from Dunghilbie, *alias* Dunachilbie, & that in two houres ſpace, ſuch is the ſwiftneſſe of the ſea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire poꝛt called ſaint Margarets hauen. Then paſſe we by two deſert Iles, which lie towards the eaſt, wherein nothing is found but cattell: ſome call them the holmes, bicauſe they lie low, and are good for nothing but graſſe. On the noꝛthſide lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the ſame Pomona. From Bur, toward the weſt lie three Iles, Snu, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Wall, which ſome accompt for two, and other but for one; bicauſe that in March and September, the flats that lie betweene them, doo ſeeme to ioine them togither, after the tide is gone. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that in this ſingle oꝛ double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the higheſt hilles are to be ſeene that are in all the Oꝛchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, ſo are they two miles from Pomona, from ſaint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles. And on the noꝛth ſide of it lieth the Bꝛainſe, in a narrow ſtreict, as Buchanan doth remember. And theſe are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathneſſe. As for the weſt ſide of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the ſea, without either ſhelues, Ilands, oꝛ rocks, appéering neere vnto it: but on the eaſt ſide thereof Cobeſa doth in maner ouerſhadow it. Siapinſa alſo an Ile of ſir miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouſa. Toward the eaſt, on the weſt ſide of Pomona lieth the Rouſe, of ſir miles in length: and by eaſt of that, the Egliſa, wherin (as they ſaie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From henſe ſouthward lie the Ucra Gerſa, and not far off the Ueſter (which is foureſcoꝛe miles from Hethland) Papa, & Stronza, which is alſo eightie miles from Hethland as the Ueſter. In the middeſt alſo of this tract lieth Far, oꝛ Fara, which is to ſaie, faire Ile, in old Engliſh, faire eie: and within ſight ſo well of Hethland, as the Oꝛchades, by reaſon of three inſuperable rocks which are apparant in the ſame: a verie poꝛe Iland, and yet yeareelie robbed (of ſuch commodities as it hath) by ſuch Flemiſh and Engliſh fiſhermen as paſſe by the coaſts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fiſh for the pꝛouiſion of their countries.

Nert vnto this is the greateſt of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, ſirtie miles in length, and ſirteene in bꝛeadth, full of rocks, and whoſe coaſts are onelie inhabited, the innermoſt parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, bicauſe of the barrenneſſe and vnfruitfulneſſe of the ſoile: yet of late ſome haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no ſucceſſe coꝛreſpondent to their deſire. Wheꝛefoꝛe they returned to their foꝛmer trades, making their cheefe commoditie and yeareelie gaine by fiſh, as afoꝛetime. Ten miles from this toward the noꝛth, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in bꝛeadth, and ſo wild that it will ſuffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bꝛed therein. Betweene this Iland alſo and the Maine, are other ſmaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Oꝛne, Big, and Sanferre. And from henſe nine miles noꝛthward Ulſa, twentie miles long, & ſir in bꝛeadth, plaine, pleaſant, but inuiꝛoned with a ſwift and terrible ſea. Betweene this alſo and the Zeale, are the Uie, the Uze, and the Ling: alſo toward the weſt, the two Skenes, Chalſeie, Noꝛwade, Bꝛaſe, and Nolſe, on the weſt ſide lie the weſt Skenes, Rottia, Papa the leſſe, Wunned, Papa the moꝛe, Walla, Tondꝛa, Burra, Yaura the moꝛe, Yaura the leſſe, & in maner ſo manie holmes diſperſed heere and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call theſe the Shetland, and ſome the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuiſion Zelandiſe, and toward the end of his firſt booke ſeemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Oꝛchades: although not in ſo ciuill wiſe, noꝛ in ſuch large meaſure and aboundance of diet in their houſes. He addeth moꝛeouer, that their apparrell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not ſo chargeable and coſtlie, and how they raiſe their gaine by ſkins of beaſts, as marterns, ſheepe, oxen, and gotes ſkins, and therevnto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and ſell to the merchants of Noꝛwaie, togither with their butter, fiſh, either ſalted oꝛ dꝛied, and their traine oile, and exerciſe their trade of fiſhing alſo in their vncerteine ſhewes, which they fetch out of Noꝛwaie.

Their ſpeech is Gothiſh, and ſuch of them as by their dealing with foꝛren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that they will verie often beſtow vpon the furniture of their houſes. Their weights & meaſures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and ſo wholeſome, that of late a man was found which had maried a wife at one hundꝛed yeares of age, and was able to go out a fiſhing with his bote at one hundꝛed and foꝛtie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other diſeaſe. Oꝛonkennelle is not heard of among them, and yet they méet and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vſe of fleſh oꝛ foule there, although that ſome of their Ilands haue plentie of each. Noꝛ anie mention of coꝛne growing in theſe parts, and therefoꝛe in ſtéed of bꝛead they dꝛie a kind of fiſh, which they beat in moꝛters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and dꝛie. Their fuell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſh yéeldeth, that is taken on their coaſts: and yet they liue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happineſſe to be ſo farre diſtant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the moꝛe rich and ciuill part of the woꝛld.

Herein alſo they are like vnto the Hirchiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a pꝛieſt vnto them out of the Oꝛchades (vnto which iuriſdiction they doo belong) who baptiſeth all ſuch childꝛen, as haue béene boꝛne among them, ſince he laſt arꝛiued, and hauing afterward remained there foꝛ a two dales, he taketh his tithes of them (which they pꝛouide and paie with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſh, foꝛ of other commodities paie they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voiage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iles alſo is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector ſaith) which is pꝛoduced by the woꝛking of the ſea vpon thoſe coaſts: but moꝛe of this elſewhere. Amber.

This neuertheleſs is certeine, that theſe Ilands, with the Oꝛchades, were neuer perfectlie vnited to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betweene king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Chriſtierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Chriſtierne at the birth of their ſonne James (afterward

king of Scotland and called James the fourth) reſigned all his right and title whatſoeuer either he or his anceſtors either preſently or heretofore had, might haue had, or hereafter may or ſhould haue, vnto the aforeſaid peeres, as appéereth by the charter.

From theſe Shetland Iles, and vntill we come ſouthwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamneſſe, I find no mention of anie Ile ſituat vpon that coaſt, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it ſafetie for vs to ſearch ſo farre as Thule, whence the moſt excellent bzimſtone commeth, & thereto what ſtore of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whoſe ſecret ſituations though partlie ſeene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or diſcouered by anie, bicauſe of the great abounddance of huge Ilands of ice that moueth to and fro vpon their ſhores, and ſundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpoſe, therfore calling about, we came at the laſt into the Firth or Forth, which ſome call the Scotiſh ſea, wherein we paſſe by ſeuen or eight ſuch as they be, of which the firſt called the Paie, the ſecond Baas, and Garwie the third, doo ſéeme to be inhabited. From theſe alſo holding on our courſe toward England, we paſſe by another Ile, wherein Faur caſtell ſtandeth, and this (ſo far as my ſkill ſerueth) is the laſt Iland of the Scotiſh ſide, in compaſſing whereof I am not able to diſcerne, whether their flats and ſhallowes, number of Ilands without name, confuſion of ſituation, lacke of true deſcription, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me moſt. No meruell therefore that I haue béene ſo oft on ground among them. But moſt ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my native citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the Engliſh dominion, where god interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to reſt my wearie bones, and refreſh at eaſe our wetherbeaten carcaſſes.

The firſt Iland therefore which commeth to our ſight, after we paſſed Berwike, is that which was ſomtime called Lindeſfarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored among our monaſticall writers, bicauſe diuerſe monks and heremits did ſpend their times therein. There was alſo the biſhops ſæ of Lindeſfarne for a long ſeaſon, which afterward was tranſlated to Cheſter in the ſtréet, & finallie to Dureſme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was firſt erected by Oſwald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotiſh monke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda ſpeaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the ſaid Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reaſon of ſituation & nérenеſſe to the coaſt; yet the Picts appointed the biſhops of the ſame, and gaue the Ile with the ſæ it ſelfe to ſuch Scotiſh monks as they liked, bicauſe that by their preaching they firſt receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindeſfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finiſhed and builded the whole church with ſawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbiſhop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the biſhop did couer ouer with lead.

Lindeſfarne or Holie Iland.

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defenſe ſo far as I remember, and ſo great ſtore of egs laid there by diuerſe kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man ſhall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finiſhed. About Farne alſo lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it ſelfe, but void of inhabitants; and in theſe alſo is great ſtore of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured feathers, ſauing that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call ſaint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and eaſie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; ſo called, bicauſe it lieth ouer againſt the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane ſeacole, which the people dig out of the ſhore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie ſometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danith race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coaſt of Norfolke I ſaw no more Ilands.

Puffins.

Saint Cuthberts foules.

Being therfore paſt S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer againſt the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewiſe another ouer againſt the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope: the third alſo in Yarmouth riuer ouer againſt Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof alſo I muſt néeds ſaie ſomewhat, bicauſe it is in maner an Iland, and as I geſſe either hath béene or may be one: for the brodeſt place of the ſtrict land that leadeth to the ſame, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which againſt the raging waues of the ſea can make but ſmall reſiſtance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenиſhed with townes, as Friſtan, Burgh caſtell, Olton, Flixton, Leſtoft, Gunton, Blundſton, Coxton, Lownd, Athebie, Horton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gorleſton, and beſide this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Little England.

Going forward from hence, by the Eſſonneſſe (almoſt an Iland) I ſaw a ſmall parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerſtone in Orwell mouth, & two péeces or Illets at Cattiwade bridge; and then caſting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merſeie which is a prettie Iland, well furniſhed with wood. It was ſometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this preſent it hath beſide two decaied blockehouſes, two pariſh churches, of which one is called eaſt Merſeie, the other weſt Merſeie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colcheſter, as parcell of his iuriſdiction.

Merſeie.

Foulneſſe is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenиſhed with verie good graſſe for neat and ſhéepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is alſo a pariſh church, and albeit that it ſtand ſomewhat diſtant from the ſhore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they ſaie) ride thereto if he be ſkilfull of the cauſie; it is vnder the iuriſdiction of London. And at this preſent maſter William Tabor bacheler of diuinitie and archdeacon of Eſſex hath it vnder his iuriſdiction & regiment, by the ſurrender of maiſter John Walker doctor alſo of diuinitie, who liued at ſuch time as I firſt attempted to commit this booke to the impreſſion.

Foulneſſe.

In Maldon water are in like ſort thrée Ilands inuironed all with ſalt ſtreames, as ſaint Oſithes, Northeie, and another (after a merth) that beareth no name ſo far as I remember. On the right hand alſo as we went toward the ſea againe, we ſaw Ramſeie Ile, or rather a Peninſula or Biland, & likewiſe the Reie, in which is a chappell of ſaint Peter. And then coaſting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we ſaw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by eaſt Wallot, and the fourth is Foulneſſe, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one ſide, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulneſſe. But to proceéd. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Merſland,

Oſithe.

Northeie.

Ramſeie.

Reie.

Farne.

Elie,

Canwaie.

Clie, and the reſt, that are framed by the ouze, Andredeſeie in Trent, ſo called of a church there dedicated to ſaint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be deſcribed) ſith I touch onelie thoſe that are inuironed with the ſea or ſalt water round about, as we may ſee in the Canwaie Iles, which ſome call marſhes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, ſome to a vice, ſcrue, or wide ſleeue, becauſe they are verie ſmall at the eaſt end, and large at weſt. The ſalt rilles alſo that croſſe the ſame do ſo ſeparat the one of them from the other, that they reſemble the ſlope courſe of the cutting part of a ſcrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man do imagine himſelfe to looke downe from the top of the maſt vpon them. Betweene theſe, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whoſe name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed theſe parcels as they laie, or at the leaſt haue ſailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may eaſilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (ſcarſe comparable to the makerell gale, whereof Iohn Anele of Calis one of the beſt ſeamen that England euer bred for his ſkill in the narow ſeas was wont to talke) caught hold of our ſailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to ſee what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & ſo much may well ſuffice where more cannot be had.

The deſcription of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame. Cap. 11.

HAuing (as you haue ſeene) attempted to ſet downe a full diſcourſe of all the Ilands, that are ſituat vpon the coaſt of Britaine, and finding the ſucceſſe not correſpondent to mine intent, it hath cauſed me ſomewhat to refreine my purpoſe in this deſcription alſo of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the firſt to haue written at large, of the number, ſituation, names, quantities, townes, villages, caſtels, mounteines, freſh waters, plaſhes or lakes, ſalt waters, and other commodities of the aforeſaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was ſo deceiued in the end, that I was faine at laſt onelie to leane to that which I knew my ſelfe either by reading, or ſuch other helpe as I had alreadie purchaſed and gotten of the ſame. And euen ſo it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whoſe heads, courſes, length, breadth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect deſcription vnder the report alſo of an imagined courſe taken by them all. But now for want of inſtruction, which hath beene largelie promiſed, & ſlacklie performed, and other ſudden and iniurious denaill of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occaſion giuen on my part, I muſt needs content my ſelfe with ſuch obſeruations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full diſcourſe of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in ſtead of the ſame a mangled rehearſall of the reſidue ſet downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beſeech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudeneſſe of my labour, which notwithſtanding is not altogither in vaine, ſith my errors maie proue a ſpurre vnto the better ſkilled, either to correct or inlarge where occaſion ſerueth; or at the leaſt wiſe to take in hand a more abſolute peece of worke, as better direction ſhall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardeſt; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpoſe. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more eaſie for ſuch as ſhall come after to wade through with the reſt, ſith *Facile eſt inuentis addere*; and to continue and finiſh, is not ſo great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble peece of workmanſhip, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpoſe. As I began at the Thames in my deſcription of Ilands, ſo will I now do the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the ſaid riuer it ſelfe, of whoſe founteine ſome men make as much adoo, as in time paſt of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet deſcried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whoſe originall was neuer knowne, nor ſhall be: for whileſt one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to ſuch mens writings as haue of ſet purpoſe ſought out the ſpring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous ſtreame hath his head or beginning out of the ſide of an hill, ſtanding in the plaines of Cotſwold, about one mile from Tetburie, neere vnto the Foſſe (an high waie ſo called of old) where it was ſometime named Iſis, or the Ouſe, although diuerſe do ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a fooliſh cuſtome than anie ſkill, becauſe they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the firſt. From hence it runneth directlie toward the eaſt (as all good riuers ſhould) and meeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirnceſter towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination. Corinium.

From hence it haſteth vnto Crekelade, *alias* Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Coueſham, receiuing by the waie an infinit ſort of ſmall ſtreames, brookes, beckes, waters, and rundels: and here on this ſide of the towne diuideth it ſelfe into two courſes, of which the one goeth ſtraight to Botleie and Hinkſeie, the other by Godſtow, a village not farre off. This latter ſpreadeth it ſelfe alſo for a while into ſundrie ſmaller branches, which run not farre per they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundrie pleaſant medowes, it palſeth at length by Orford, of ſome ſuppoſed rather to be called Duſeford of this riuer, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches do ioine and go togither by Abbandune (*alias* Denſham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo neere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine ſtreame, thorough the induſtrie of the monks, as (beſide the teſtimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be ſeene) by the decaie of Cair Dour now Dorcheſter it ſelfe, ſometime the thorough fare from Wales and the weſt countrie to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to be ſeene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter, and ſo to Thame, where ioining with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe (whereof Duſeneie at Orford is produced) and from thenceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and ſo to Reding, which in time paſt, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the Engliſh name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ree, the Saxon word for a water-courſe or riuer, which maie be ſeene in Dureé, or Sutheré, for ouer the Ree, or ſouth of the Rhe, as to the ſkilfull doth readilie appeere; yet ſome hold (and not altogither againſt probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutheré is ſo called of Sudrijc, to wit, the ſouth kingdome, vnto Charwell. Some write, that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ranne before betweene Andredeſeie and Culenham. Pontium. Saint Marie ouer Rhe.

Thameſis.

thereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Reding is so called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouerflowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be contemned, so the last cõmeth most neere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouerflowing was in time past called Rhe, by such Sarons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this date in Esser I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue béene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said; All is on a Rhe, as if they should haue said; All is now a riuer, albeit the word Riuer be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins: but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Isis, or Ise. But I will proceed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoeuer these matters stand it hath passed by Reding, and there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie west of Marleborough, then the Chetis, commonlie called the Side that commeth from Chetisford: it hieth to Sudlington otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windlesore (or Windsore) Eaton, and then to Chertsey, where Erkenwald bishop of London sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I do read.

Kenet.

Chetis.

From Chertsey it hasteth directlie vnto Staines, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (whereupon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford, where it méeteth the Brane or the Brene, another breake descending from Edgworth, whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speach. Upon this also sir John Chin had sometime a statelie house, with a maruellous prouision to inclose and reteine such fish as should come about the same. From Brentford it passeth by Portlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterseie, Chelseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lée with it by the waie vpon the coast of Esser, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth néere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shorcham, vnto Dertford, whereunto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Medwaie a notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and southwest part of Kent, and whose description is not to be omitted hereafter in this place.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.
Craie.

Hauing in this maner breefelie touched this noble riuer, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuer, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible; hereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the tourneies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in aboundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse do) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtick brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, *Epistolarum lib. 8. epi. 6.* nor yéeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit nere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and sweet salmons, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riuer in Europa is able to exceed it. But what store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loseth at one time, the more it yéeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which meanes it became somewhat partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath béene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wrecking of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or pate set vpon the ballaffe sometime frælis giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Iusques au poinct*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word *ponct*; which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French toong, wherein that patent was granted.

Salmons.

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twise in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone doth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens do reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like sort we sée by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse. For at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest floods, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fuls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, because the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouer-

The iust distãce betweẽ one tide and another.

ouerfloweth hir banks nére vnto London: which happeneth eſpecialliein the fuls and changes of Januarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of cuſtome ſoneſt drowned. This order of flowing in like ſort is perpetuall, ſo that when the mone is vpon the ſouthweſt and north of points, then is the water by London at the higheſt: neither do the tides alter, except ſome rough winds out of the weſt or ſouthweſt do keepe backe and checke the ſtreame in his entrance, as the eaſt and northeaſt do haſten the comming in thereof, or elſe ſome other extraordinarie occaſion, put by the ordinarie courſe of the northerne ſeas, which fill the ſaid riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe do happen eft among, I refer me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it, as alſo the ſenſible chopping in of three or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnſkilfull do deſcant manie things.

The ſtreame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how ſo euer theſe ſmall matters do fall out, and how often ſoeuer this courſe of the ſtreame doth happen to be diſturbed; yet at two ſeuerall times of the age of the mone, the waters returne to their naturall courſe and limits of time exactlie. Polydore ſaith, that this riuer is ſeldome increaſed or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it ſhalbe more apparantlie ſéene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of hir right courſe, the more the water muſt of neceſſitie ſwell with the white waters which run downe from the land: becauſe the paſſage cannot be ſo ſwift and readie in the winding as in the ſtreight courſe. Theſe landflouds alſo do greatlie ſtraine the fineſſe of the ſtreame, in ſo much that after a great landfloud, you ſhall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whoſe eies are ſo blinded with the thicknelle of that element, that they cannot ſée where to become, and make ſhift to ſaue themſelues before death take hold of them. Otherwiſe the water of it ſelfe is very cléere, and in compariſon next vnto that of the ſea, which is moſt ſubtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is moſt excellent, in compariſon of ſmaller brookes: although Ariſtotle will haue the ſalt water to be moſt groſſe, becauſe a ſhip will beare a greater burden on the ſea than on the freſh water; and an eg ſinke in this that ſwimmeth on the other. But he may eaſilie be anſwered by the quantitie of rome and aboundance of waters in the ſea; whereby it becommeth of more force to ſuſteine ſuch veſſels as are committed to the ſame, and whervnto the greateſt riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of ſundrie bridges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chieflie to be commended, for it is in maner a cõtinuall ſtreet, well repleniſhed with large and ſtatelie houſes on both ſides, and ſituat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free ſquared ſtone, euerie of them being three ſcore foot in heigth, and full twentie in diſtance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bridge.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of ſwans dailie to be ſéene vpon this riuer; the two thouſand wherries and ſmall boats, wherby three thouſand poore watermen are maintéined, through the cariage and recariage of ſuch perſons as paſſe or repaſſe, from time to time vpon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie paſſengers, or bring neceſſarie proviſion from all quarters of Oxfordſhire, Barkeſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Herfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for ſomuch as theſe things are to be repeated againe in the particular deſcription of London, annexed to his card; I ſurceaſe at this time to ſpeake anie more of them here, as not lingering but haſting to performe my promiſe made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it beſt to reſume the deſcription of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatſoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonſtration of his courſe. How and where the ſaid ſtreame ariſeth, is alreadie ſet with ſufficiencie ſet downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Cetburie, whereof ſome do vtterlie miſlike, becauſe that rill in ſummer drouths is oft ſo drie, that there is little or no water at all ſéene running aboue ground in the ſame. For this cauſe therefore manie affirme the verie head of Iſis to come from the pole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riſeth aboue Coberleie. For my part I follow Leland, as he doth the monke of Malmesburie, which wrote the hiſtorie intituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pronounced with Leland, although at this preſent that courſe be verie ſmall, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and ſand. Proceeding therefore from the head, it firſt of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Aſhton, Canes, and Howſton, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Iſis. Coues.

The Chirne is a faire water ariſing out of the ground aboue Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Colwleie, Colwlesburne, Randcome, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Crekelade. Theſe three waters being thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, deſcending from Elcombe, Eſcot, Redburne, Widhill, & at the fall into Iſis, or not far off ioineth with another that runneth weſt of Purton by Braden forreſt, &c. Next of all our Iſis méeteth with the Amneie on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie rode Amneie, runneth by Downe Amneie, and finallie into the Iſis a little aboue Iſeie. In like ſort I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſeie alſo, which ſo far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Dziſield and falleth ſo into our Iſis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine ſtreame doth croſſe one water that deſcendeth from Swindon, and going alſo by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rils by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambreie, as I haue béene informed.

Cozinium. Rhe. Amneie.

The Colne is a faire riuer riſing by north nere to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Mittenton, Parneworth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winſton, Biberie, Colne Alons, Quenington, Faireford, and weſt of Lachelade into the riuer Iſis, which hereabout on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Iſis being once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a brooke from ſouthweſt that mounteth about Alchbirie, and receiuing a rill from byweſt (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo diuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Inglesham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleſant Iland produced, whereof let this ſuffice.

Colneius, Colineus, or Colunus.

Being paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to ſaint Johns bridge, & thereabout méeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh

Leeus or Leche.

2000 boates vpon the Thames and 3000 poore mẽ maintcined by the ſame whoſe gaines come in moſt plentifullie in the tearme time.

keth the name (a towne whereunto one peece of an old vniuerſitie is aſcribed, which it did neuer poſſeſſe, more than Crekelade did the other) riſeth eaſt of Hampnet, frō whence it goeth to north Lech, Eſſenton, Anleſworth, eaſt Lech, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon, & ſo into the Iſis. From hence this famous water goeth by Kenſkot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riſeth in an od peece of Barkeſhire, and runneth by Langford) and being paſt the ſaid bridge (now notable through a conſpiracie made there ſometimes by ſundrie barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long yer it croſſe two other waters, both of them deſcending from another od parcell of the ſaid countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Iſis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame peece, and runneth by Briſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the firſt that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After theſe confluences, the maine courſe of the ſtreame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winruſh. The Winruſh riſeth aboue Shieburne in Glocеſterſhire, from whence it goeth to Winruſh, & cōming by Barrington, Burford, Widbrooke, Swinbecke caſtell, Witnecie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Enſham, betweene which and Callinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bſuerne water.

Winruſh.

Bſuerne.

It riſeth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marſh, and through a patch of Worceſterſhire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure ſhire ſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Kolrich water that iſſueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by weſt of little Kolrich, and ioine aboue Benkeham, and Church hill. From thence alſo it goeth vnto Bſuerne, Shipton vnderwood, Aſcot, Short hamton, Chorleburie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and ſoutheaſt of Woodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Emſtone, and goeth to Tiddington, Glimton, Wotton (where it is increaſed with a rill that runneth thither from Steple Barton; by the Beechin tree) Woodſtocke, Blaidon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſaid Enis runneth to Callinton, and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth from hence to Orford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſentlie to be deſcribed.

Comus.

Kolrich.

Enis.

Charwell.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonſhire, where it riſeth out of a little pole, by Charleton village, ſeuen miles aboue Banberie northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo ſalt at the verie ſurge, that it groweth into a pretie ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Sone after alſo it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide: but forasmuch as it riſeth by Bincеſter, the whole courſe thereof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine proſecuting the reſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Orfordſhire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a little aboue Edgcote, and ſo deſcending toward Wardington, it meeteth with another comming from by north weſt, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie alſo it meeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Conton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the diſcharge of diuerſe rillets, in one bottome before it come at Cliffon. The ſaid water therefore ingendred of ſo manie brookelets, conſiſteth chiefelie of two, whereof the moſt ſoutherlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a mile of Charwell.

Bure.

Culen.

Come.

Oxus.

That other (as I coniecture) is increaſed of three waters, wherof each one hath his ſeuerall name. The firſt of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming betweene Epwell and the Lee by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the ſecond that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I geſſe. The laſt falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwell in Warwikeſhire, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sothbroke. The nert water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Cliffon commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Solwar or Swere, that riſeth north of Pichaell Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The laſt of all is the Reie *aliàs* Bure, whoſe head is not far aboue Burceſter, *aliàs* Bincеſter, and Burneſter: and from whence it goeth by Bureceſter to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Iſlip, and ſo into Charwell, that holdeth on his courſe after this augmentation of the waters, betweene Wood and Water Eton, to Marſton, and the eaſt bridge of Orford by Magdalene college, and ſo beneath the ſouth bridge into our aforeſaid Iſis.

Tudo.

Ornus.

Sothbroke.

Solnarus.

Solwar.

Burus.

In deſcribing this riuer, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon pariſh, not far from Danberie, where a man maie ſtand and behold the heads of three notable riuers, whoſe waters, and thoſe of ſuch as fall into them, do abundantlie ſerue the greateſt part of England on this ſide of the Humber. The firſt of theſe waters is the Charwell, alreadie deſcribed. The ſecond is the Leme that goeth weſtward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Pene or fift Auon it ſelfe, of whoſe courſes there is no card but doth make ſufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the ſame how they do coaſt the countrie, and alſo meaſure by compaſſes how this plot lieth in reſpect of all the reſt, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middeſt and center of our countrie.

Middeſt of England whereabouts.

But to go forward with my deſcription of the Duſe, which being paſt Orford goeth to Iſlie, Kennington, Sanford, Rodeie, Newnham, and ſo to Abington, ſomtime called Senlham, without increaſe, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwiſe called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the vale and weſt of the hill of the White horſſe, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkſhire, and in one chanell, entreth into the ſame, vpon the right ſide of his courſe. From Abington likewiſe (taking the Arun withall ſouthweſt of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Cliffon, Wittenham the leſſe, & beneath Dorcheſter, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Iſis loſeth the prehemineence of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is contented to impart the ſame with the Thame, ſo that by the conjunction of theſe two waters Thameſis is produced, and that name continued euen vnto the ſea.

Oxus.

Arun.

Thame riuer riſeth in the eaſterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring weſt of the ſaid parke, which is ſeauen miles from

Thame.

from the ſtone bꝛidge, that is betwæne Querendon and Ailſburie (after the courſe of the water) as Leland hath ſet downe. Running therefoꝛe by long Perſton, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth ſoone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yet long an other on the other ſide that riſeth aboue Windouer in the Chilterne, and paſſing by Halton, Weſton, Turrill, Bꝛoughton, and Ailſburie, it falleth into the Tame weſt of the ſaid towne (except my memoꝛie dow faile me. From this confluence the Tame goeth by Ethoꝛpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherſleie, Notleie abbeie: and comming almoſt to Tame, it receiueth one water from ſoutheaſt aboue the ſaid towne, and another alſo from the ſame quarter beneath the towne; ſo that Tame ſtandeth inuironed vpon thꝛée ſides with thꝛée ſeuerall waters, as maie be eaſilie ſéene. The firſt of theſe commeth from the Chiltern eaſt of Below oꝛ Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Hoꝛſenden, Kingſeie, Towſeie, and ſo into the Tame. The other deſcendeth alſo from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they pꝛoceéd togither as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dꝛacot, Waterſtoke, Milton, Cuddeſdon, and Chiſelton. Here alſo it taketh in another water from by-eaſt, whoſe head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weſton (and méeting beneath Curham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and ſo into the Tame. From hence our ſtreame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Dꝛaton, Doꝛcheſter (ſometime a biſhops ſée, and a noble citie) and ſo into the Thames, which falleth in like ſoꝛt to Benſington, Crowmarſh, oꝛ Wallingfoꝛd, where it receiueth the Blaue, deſcending from Blaueburg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Wlsings.

Thus haue I bꝛought the Thames vnto Wallingfoꝛd, ſituate in the vale of White hoꝛſe that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, noꝛth Stoke, ſouth Stoke, Goꝛing, Baſſilden, Pangburne, where it mæteth with a water that commeth from about Hamſted Moꝛris, runneth by Fꝛiꝛelham, Buckelburie, Stanfoꝛd, Bꝛadfeld, Tidmarſh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwæne Mapledoꝛham and Purleie, to Cauerſham, and Cauerſham manour, and a little beneath receiueth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

Cenethus.

The Kenet riſeth aboue Duerton 5 oꝛ 6 miles weſt of Marleboꝛow, oꝛ Marlingſboꝛow, as ſome call it; & then going by Fifeld, Clatfoꝛ, Paulon, & Pꝛeſhute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like oꝛder to Ramſburie, and noꝛthweſt of little Cote, taketh in a water by noꝛth deſcending from the hilles aboue Alburne chaſe weſt of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamſtꝛéet, & beneth Charnhamſtꝛéet it croſſeth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwyne, & at Hungerfoꝛd alſo two other in one botom ſomewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinburie, Hamſted marſhall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Iſberie, Egerſton, the Sheffoꝛds, Weſtfoꝛd, Boꝛfoꝛd, Donington caſtell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaſton, a little aboue which village it receiueth the Alburne, another bꝛoke increaſed with ſundꝛie rils: and thus going on to Padwoꝛth, Okton, and Michaell, it commeth at laſt to Reading, where (as I ſaid) it ioineth with the Thames, and ſo they go foꝛward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the eaſt ſide receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the ſouth, as by his courſe appéeꝛeth.

Bꝛdwine. Chalkeburne. Lamburne. Alburnus.

The Loddon riſeth in Hamſhire betwæne weſt Shirburne and Wꝛoton toward the ſouthweſt, afterward directing his courſe toward the noꝛthweſt, thoꝛough the Vine, it paſſeth at the laſt by Bꝛamlie, and thoꝛough a pæce of Wiltſhire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bꝛidge, leauing a patch of Wiltſhire on the right hand (as I haue béene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne receiueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the weſterlie called Baſing water, commeth from Baſingſtoke, and thoꝛough a parke vnto the afoꝛeſaid place.

Lodunus.

The other deſcendeth of two heads from Mapledoꝛ well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwiſe, and yet it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Baſing water, from whence they go togither to Turges, where they méet with the Loddon (as I haue ſaid alreadie.) The next ſtreame toward the ſouth is called Ditſoꝛd bꝛoke. It riſeth not farre from Upton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnboꝛow caſtell receiueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the ſame denomination) from whence they go togither by Maddingleie vnto Swalowfield, and ſo into the Loddon. In this voiage alſo the Loddon mæteth with the Elwie oꝛ Elueie that commeth from Alderſhare, not farre by weſt of Euerſleie: and about Eluetham likewiſe with another running from Dogmanſfield named the Douke: and alſo the third not inferioꝛ to the reſt comming from Erin, whoſe head is in Surreie, and going by Aſh becommeth a limit, firſt betwæne Surreie and Hamſhire; then betwæne Hamſhire and Barkeſhire, and paſſing by Aſh, Erinleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamſted; it ioineth at laſt with the Ditſoꝛd, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefoꝛe with our Loddon, hauing receiued all theſe waters; and after the laſt confluence with them now being come to Loddon bꝛidge, it paſſeth on by a part of Wiltſhire to Twifoꝛd bꝛidge, then to Wargraue, and ſo into the Thames that now is maruellouſlie increaſed and growen vnto triple greatneſſe (to that it was at Oxford.)

Ditis vadum. Ikelus. Elueius. Ducus. Erin.

Being therefoꝛe paſt Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Hoꝛſependon, oꝛ Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where ſometime a great rill voideth it ſelfe in the ſame. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake iuſt noꝛth, and now turning eaſtwards againe) by Medenham, Hurleie, Bilham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the leſſe, it mæteth with a bꝛoke ſone after that conſiſteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Uſe, riſeth about weſt Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to eaſt Wickham oꝛ high Wickham, a pꝛetie market towne. The other named Higden, deſcendeth alſo from thoſe mountaines but a mile beneath weſt Wickham, and ioining both in one at the laſt, in the weſt end of eaſt Wickham towne, they go togither to Wlowburne, Hedſoꝛ, & ſo into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that woꝛd dow I vſe in my foꝛmer treatiſe: but to pꝛoceéd. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, *alias* Sudlington, Bꝛaie, Doꝛneie, Clure, new Windſoꝛ (taking in neuertheleſſe, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riſeth out of a Moꝛe, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windſoꝛ, Wꝛaiboꝛow, and a little by eaſt therof doth croſſe the Cole, whereof I find this ſhoꝛt deſcription inſuing.

Uſa. Higden.

The Cole riſeth néere vnto Flamſted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watfoꝛd, and ſo by Moꝛe to Richmanſwoꝛth, where there is a confluence of thꝛée waters, of which

Colus, *alias* Vere and Uertume.

Gadus. which this Cole is the firſt. The ſecond called Gadus riſeth not farre from Alhridge, an houſe or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddesdin, Hemſted, betweene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Caſhew bridges, and ſo to Richmanſworth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northwell, to Northchurch, Barkehamſted, and beneath Hemſted ioining with the ſame. The laſt commeth in at northweſt from aboue Chelham, by Chelham it ſelfe, then by Chelham Bois, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheinies, Sarret and Richmanſworth, and ſo going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vrbridge, where it taketh in the Miſſenden water, from northweſt, which riſing aboue Miſſenden the greater goeth by Miſſenden the leſſe, Hagmondeſham (now Hammerſham) the Vach, Chalkhunt Giles, Chalkhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vrbridge (as I haue ſaid.) Sone after this our Cole doth part it ſelfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows ſtraight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe eaſt of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betweene them of no ſmall ſize and quantitie.

Windeles. Being paſt the Cole, we come to the fall of the Windeles, which riſeth by northweſt néere vnto Bagſhot, from whence it goeth to Windleſham, Chobham, and méeting with a brooklet comming weſtward from Bigleie, they run togither toward Cherteſeie, where when they haue met with a ſmall rill riſing north of Sonning hill in Windleſoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeaſt ſide of Cherteſeie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the ſame ſide, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one ſide, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie riſing by weſt, commeth from Milford, & ſone after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riſeth in Wulmere forreſt, and goeth by Hedleie and Frenſham) haſteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waiberleie, Elſted, and ſo to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Thureſbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the ſame denomination. From hence alſo it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shawford, but yer it come there, it croſſeth Craulie becke, which riſing ſomewhere about the edge of Suſſer ſhort of Ridgewie, goeth by Wacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Wonarſh, and ſo into the Waie. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shawford, and ſone after (méeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albirie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke ſide taketh in a brooke that riſeth of two heads, whereof one doth ſpring betweene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and ſo runneth thorough Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Biſier, Wanford, Oteland, and ſo into the Thames.

Weie. Thureſbie. Crawleie. Abbinger.

Molis. From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, weſt Moulſeie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northſide, and eaſt Moulſeie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that ſtand on each ſide of the place, where it falleth into our ſtreame. It riſeth in Wood forreſt, and going by Burſtow, it méeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a ſmall courſe from two ſeuerall heads, whereof one is alſo in the forreſt aforenamed, the other runneth from Febuſh wood, and comming by Iſeld, méeteth with the firſt aboue Horleie, and ſo run on in one chanell, I ſaie, till they ioine with the Moule water, whereof I ſpake before.

After this confluence in like ſort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Nelham on the one ſide, and another on the other ſide, running by Ockleie and Capell, and whereinto alſo a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northweſt part. Finallie, being thus increaſed with theſe manie rilles, it goeth by eaſt Bechewoorth, weſt Bechewoorth, and ouer againſt the Swalow on the ſide of Mzake hill, taking in another that cõmeth thither from Wotton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Nickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Aſhire parke, eaſt Moulſeie, and ſo into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingſton, and there alſo méeteth with another becke, riſing at Ewell ſouth of Nonſuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Hauldon, & ſo to Kingſton towne. The Thames in like maner being paſt Kingſton, goeth to Tuddington, Peterſham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northweſt ſide, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by weſt of the ſame, goeth by Hales, Harlington, Felthan, and Thiſtleworth into the Thames.

The next fall of water is at Sion, néere vnto new Brainford, ſo that it iſſueth into the Thames betweene them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Britiſh tong (as Leland ſaith) a frog. It riſeth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingeſburie, Twiford, Perſuall, Yanwell, and Auſterleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brentford, Northlach, Cheſwic, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it croſſed a becke from Wandleſworth, that riſeth at Woodmans turne, and going by Eaſthalton, méeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and ſo going on to Mitcham, Parton abbeie, and Wandleſworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next vnto this is Mariburne rill on the other ſide, which commeth in by S. James, ſo that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we reſted for a ſeaſon to take view of the ſeuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being paſt London, and in the waie toward the ſea: the firſt water that it méeteth withall, is the Bromc on Kent ſide, weſt of Grœnewich, whoſe head is Bromis in Bromleie pariſh, and going from thence to Lewcham, it taketh in a water from by eaſt, and ſo directeth his courſe forth right vnto the Thames.

Brane. Mariburne. Bromis.

The next water that it méeteth withall, is on Eſſex ſide, almoſt againſt Woolwich, and that is the Lée or Luie, whoſe head riſeth ſhort of Kempton in Hertfordſhire, foure miles ſoutheaſt of Luton, ſometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going thorough a peece of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the ſouth, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) riſing at northweſt in Brode-water hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeaſt of Digeſwell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the ſaid confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield alſo it receiueth the Beane (as I geſſe) comming from Borwood by Benington, Aſton, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increaſe from aboue Ware, which deſcendeth from two heads: whereof the greateſt commeth

Lée. Logus. Marran. Beane.

meth from Barkewaie in Edwinſter hundred, the other Sandon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go togither by Pulcherchurth, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge Wadeſmill, Benghow, and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the ſame 1408, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a peece of Singlethall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſaid towne. From hence alſo they go as one to old Stanſted called Le Veil, branching in ſuch wiſe yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in ſundrie places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stanſted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, weſt (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riſeth at Wenden lotes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elſingham, & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hieth on to Biſhops Stourford, Sabrichford, and beneath this towne croſſeth with another from the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they go togither to Eaſtwic, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. Theſe things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddeſdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower than Wormeleie it ſelfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormeleie locke. Sturius.

It runneth alſo by Cheſton nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the ſaid houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, becauſe it diuideth Eaſtſex and Hartford ſhire in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeſdich, halfe a mile from his firſt breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marſh point ioineth againe with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Paulie bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham cauſie, & halfe a mile lower than Paulie bridge, at the corner of Ramnie mead, it méeteth with the kings ſtreame & principall courſe of Luy, or Lée, as it is commonlie called. The ſecond arme breaketh out of the kings ſtreame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheſton nunrie, and ſo to the fulling mill, and two bridges by weſt of the kings ſtreame, wherinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Malkins ſhelfe, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton & Hartfordſhire men do ſais, that the kings ſtreame at Waltham doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter do plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Paulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of the kings ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & ſo goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the B. ſtreame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lée runneth on by ſouth on Waltonſtow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it ſelfe, and partlie by mans induſtrie for mils. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (ſometimes king of England) was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ſhips into the countrie, thereto kill and ſlaie his ſubiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did ſo mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the ſame; that when they purpoſed to come backe, there was nothing ſo much water left as the ſhips did draw: wherefore being ſet on ground, they Alfred.

were ſome fired, & the aduerſaries ouercome. By this policie alſo much medow ground was wone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was alſo a part of Aſſyria by the like practiſe of Cyrus with the Ganges, at ſuch time as he came againſt Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was ſo offended, that one of his knights whom he loued déerlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his paſſage ouer the ſame, that he ſware a déepe oth yer long to make it ſo ſhallow that it ſhould not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to paſſe, for he cauſed all his armie to dig 46 new draines frō the ſame, wherby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. *Senec. de Tra. li. 3.* But to conclude with the Lée that ſomtime ouerflowed all thoſe medowes, through which it paſſeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being paſt Weſtham, it is not long yer it fall into that ſtreame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time alſo he had Wittham a towne in Eſſex in hand, as his ſiſter called Aelfled repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of ſome called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Beneſuth, and Pemmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Benington, and Benghow: which if it be ſo, then muſt the Pemmarran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time paſt right well be called Parranfield, for of like inuerſion of names I could ſhew manie examples.

Being paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Eſſex ſide in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water riſeth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Eithorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Hatching and high Lauer: and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I ſaie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland conjecteth that the ſtreame is called Juell: for my part, I wot not what to ſay of it. But héerof I am ſure, that the whole courſe being paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanſted riuers, Theidon mount, Hetbridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & ſo into the Thames. Rodon or Rodunus. Lauer. Iuelus.

The Darwent méeteth with our ſaid Thames vpon Kents ſide, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue béene informed by Chriſtopher Saxtons card late made of the ſame, and the like (I hope) he will do in all the ſeuerall ſhires of England at the infinit charges of ſir Thomas Sackford knight, & maiſter of the requeſts, whoſe zeale vnto his countrie héerin I cannot but remember, & ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe riuers for the Kentiſh part do run. Would to God his plats were once finiſhed for the reſt! But to proceed. The Darwent therefore, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titſeie toward Braſted, and receiuing on ech ſide of that towne (& ſeuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorham, Kinſford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by Darwent. Craie.

Marie Crale, Paules Crale, North Crale, and Crailford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the broke, it is a world to see what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentish shore, in whose description Fuichsius hath not a little halted; whilest he giueth forth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betweene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuertheless is notable in the said hearbe, that being translated into the garden, it receiueth another forme cleane different from the first, which it yelded when it grew vpon the shore, and therevnto appeareth of more fat & soggie substance. Which maketh me to thinke that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of wormewood, whereof controuersie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Maule Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for rising about Cozingham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I do now describe.

I would haue spoken of one creeke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Halstlo by S. Maries: but sith I vnderstand not with what backewaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skilfull of their courses. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I would for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distichon which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

Hinc non est aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
Fellum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.

Midwaie. Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaie water, whereof I find two descriptions, the first beginneth thus. The Midwaie water is called in Latine Mœdeuia (as some write) because the course therof is midwaie in a manner betweene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In British it hight Dourbrée: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobrenum. But in an old charter which I haue seene (conteining a donation sometime made to the monasterie of saint Andrews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedring; and also a towne standing betweene Malling and east Farlete, Wedrington; and finallie, a forrest also of the same denomination, Wedrington, now Waterdon, wherby the originall name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Wedring, and ioineth with another broke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Suller: and after this confluence they go on togither, as one by Aghhirst, where hauing receiued also the second broke, it hasteth to Pensherst, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the northwest side, and an other little streame that commeth from the hilles, betweene Peuenburie and Horsemon on the southeast. From thence also, and not farre from Malling it receiueth the Theise (a prettie streame that ariseth about Theise Hirst) & afterward the Gran or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbrooke, and meeting with sundrie other riuelets by the waie, whereof one branch of Theise is the last, for it parteth at the Twist, and including a prettie Iland, doth ioine with the said Midwaie, a little aboue Malding, and then with the Lowse. Finallie at Maidstone it meeteth with another broke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Duton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckestane, Rochester, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingsferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betweene Shepeie and the Grane.

Frethus.

Theise. Grane *alias* Cranus.

And thus much out of the first author, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yeeld such plentie of sturgeon, as beside the kings portion, and a due vnto the archbishop of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the shrimps that are taken therein, which are no lesse esteemed of in their kind, than the westerne smelts or flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second author describeth it after this manner, and more copiouslie than the other.

The cheefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath runne a prettie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it meeteth with a broke, whose head is in Ward forrest, southwest of Grenested, which goeth to Hartfield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwaie. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-west from Cowden ward, and the third aboue Pensherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Crawherst; and ioining aboue Edenbridge, it doth fall into the midwaie beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingston. From Pensherst our maine streame hasteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wroteham, the third at west Peckham, & likewise another from southest, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the Theie, whose forked head is at Theise Hirst, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a broke out of the northside of Waterden forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuer goeth to Goldhirst, and comming to the Twist, it bifurcheth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, or rather Cranebrooke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I do take it) riseth neere to Cranebrooke, and going by Sillinghirst, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcorne, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcorne it selfe standing betweene them both. Finallie, the Garan or Crane meeting with Midwaie south of Malling, they on the one side, and the Theie on the other, leaue a prettie Iland in the middest, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember.

Garanus, Cranus.

From Malling forward, the Midwaie goeth to west Farlegh, east Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidstone, it interteineth a rill that riseth short of Ienham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in drie yeeres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Maidstone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckstane, and Rochester, where it passeth vnder a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord John Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant sir Robert Knolles, who gaue the first onset vpon that peece of worke, and therevnto builded a chapell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in testimonie of his pietie. In processe of time also one John Warner of Rochester made the new coping thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that see were not slacke in their beneuolence and furtherances toward

that

that worke, eſpeciallie Walter Merton founder of Merton college in Oxford, who by miſfortune periſhed by falling from the ſame, as he rode to ſurueie the workemen. Being paſt Rocheſter, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Apchurin, and ſonne after branching, it imbraceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heads do Aſhdon forreſt, that lieth betweene them both.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

Chap. 12.

Stoure.

AFter the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riſeth at Ringeſwood, which is fourteene or fifteene miles from Canturburie. This riuer paſſeth by Aſhford, Wie, Nackington, Canturburie, Fordiſh, Standiſh, and Sturemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it ſelf in twaine, & in ſuch wiſe, that one arme therof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth ſoutheaſtward vp to Richborow, and ſo to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeaſt againe and falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth downe thither, after the diuiſion of the Stoure, maie be the ſame which Beda calleth Wantſome; but as I cannot vndo this knot at will, ſo this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Iland.

Mailburne water alſo (as I heare) neer to Cantwarburie, but I wote not whereabouts: ſee Marianus Scotus.

Wantſome.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland ſpeaketh, as Filhpole becke that ariſeth in Stonehirſt wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chiſlet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leland ſaith: the third iſſueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſometime paſt held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the ſaid authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridgewater that riſeth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Biſhops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: alſo Witham that riſeth aboue Witham ſhort of Adſam, and falleth into Bridgewater at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third nameleſſe, which riſeth ſhort of Wodenſburgh (a towne wherein Hengiſt & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Odhine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but ſith they are obſcure I will not touch them here. From hence paſſing by the Godwine, a plot verie perilous for ſea-faring men (ſometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conquerours ſonne, whoſe name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Godwine in time paſt was knowne to lie) but eſcaping it with eaſe, we came at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no ſtreame, by reaſon of the cliffes that inuiron the ſaid coaſt. Howbeit vpon the ſouth ſide of Douer, there is a prettie freſh riuer, whoſe head ariſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure miles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Britiſh tong is a common name for waters, as is alſo the old Britiſh word Auon for the greateſt riuers, into whoſe mouthes or falles ſhippes might find ſafe entrance; and therefore ſuch are in my time called hauens, a new word growen by an aſpiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this elſe-where, ſith I am now onelie to ſpeake of Dour, whereof it is likelie that the towne & caſtell of Douer did ſometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peraduenture here and there ſundrie ſmall creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the ſea. This Rother ſeparateth Suſſex from Kent, and hath his head in Suſſex, not farre from Argas hill neere to Waterden forreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and ſo forth by Newendon vnto Natham ferrie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a caſtell ſometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Bilie that riſeth about Bilſington, the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Orneie, which in time paſt was reputed as a parcell of Suſſex; but now vpon ſome occaſion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finallie with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: ſo that the plot wherein Rie ſtandeth, is in manner a by-land or peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and moſt men are of the likelieſt opinion, that this riuer ſhould be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull ſaith) doth iſſue out of Andredeſwald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, becauſe the Danes are noted to enter into theſe parts by the Limen; and ſailing on the ſame to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted alreadie. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Rother.

Bilie.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the weſt ſide of Rie hauen, & in viewing the iſſues that fall into the ſame, I met firſt of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſaid port. The firſt therfore that falleth into it deſcendeth from Beckleie or thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, & ſoone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the weſterlie ſide of Rie: the third ſtreame commeth from the north, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Munfield, ſo it runneth betweene Seſcambe and Wacklinton neere vnto Bread, taking another rill withall that riſeth (as I heare) not verie far from Weſtfield. There is likewiſe a fourth that groweth of two heads betweene Jelingham and Pet, and going by Winchelſeie it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, ſo that Winchelſeie ſtandeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by ſouthweſt of Haſtings, or therabouts, is called Æſtus or Aſten: perhaps of Haſten or Haſting the Dane, (who in time paſt was a plague to France and England) & riſing not far from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea (as I heare) by eaſt of Hollington. Bulnerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) ſerued with no backewater; and ſo I heare of Codding or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Aeſtus.

Bulnerhithe.

Into Pevenſeie hauen diuerſe waters do reſort, and of theſe, that which entereth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide riſeth out from two heads, whereof the moſt eaſterlie is called Aſh, the next vnto the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſhburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſhburne water, as I read. The ſecond that commeth thereinto iſſueth alſo of two heads, whereof the one is ſo manie miles from Boxeham, the other not

Pevenſeie.

Aſh.

Burne.

far from the Parke eaſt of Yellingſtowne, and both of them concurring ſouthweſt of Hirſtmowſen, they direct their courſe toward Peuenſeie (beneath which they meet with another riſing at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall togither into Peuenſeie hauen. The Cuckmer iſſueth out at ſeuerall places, and hereof the more eaſterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Biſhops wood, and meeting beneth Halling, they run in one bottome by Pitcham Arlington, Wellington, old Frithſtan, and ſo into the ſea.

Cucomarus.

Iſis, *ni fallor.*

Unto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, ſundrie brookes and riuerets doo reſort, but the chiefe head riſeth toward the weſt, ſomewhat betweene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The firſt water therefore that falleth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide, iſſueth out of the ground about Uertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Kipe, on the weſt ſide, it falleth into the aforeſaid riuer beneath Forle and Glime, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The nert hereunto hath his head in Argas hill, the third deſcendeth from Alhedon forreſt, and ioining with the laſt mentioned, they croſſe the maine riuer a little beneath Iſefield. The fourth water commeth from Alhedon forreſt by Horſted Caines (or Duſeſtate Caines) and falleth into the ſame, likewiſe eaſt of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not called Iſis, after it is paſt Iſefield. The fift riſeth about Stonuelgate, and meeteth alſo with the maine ſtreame aboue Linfield, and theſe are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuer. On the other ſide are onelie two, whereof the firſt hath his originall nære vnto Wenefield, and holding on his courſe toward the eaſt, it meeteth with his maſter betweene Newicke and Iſefield (or Iſfield) as ſome read it. The laſt of all commeth from Plimodume or Plumpton, and hauing met in like ſort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, & they reſt in one chanell by Barcham, Hamſeie, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and ſo forth into the maine.

Sturewell.

Plinus.

The next riuer that we came vnto weſt of Brighthemſton is the Soze, which notwithſtanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Parton colledge in Oxford: but in ſuch ſort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Apledoure ſtreame, becauſe of the ſaid towne that ſtandeth thervpon. But to proceed, it is a pleaſant water, & thereto if you conſider the ſituation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much reſembling a foure ſtringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuer is, or which of theſe branches may ſafelie be called Soza from the riſing, in good ſooth I cannot ſay. For after we had paſſed nine or ten mils thereon vp into the land, ſuddenlie the croſſe waters ſtopped vs, ſo that we were inforced to turne either eaſt or weſt, for directlie forth-right we had no waie to go. The firſt arme on the right hand as we went, riſeth out of a parke by ſouth of Alborne, and going on for a certeine ſpace toward the northweſt, it turneth ſouthward betweene Shermonburie and Twinham, and ſone after meeteth with the Bimar, not much ſouth from Shermonburie, whence they run togither almoſt two miles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the weſt ſide deſcendeth from about Billingeſhirſt, & going toward the eaſt, it croſſeth with the fourth (which riſeth a litle by weſt of Thacam) eaſt from Pulborow, and ſo they run as one into the Soze, that after this confluence haſteth it ſelfe ſouthward by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

Soza.

Bimarus.

Arunus.

The Arun (of which beſide Arundell towne the caſtell and the vallie wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in Engliſh) is a goodlie water, and thereto increaſed with no ſmall number of excellent & pleaſant brookes. It ſpringeth vp of two heads, whereof one deſcendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the nert ſtreame (as I geſſe) about Dourſford houſe. The ſecond riſeth by weſt from the hils that lie toward the riſing of the ſunne from Eaſt maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Bertonward, and ioineth with the ſecond betweene Peterfield and Dourſford, after which confluence they go togither in one chanell ſtill toward the eaſt (taking a rill with them that commeth betweene Fernehirſt and S. Lukes chappell, ſouthweſt of Linchmere, and meeting with it eaſt of Loddeſworth (as I doo read, and likewiſe ſundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the weſt ſide) and ſo into the ſea.

Having thus deſcribed the weſt ſide of Arun, let vs doo the like with the other in ſuch ſort as we beſt may. The firſt riuer that we come vnto therfore on the eaſt ſide, and alſo the ſecond, riſe of ſundrie places in S. Leonards forreſt, & ioining a little aboue Horſham, they meet with the third, which commeth from Iſfield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riſeth in Witleie parke, the other by weſt, nære vnto Heſelmere chappell, and meeting by weſt of Dourſfeld, they vnite themſelues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I ſpake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingſhirſt. The laſt water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth weſt and ſouth, and paſſing betweene Billingthirſt and Stopham, it commeth vnto the chanell laſt mentioned, and ſo into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increaſe, at the leaſt that I doo heare of.

Burne hath his iſſue in a parke nære Aldingburrie (or rather a little aboue the ſame toward the north, as I haue ſince bæne informed) and running by the bottomes toward the ſouth, it falleth betweene north Berflete and Fletham. Erin riſeth of ſundrie heads, by eaſt of Erinleie, and diretting his courſe toward the ſunne riſing, it peninſulateth Seleſeie towne on the ſouthweſt and Pagham at northweſt. Deel ſpringeth about Benderton, and thence running betweene middle Lauant and eaſt Lauant, it goeth by weſt of weſt Hampnet, by eaſt of Chicheſter, or weſt of Rumbaldeſdowne, and afterward by Fiſhburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming northweſt from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one ſtreame toward the ſea, it meeteth with another rillet comming by north of Boſham, and ſo into Auant gulfe by eaſt of Thorneie Iland.

Burne.

Erin.

Delus.

The Racon riſeth by eaſt of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Thorneie aforeſaid. The Emill commeth firſt betweene Racton and Stanſted, then downe to Emilſworth or Emmeſworth, & ſo vnto the Ocean, ſeparating Suſſer from Hampſhire almoſt from the very head. Hauing in this maner paſſed along the coaſts of Suſſer, the nert water that I remember, riſeth by eaſt of the forreſt of Elſbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, weſt Burhunt, Farham, and ſo into the gulfe almoſt full ſouth. Then come we to Bedenham creeke (ſo called of a village ſtanding thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almoſt directlie againſt Portcheſter caſtell, which is ſituat about three miles by water from Portſmouth towne, as Leland doth report. Then go we within halfe a mile further to Forten creeke, which either giueth or taketh name of

Racunus.

Emill.

Badunus forte.

Forten or Fordon.

Oſterpoole. a village hard by. After this we come to Oſterpoole lake, a great creeke, that goeth vp by weſt into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of ſtone, from whence alſo there goeth a chaine to another tower on the eaſt ſide directlie ouer againſt it, the like whereof is to be ſeene in diuerſe other hauens of the weſt countrie, wherby the entrance of great veſſels into that part may be at pleaſure reſtreined.

From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riſeth about Eaſtmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by northeaſt or there abouts from Tichefeld. From Eaſtmaine it goeth (parting the forreſts of Waltham, and Eaſtberie by the way) to Witham or Wiſcombe, a pretie market towne & large thoroughfare, where alſo the water ſeparateth it ſelfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yet long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maiſter Writhoſeleies houſe (leauing Tichfeld towne on the right ſide) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the ſea floweth as hir naturall courſe inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerſe ſtreames reſort, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

Tichefield.

Hamelriſh. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelriſh creeke, whoſe fall is betweene ſaint Andrewes caſtell, and Hoke. It riſeth about Shidford in Waltham forreſt, & when it is paſt Croke bridge, it meeteth with another breake, which iſſueth not farre from Biſhops Waltham, out of ſundrie ſprings in the high waie on Winchester, from whence it paſſeth (as I ſaid) by Biſhops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run togither by Prowlingſworth, Upton, Bruſill, Hamble towne, and ſo into the ſea.

Hamelriſh.

Southhampton. Now come we to the hauen of Southhampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie deſcribe ſo neere as I can poſſiblie. The breadth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by eſtimation two miles from ſhore to ſhore. At the weſt point therof alſo is a ſtrong caſtell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldſhore, but now Cawſhot, I wote not by what occaſion. On the eaſt ſide thereof alſo is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fiſher houſes, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen ſhooteth vp on the weſt ſide by the ſpace of ſeuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, ſtanding on the other ſide, where it is by eſtimation a mile from land to land. Whence it goeth vp further about three miles to Redbridge, ſtill ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, ſo farre as my memorie doth ſerue mee. Now it reſteth that I deſcribe the Alreſford ſtreame, which ſome do call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Southhampton.

Alreſford. The Alreſford beginneth of diuerſe faire ſprings, about a mile or more frō Alreſford, or Alford as it is now called, and ſome after reſorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the moſt part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a ſtone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it ſelfe on the left hand) toward Hichingſtocke three miles off, but yet it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forreſt in maner at hand, and by northweſt of old Alreſford, the other frō Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberſtone, &c: vntill we meet with the ſaid water beneath Alford towne. Being paſt Hichinſtocke, it commeth by Alnington to Elſton village, and to Worthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it ſelfe into other that reſort to Hide and the lower ſoiles by eaſt of Winchester, there ſeruing the ſtreets, the cloſe of S. Maries, Wolueſeie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great ſtreame commeth from Worthie to the eaſt bridge, and ſo to ſaint Elizabeth college, where it doth alſo part in twaine, enuironing the ſaid houſe in moſt delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Croſſes, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth ſix miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall on the eaſt ſide, and ſo into the ſalt creeke that leadeth downe to the hauen.

Otter.

On the other ſide of Southhampton, there reſorteth into this hauen alſo both the Teſt & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large deſcription inſuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is ſuppoſed to be ſomewhere about Baſing ſtoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betweene Duerton and Steuenton, it commeth at laſt by Lauerſtocke & Whitchurch, and ſome after receiuing a brooke by northweſt, called the Bourne (deſcending from S. Marie Bourne, ſoutheaſt from Horſleburne) it proceedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the eaſt ſide (a pretie riuelet riſing about Michelneie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increaſed yet it come there by an other brooke, whoſe name I doo not know. This Andeuer ſtreame riſeth in Culhamſhire forreſt, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yet it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I ſpake before, which riſing alſo neer vnto Anport, goeth to Honketon, to Abbateſham, the Andeuer, and both (as I ſaid) vnto the Teſt beneath Horwell, whereof I ſpake euen now.

Stocke. Bourne.

These ſtreames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the ſouth vnder Stockbridge, and ſome after diuiding it ſelfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from byweſt of S. Ans hill, and goeth by eaſt of vpper Wallop, weſt of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forreſt, Broughton, and called (as I haue beene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north weſt of kings Somburne, and vniting themſelues againe, they go forth by Mottelhunt, and then receiue the Teſt, a pretie water riſing in Clarendun parke, that goeth by weſt Deane, and eaſt Deane, ſo to Mottelhunt, and finallie to the aforeſaid water, which from thence forth is called the Teſt, euen vnto the ſea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumſeie, Longbridge, and beneath the ſame receiueth a concourſe of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefield, the other from the new Forreſt, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Teſt, not verie farre from Purſeling. From thence the Teſt goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yet it fall into the hauen.

Ptolomaus. Teſt.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, ſpringeth in the new Forreſt, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not paſſing one mile by weſt of the fall of Teſt. From hence caſting about againe into the maine ſea, and leauing Calde ſhore caſtell on the right hand, we directed our courſe toward the southweſt, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mincie deſcendeth. The Mincie riſeth not far from Mincieſteed, a village in the north part of the new Forreſt; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the ſea ſouth-

Eling.

Mincie.

west (as I take it) of Erburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

Limen. Being past the Mineie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime conuerted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, buteng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towns and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or inlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finallie into the sea southward by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Greeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuertheles, sith this denomination of the riuer hath now hir free passage, I think it not conuenient to seeke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is nameles, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it light Mile, as I haue heard in English: Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or Strickland leading fro the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hong by a thred, from the maine of the Iland, readie to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues.

Bure.

Mills.

Auon. The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by northeast, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Halenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Uphauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Wodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Wodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogither, bicause it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Filherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a statelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little Iland, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure prettie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & some after it reuniteth it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harneham bridge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Christes church Twinham fiue miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before nere) vnto Wolfe hall; although he that will seeke more scrupulouslie for the head in deed, must looke for the same about the borders of the forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betweene the first armes thereof, as I haue beene informed. These heads also do make a confluence by east of Partinhall hill, and west of Wilton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powsele, Manningfield abbeie, Manningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcanninges, and runneth into the same by Patneie, Werden, Wilford, Charleton, and Ruffisall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Uphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darntford, Wodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northwest, & another from northeast, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while.

The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantasticall heads do imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Upton by Werminster at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Upton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wilshford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads aboue Duerdonet. After this it goeth by Woodcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Aulkie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth nert of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westharnam, Salisburie, and Eastharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh.

Wilugh.

Nader becke.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Coneie, Idmerston, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes broke) a mile beneath Harneham bridge, whose head is fiue miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a prettie broke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Fennistratford, to Yonington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Yonington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a prettie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stead of this church, there is onelie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obteined of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of

Becquith broke.

Chalkeburne.

Three townes decaied by changing one waie.

the

the ruine of old Saliſburie, ſith I read of two other, whereof the firſt was a ſaluo vnto the latter, as I take it. For where as it was giuen out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Saliſburie, it is flat otherwiſe; ſith that hill is verie plentifullie ſerued with ſpringes and wels of verie ſweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the ſouldiors of the caſtell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, inſomuch that after often braules, they fell at laſt to ſad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the clergie going in ſolemne proceſſion, a controuerſie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one ſide claimed and the other denied. Such alſo was the hot intertainment on ech part, that at the laſt the Caſtellanes eſpieng their time, gate betweene the cleargie and the towne, and ſo cloſed them as they returned homeward, that they feared ante more to gang about their bounds for the yeare. Herevpon the people miſſing their bellie cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at euerie ſtation, a thing commonlie practiſed by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer ſaid, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued forthwith a deadlie hatred againſt the Caſtellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they conſulted with Richard Poze their biſhop, and he with them ſo effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Mirifield, pretending to ſerue God there in better ſafetie, and with far more quietneſſe than they could do before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finiſhed with the expenſes of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentith of March, whereby it appeereth that it was aboue fortie yéers in hand, although the clearks were tranſlated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeare after the traie. The people alſo ſeeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earneſt on the other ſide to be néere vnto theſe prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his houſe vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeares vtterlie deſolate, and new Saliſburie raiſed vp in ſtéed thereof, to the great decaie alſo of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I ſpake of late. Neuertheleſſe it ſhould ſéeme to me that this new citie is not altogither void of ſome great hinderances now and then by water: for in the ſecond of Edward the ſecond (who held a parlement there) there was a ſudden thaw after a great froſt, which cauſed the waters ſo faſt to ariſe, that euen at high maſſe time the water came into the minſter, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the ſame, but came vp all to the kings pauaſe where he ſate, whereby he became wethod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his maſſe, leaſt they ſhould all haue béene drowned: and this rage indured there for the ſpace of two daies, whereupon no ſeruice could be ſaid in the ſaid minſter.

An holie conflict.

New Saliſburie begun.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digreſſed. Our Auon therefore departing from Saliſburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Craiſford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Ringwood, Auon, Chriſtes church; and finallie into the ſea. But yer it come all there & a little beneth Chriſtes church, it croſſeth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire ſtreame, whoſe courſe is ſuch as may not be left vntouched. It riſeth of ſir heads, whereof three lie on the north ſide of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other riſe without the parke; & of this riuer the towne and baronie of Sturton doth take his name as I geſſe, for except my memorie do to much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the ſir heads of the ſaid water in his armes. But to proceed. After theſe branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laine mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that deſcendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Weſtouer bridge, Stoure prouoſt, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & ſo to Staplefford, ſeuen miles from Wickhampton, paſſing in the ſaid voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Parues, and ſone after croſſeth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the biſhops Caundell: the ſecond in the hils ſouth of Pulham, and ſo runneth to Lidlinch; the third water iſſueth néere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there méeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and ſo go into the Stoure.

Cale. Lidden. Deuilis. Iber. Blackewater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minſter, Fitleford, Hammond, and ſone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by weſt Orchard, and a ſecond from Funt mill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweſton, Knighton, Brainſton, Blandford, Charleton: and croſſing yer long a rill that riſeth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launſton, Munketon, Caunſton, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwie, and by and by receiuing another broke on the right hand, that riſeth about Stricland, and goeth by Quarleſton, Whitchurch, Anderſton, and Winterburne, it haſteth forward to Stoureminſter, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, *aliàs* Twinburne minſter, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wilkehampton, Elkambridge, Hinton, Barnſleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riſeth ſhort of Woodcotes, and eaſt of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Athleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finallie, méeting with the Terig aboue Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preſton, Kingſton, Perleie, and Polneſt: but yer it come at Polneſt it taketh in two brookes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondeſham, Uertwod, and Pannington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and ſo into Stoure. After which confluence, the ſaid Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and ſo into Auon, leauing Chriſts church aboue the méeting of the ſaid waters (as I haue ſaid before.)

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eels.

Hauing in this maner paſſed Chriſtes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little broke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceéded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whoſe mouth vpon the ſhore, by ſouthweſt in a baie of three miles off, is a poore fiſher towne called Sandwich, where we ſaw a péere and a little freſh broke. The verie vtter part of ſaint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth weſt Lilleworth, where (as I heare) is ſome profitable harborough for ſhips. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it ſtandeth almoſt as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it ſelfe alſo, if a man ſhould meaſure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did geſſe by the view.

Burne. Poole.

Going therefore into the ſame, betweene the north

and

Auon.

and the ſouth points, to ſée what waters were there, we left Bzunkeleie Iland, and the caſtell on the left hand within the ſaid points; and paſſing about by Pole, and leaning that créeke, bicauſe it hath no freſh, we came by Holton and Beſwoꝛth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the noꝛth, the other the ſouth waters. The noꝛth ſtreame hight Piddle as I heare. It riſeth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterſtow, and yet it come at Birſtam, receiueth Deuils bzoke that commeth thither from Bzugham and Melcombe by Deuliſh towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Ache piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yet it come there, a water that runneth from Yelton by Piddleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and ſo into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus ſpeaketh, except I be deceiued. The ſouth water is pꝛoperlie called Frome foꝛ Frame. It riſeth néere vnto Euerſhot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catſtocke, it receiueth there a rill from beſide Rowſham, and Wrarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it méeteth with the Diuke, that riſeth either two miles aboue Hoke parke at Benford, oꝛ in the great pond within Hoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & ſo go as one from thence to Fromevauchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth néere vnto the ſame a rill from aboue Upſidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimſton. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bzadfoꝛd Peuerell, and beneath this Bzadfoꝛd, it croſſeth the Silleie *alias* Winterne and Cherne bzoks both in one chanell: whereof the firſt riſeth in vpper Cherne pariſh, the other at Winterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Foꝛſton, Godmanſton, and aboue Charneminſter into Frome. In the meane time alſo our Frome bzancheth and leaueth an Iland aboue Charneminſter, and ioining againe néere Doꝛcheſter, it goeth by Doꝛcheſter, and Foꝛthington; but yet it come at Beckington, it méeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinſtow, Yeringſtow, Caine and Staffoꝛd, and from thence goeth without anie further increaſe as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Moꝛton, Wooll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the iſſue of the Luckefoꝛd lake, from whence alſo it paſſeth by Eaſtholme, Warham, and ſo into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we ſaw a litle créeke, then by Owze, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by ſaint Helens, and Furleie caſtell, we went abzoad into the maine, and found our ſelues at libertie.

When we were paſt Pole hauen, we left the Handfaſt point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at laſt to Lughpoꝛt hauen, whereby and alſo the Luckefoꝛd lake, all this poꝛtion of ground laſt remembzed, is left in maner of a byland oꝛ peninſula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good ſtoꝛe of alum and hard ſtone. In like ſoꝛt going ſtill weſterlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a créeke. Then vnto Waie oꝛ Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whoſe head is not full foure miles aboue the hauen by noꝛthweſt at Uphill in the ſide of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we ſaw thzée falles, whereof the firſt and greateſt commeth from Upweie by Bzadweie, and Radipole, receiuing afterward the ſecond that ran from eaſt Chekerell, and likewiſe the third that maketh the ground betwéene Weimouth and Smalmouth paſſage almoſt an Iland. There is a little barre of ſand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the ſea runneth vp by the right hand; and ſcant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the ſhoꝛe, is a right goodlie and warlike caſtell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp alſo further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a paſſage is into Poꝛtland, by a little courſe of pibble ſand. It goeth vp alſo from the ſaid paſſage vnto Abbatſburie about ſcauen miles off, where a litle freſh rondell reſoꝛteth to the ſea. And ſomewhat aboue this is the head oꝛ point of the Cheſill lieng noꝛthweſt, which ſtretcheth vp from thence about ſeauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the ſoutheaſt, and there abutteth vpon Poꝛtland ſcant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcaſtle there. The nature of this banke is ſuch, that ſo often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at ſoutheaſt, ſo often the ſea beateth in, and loſing the banke ſoketh thzough it: ſo that if this wind ſhould blow from that coꝛner anie long time togither, Poꝛtland ſhould be left an Iland as it hath béene befoꝛe. But as the ſouthweſt wind doth appaire this banke, ſo a noꝛthweſt doth barre it vp againe. It is pꝛetie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth ſtreight againſt Milton on the other ſide, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of ſmall bzeadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one ſide of the ſhoꝛe to another, whereby the ferrie men doo guide their botes without anie helpe of Oꝛes. But to pꝛoceed with our purpoſe. Into the mouth of this riuer doo ſhips often conte foꝛ ſuccour.

Going by Poꝛtland and the point thereof called the Naſe, we ſailed along by the Shingle, till we came by ſaint Katharins chappell, where we ſaw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdéene Beaconward, by Poꝛtham and Abbatſburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the ſea, néere Birton, and deſcended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bzide oꝛ Bzute poꝛt, a pꝛetie hauen, and the riuer it ſelfe ſerued with ſundzie waters. It riſeth halfe a mile oꝛ moze aboue Bemiſter, and ſo goeth from Bemiſter to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melplaſh, and ſo to Bzitepoꝛt, where it taketh in two waters from by eaſt in one chanell, of which one riſeth eaſt of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Poꝛtſloke and Milton, the other at Alkerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence alſo our Bzide going toward the ſea, taketh the Simen on the weſt that commeth by Simenſburge into the ſame, the whole ſtreame ſone after falling into the ſea, and leauing a pꝛetie hauenet.

The next poꝛt is the Chare, ſerued with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe head of this riuer is (as Leland ſaith) in Marſhwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by weſt of Wotton, and méeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I ſaid) doth fall into the ſea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townelmen call the Buddle, which commeth about thzée miles by noꝛth of Lime, from the hils, fleting vpon Rockie ſoile, and ſo falleth into the ſea. Certes, there is no hauen héere that I could ſée, but a quarter of a mile by weſt ſouthweſt of the towne, is a great and coſtlie iuttie in the ſea foꝛ ſuccour of ſhips. The towne is diſtant from Colton, about fiue miles. And héere we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coaſt of Doꝛcheſter, oꝛ Doꝛcetſhire, ſo that next we muſt enter into Summerſet countie, and ſée what waters are there.

The firſt water that we méet withall in Summerſetſhire is the Are, which riſeth in a place called Are knoll, longing to ſir Giles Strangwaie, néere vnto Cheddington in Doꝛſetſhire, from whence it runneth to Moſkerne, Feboꝛow, Clarton, Weſtoꝛd bzidge,

Piddle.
Deuils.
Frome.
Dewa.
Silleie.
Winterne. Cherne.
Luckfoꝛd.
Sméke moze foꝛ wilie bzoke that goeth by weſt burie to Pole hauen.
Cheſill.
Bzide.
Nature hath ſet the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, ſo that a little coſt would make an hauē there.
Simen.
Chare.
Buddle.
Are.

bridge, Wainham ford, and receiuing one rill from the east by Hawkechurch, and sone after another comming from northwest by Churchstoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminster, beneath which it crosseth the Pare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitkaunton, Parecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a broke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Are. From hence our Are goeth to Drake, Pulburie, Culliford: but yer it come altogither at Culliford, it meeteth with a water that riseth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill also, proceedeth on after the confluence aboue Culliford bridge, into the Are, and from thence hold on togither into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnder the roots of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almost a mile in sunder. The most westerlie of them called Berewood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

Pare alias Arte.

But the other toward the east is named Whitecliffe, of which I saie no more, but that in the time of Athelstane, the greatest nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this Iland, but Athelstane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew six thousand of his aforesaid enimies. Not one of them also that remained aliue, escaped from the battell without some deadlie or verie grieuous wound. In this conflict moreouer were slaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Are minster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the cheefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Herevnto it addeth how the bishop of Shireburne was in like sort slaine in this battell, that began at Brune dune neere to Coliton, and indured euen to Are minster, which then was called Brunberie or Brunburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without ante brightnesse, vntill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was clere and nothing cloudie.

As for the hauen which in times past as I haue heard, hath beene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there beene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betweene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble stones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Are is driuen to the verie east point of the hauen called White cliffe. Thereat also a verie little gull goeth into the sea, whither small fisherbotes do oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to take and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the course of the Are, and (almost in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west northwest, whereof riseth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betweene Are bridge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

Sidde. Seton. Colie.

By west of Berewoorth point lieth a creeke, serued (so farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hilles south of Southleie or Brancombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Maries from the said hils, that goeth from S. Maries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betweene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Auterton point also lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a prettie riueret, whose head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe first by Apanter, then by a parke side to Pohuns Auter, Munketon, Honniton, Buckewell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riseth northwest of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Amniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betweene Cadde and Autrie, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea.

Sid. Autrie alias Otterele.

On the west side of this hauen is Budeleie almost directly against Otterton. It is easie to be seene also, that within lesse space than one hundred yeers, ships did vse this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little creeke commig out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past beene a towne of great estimation.

Tale.

The Ere riseth in Eremore in Summersetshire, Exe. neere vnto Ere crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Ereford, Winsford, and Ertun, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it meet with a prettie broke rising northeast of Whettell (going by Brunton Regis) increased at the least with three rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & sone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like sort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth meet with the Ere, almost in the verie confines betweene Dorset & Summerset shires. Being past this coniunction, our Ere passeth betweene Brushford and Durbath, and then to Ere bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by west from east Auskie: and after this likewise another on ech side, whereof one commeth from Dirford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, somewhat by east of Okeford. From these meetings it goeth to Caue and through the forrest and woods to Hatherland and Washfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riseth aboue Alhbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and so to Tiuerton that standeth almost euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming broke or Sunnings bath. After this our Ere goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten (taking in a rill by west) nether Ere, Bramford, beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riseth of one head northeast of Clarie Haidon, and of another south of Shildon, and meeting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Alhford, it runneth south to Wood, Pore haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioining (as I said) with the Ere at Bramford, passing vnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by west, growing of the Forten and Cride waters (except it be so that I do iudge amisse.) The Cride riseth aboue Wollesworthie, and neere vnto Upton: after it is past Dewrith, crosseth a rill from betweene Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it meeteth with the Forten, wherof one branch commeth by Caldbroke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long also receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betweene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Ere, which faieth not vntill it come to Excester. From Excester (whither the burgesses in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by west, and an other lower by Erminster, next of all vnto Toppelham; beneath which towne the Cliue entreth thereinto,

Ere. Barleie. Done alias Done stroke. Woodburne. Lomund or Simming. Columbe. Cride. Forten. Cliues.

into, which riſing about Plumtree, goeth by Cliſt Haidon, Cliſt Laurence, Wode Cliſt, Honiton, Sonton, Biſhops Cliſt, S. Marie Cliſt, Cliſt ſaint George, and then into the Ere, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limſton and Ponderham caſtell.

Ben. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ben, or Benton broke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunſdike, Shillingford, Benford, Ben, Benton, and ſo into Ere hauen, at whoſe mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkſtones, except I be deceiued. The nert fall, whereof Leland ſaith nothing at all, commeth by Aſhcombe and Duliſh, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Teigne. The Teigne mouth is the nert fall that we came to, & it is a godlie port foure miles from Exemouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the ſea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewiſe another weſt of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bidford, Birſlowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bonie, whoſe courſe is

Crokerne. to north Bonie, Lilleie, and Bowtracie. Thence it

Bonie. runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a

Eidis. broke beneath Preſton that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is paſt this confluence, at

Leman. kings Teignton, it croſſeth the Leman, which com-

Aller. meth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Buſhels: and ſone after the Aller that riſeth betweene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the ſea by Biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignmouth towne.

The verie vtter weſt point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a verie high red cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low ſandie ground, either caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of the Teigne, or elſe throwne vp from the ſhore by the rage of wind and water. This ſand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betweene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (ſurnamed Regis) hath in time paſt bin ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, whereof the weſt point is called Birie, and the eaſt Perritorie, betweene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſir miles, where (ſaith Leland) I marked diuerſe things. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hillie point called Downeſend, and betwixt Downeſend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it ſelfe, in like ſort, is not full a mile from Downeſend vpward into the hauen. Kingſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingſwere towne goeth a little creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for veſſels to be made in. In like ſort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer creke, and aboue that alſo a greater than either of theſe called Gawnſton, whoſe head is here not halfe a mile from the maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

Dart. The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta moth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fifteene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a verie large plot, and ſuch another wild mouriſh & forreſtie ground as Ermore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is verie ſwift, and thorough occaſion of tin-workes whereby it paſſeth, it carrieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vpriſing, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and ſone after taking in the Aſhburne water on the one ſide that runneth from Sadleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on ech ſide paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Roſſ bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another ſaith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aſprempton into Darent, which yer long alſo commeth to Cornewoorthie, Grenewaie, Ditham, Darntmouth towne (whervnto king John gaue ſometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totneſſe) from thence betweene the caſtelles, and finallie into ſea.

Aſhburne. Buckfaſtlich. Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokefleming to another water, which commeth from blacke Ruton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this baie by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directlie weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little freſh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (ſuch as it is) riſeth neere Buckland, and goeth to Dudbroke, which ſtandeth betweene two creekes. Thence it bieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whoſe head commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finallie, it hath another creke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe head is ſo neere the baie laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a forie peninſula (as I haue heard it ſaid.)

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe head is in the hils farre aboue Bzent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardton, Owne well, and ſo vnto the ſea, which is full of flats and rocks, ſo that no ſhip commeth thither in anie tempeſt, except it be forced thereto, through the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Caſtile loſt two ſhips here in the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, when he was driuen to land in the weſt countrie by the rage of weather. Palme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Palmerton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea, about foure miles by ſouth eaſt from the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth. Being paſt theſe portlets, then nert of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie buſie peece to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes; yet will I do what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

Awne. Arme. See Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794. Palme. Plim.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie ſame water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ſhips do ride, is walled on ech ſide and chained ouer in time of neceſſitie, and on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a blocke houſe vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it ſelfe, it riſeth in the hils weſt of Cornewood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of three miles to Newenham after it be iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariſeth northweſt of Shepſtour, & goeth frō thence to Nemchurch, Hele, Shane, Bickleie, and ſo to Eford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill

Plim. Stoure alias Catwater.

vntill it go past Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen south east of Plimmouth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause why so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the Brittish word for a streame, I rested therupon as resolued for a season: but afterward finding the word to be meere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yeelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Liuer.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two creeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that discharged it selfe into, the aforsaid hauen. Going therfore vp that streame which for the most part parteth Deuonshire from Cornewall, the first riuer† that I met withall on the east side is called Taxie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles aboue Peters Taxie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Parle Taxie betweene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taxe or Taxie runneth to Taxistocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another aboue north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth therevnto by Sandford and Harrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton follie. Hauing thus dispatched the Taxie, the next that falleth in on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, aboue which it receiueth the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Bredistow, goeth by Trulholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Lifton, and from thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Coze water, this ariseth somewhere about Elwell or Yelwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton, the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Taxe or Taxie.

Lidde.

Trushell.

Coze.

Thamar.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about three miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betweene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frō this confluence, we met with the Renseie, whose head is short of Warpesson by south east: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Tresmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowthitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Pitherwic, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuer riseth at Dauidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, vntill it meet with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Targreue (there abouts taking in a creeke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, halleth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Brownwillie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wotton, Blossleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, saint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlie and Fro Martine castell, and sone after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbrooke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betweene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betweene Newsson rocke on the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

Thamar.

Xrteie.

Renseie.

Enian.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came sone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Minheniet, Chafrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betweene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Sutton.

Low.

Polpir.

Foy or Fawy riuer riseth in Fawy more, on the side of an hill in Fawy more, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it met with the Glin water west of Glin towne, which rising aboue Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Respin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Respin bridge, Lestermen castell, Lostwithiell bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being thus united, it proceedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riseth in Fawy more (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sixteene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quaue mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Draineshridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Respin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little brooke, and neere therevnto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and sone after ioining againe, the maine riuer goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie doth faile me. Here goeth in a salt creeke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the creeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

Foy.

Fawie.

Glin.

Lerinus.

Faw.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not aboue a mile and

In the middle of this creeke was a cell of S. Cl-

an

ret in an Illet longing ſometime to Mountegew a prioric.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs creeke to Poulmorland a mile, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmorland weto Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a creeke goeth vp not fullie a thouſand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching againſt the tower on Fawy ſide, betweene which (as I do heare) a chaine hath ſometime beene ſtretched, and likelie inough; for the hauen there is hardly two bow ſhot ouer. The verie point of land at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but now Panuche croſſe. It ſhall not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comwhath, and being ſituat on the northſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one-quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceiue me.

Comwhath.

The renowme of Fawy roſe by the wars vnder king Edward the firſt, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine piracie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling themſelues ſomwhat at eaſe and ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to merchandize, and ſo they proſpered in this their new deuiſe, that as they trauelled into all places, ſo merchants from all countries made reſort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ſhips of Fawy ſailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelſeie in the time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to do by the portgreues or rulers of thoſe townes. Herevpon the Rhie and Winchelſeie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the ſcutchion of Rhie and Winchelſeie is quartered with theirs, and beſide this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioiſed, and more peraduenture than for ſome greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we ſee what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witleſſe and raſh aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed, and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſh vp this our voiage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

Gallants of Foy or Fawy.

Being therefore paſt this hauen, we come into Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betweene Canualle and the Blacke head point, and hereabout Leland placeth *Vrſtoum promontorium*. In this we ſaw the fall of two ſmall brookes, not one verie far diſtant from another. The firſt of them entring weſt of Trewardith, the other eaſt of ſaint Blaies, and both directlie againſt Curwarder rocke, except I miſtake my compaſſe. Neither of them are of anie great courſe, and the longeſt not full three miles and an halfe. Wherfore ſith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what ſhould I make long harneſt of a little corne, and ſpend more time than may well be ſpared about them?

When we were paſt the Blacke head, we came to Auſkell brooke, which is increaſed with a water that commeth from aboue Melwan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the ſea at Pentozen, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to Chare baies, where falleth in a prettie water, whoſe head is two miles aboue ſaint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a meere ſalt creeke, till we paſſed the Graie rocke, in Gwindzaith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen.

Auſkell.

Chare.

The Fala riſeth a little by north of Penuenton towne, and going weſtward till it come downwards toward ſaint Dioniſe, it goeth from thence to Melader, ſaint Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Cornelete, Tregue, Morgan, Tregunnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the courſe of Fala. But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to omit thoſe creekes that are betweene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in ſo manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a creeke that runneth vp by ſaint Anthonies toward ſaint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by eaſt of ſaint Maries caſtell, with a forked head, paſſing in the meane time by a great rocke, that lieth in the verie midſt of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betweene ſaint Maries caſtell and Pendinant.

Fala.

Thence we caſt about by the ſaid caſtell, and came by another creeke that falleth in by eaſt, then the ſecond aboue ſaint Iuſtus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Rilan. And hauing as it were viſited all theſe in order, we come backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going vpward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Featangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath ſaint Clements, whereof one hath a freſh water comming downe by S. Werther, the other another from Truro, increaſed with ſundrie branches, though not one of them of anie greatneſſe, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole ſtandeth vpon the head almoſt of the moſt eaſterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro ſtand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by woſſ from certeine hils: as for the firſt and firſt, as they be little creeks and no freſh, ſo haue I leſſe language and talke to ſpend about them.

Of ſaint Cate, and ſaint Feokes creeke, whoſe iſſue is betweene Kelſronget and creeke of Truric, I ſee no cauſe to make any long ſpeech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke ſtandeth betweene them both. That alſo called after this ſaint, riſing aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeaſt of Miloz, which ſtandeth vpon the point betweene it and Miloz creeke. Miloz creeke is nert Kelſronget: ſome call it Miloz pole, from whence we went by Trefuſis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin towne almoſt in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for ſomuch as Leland hath taken ſome paines in the deſcription of this riuer, I will not ſuffer it to periſh, ſith there is other matter conteined therein worthie remembrance, although not deliuered in ſuch order as the thing it ſelfe requireth.

S. Cate. S. Feoke Miloz.

The verie point (ſaith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compaſſe, almoſt inuironed with the ſea: and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall matter to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maiſter Killigrewes houſe one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good

Fala.

miles

Leuine. miles from Penſuſis. Moreouer, there is Leuine, Priſelo, betwixt ſaint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſand. But to proceed.

The firſt creeke or arme that caſteth on the north-weſt ſide of Falemouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſcuith, *viridis nidus*, the greene neſt, or Wagmere at Penrine: the other to ſaint Gluuias the parith church of Penrine. In like ſort out of each ſide of Penrine creeke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtand alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue béene ſet in the creeke at Penrine a litle lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth, betwixt the point of Trefuſis and Mylor. the point of Reſkronget is Mylor creeke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ſhips. The next creeke beyond the point of Reſkronget wood, is called Reſkronget, which going Reſkronget. two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Reſkronget and the creeke of Truric be two creekes; one called ſaint S. Feokes. Feokes, the other ſaint Caie, next vnto which is S. Caie. Truric creeke that goeth vp about two miles creeking from the principall ſtreame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Truric, caſting in a branch weſtward euen hard by Newham wood.

Truric creeke. This creeke of Truric is diuided into two parts before the towne of Truric, and each of them hauing a bꝛooke comming downe and a bꝛidge, the towne of Truric ſtandeth betwixt them both. In like ſort Kenwen ſtréet is ſeuered from the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtreet by eaſt with the other. Out of the bodie alſo of Truric creeke breaketh another eaſtward a mile from Crurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Creſilian bꝛidge of ſtone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this créeke is a rode of ſhips called Maples rode: and here fought not long ſince eightéene ſhips of Spaniſh merchants, with foure ſhips of warre of Dieppe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Crurie creeke, is another named Lhan Morgan of S. Morgans church Morgan. at hand. This créeke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two miles aboue Morgan creeke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bꝛidge of ſtone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a mile or more weſt of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I ſaw a bꝛidge of ſtone.

Graund pont. This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. From Cregowie to paſſe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or créeke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanihorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſand about a mile wide of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninſula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or créeke that runneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the créeke that hemmeth in this peninſula, of both doth ſéeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the weſt creeke of this peninſula, vnto ſaint Iuſtes creeke, is foure miles or more.

In like maner from ſaint Iuſtes pill or créeke (for both ſignifie one thing) to ſaint Mawes creeke Gluſtus. S. Mawes. is a mile and a halfe, and the point betwéene them both is called Pendinas. The créeke of ſaint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſide that it ebbeth and floweth ſo farre, there is a mill driuen with a freſh créeke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a créeke in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill alſo that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the ſouth ſide entereth a créeke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little créekelet. But how ſo euer theſe créekes do run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouſlie well wooded. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maiſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betwéene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with anie backe freſh water or not.

From thence we went by Polwitherall créeke Polwitherall. (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, Polpenrith. wherevnto a riueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thence, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of the hauen at the laſt, whither the créeke reſorteth about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Wike. Mogun bridges, do fall in one bottome (as Leland Gare. hath reported.) Vnto this hauen alſo repaireth the Mogun. Penkeſtell, the Callous, the Cheſtow, and the Gil- Penkeſtell. Callous. Cheſtow. ling, although this latter lieth againſt ſaint Mawnons on the hither ſide hard without the hauen mouth Gilling. (if I haue done aright.) For ſo motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, and beſide that, his annotations are ſuch and ſo confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie ſenſe from them by a leaſe togither. Wherefore I ſuppoſe that he diſperſed and made his notes intricate of ſet purpoſe: or elſe he was loth that anie man ſhould eaſilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no leſſe trauell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, than profitable for ſeafaring men, without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtraight ſouthweſt to Helford hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Wréeke (where is a confluence of two Helle. ſmall rilles whereof that rill conſiſteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is ſpoiled by ſand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this alſo is another rill comming from S. Martyns, by whoſe courſe, and another ouer againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into the ſea by Winniton, all Menage is left almoſt in maner of an Iland. From hence we go ſouth to the Manacle point, then ſouthweſt to Liſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannocke points, beyond which we méet with the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the ſea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth ſhort of Magan, and touCurie. cheth with the Ocean ſouth of Pengwenian point.

From hence we ſailed to the Lo mouth, which ſome Lo. call Lopole, becauſe it is narrower at the fall into the ſea, than it is betwéene the ſea and Hailſton. It riſeth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Hailſton or Helſton, from whence onelie it is called Lo: but betwéene Helſton and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuer Leland ſaith thus: The Lopole is two miles in

length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of ſand that once in three or foure yéeres, what by weight of the freſh water, and working of the ſea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noiſe: but ſone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the ſuperfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and éele) draineth out through the ſandie barre into the open ſea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Hailetton towne, where coinage of tin is alſo vſed, as at Truric and Loſtwithiell, for the quéenes aduantage.

Being paſſed the Lo, I came to another water that deſcendeth without anie increaſe from Crowan by Simneie, whoſe whole courſe is not aboue three miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going ſtreight north (leauing S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which riſing ſhort of Tewindnacke, deſcendeth by Lidgenan, and ſo into the ſea. Certes the courſe of theſe waters cannot be long, ſith in this verie place the breadth of land is not aboue foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is alſo a rill eaſt of Bozugie, and Guluall, and another weſt of the ſame hard at hand, and likewiſe the third eaſt of Penſants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the ſecond, ſouthweſt of Penſants alſo lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going ſouthweſt out of the baie by Poulhole Ile, that lieth ſouth of Poulhole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by weſt of Sancrete, the other from by weſt of an hill that ſtandeth betwéene them both, and ioining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they ſalute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Roſecaſtell, there are two other créekes, whereof one is called Boſkennie, that riſeth ſouth of ſaint Buriens, and an other ſomewhat longer than the firſt, that iſſueth by weſt of the aforeſaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore do appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not néere the lands end by three miles. This latter rill alſo is the laſt that I do reade of on the ſouth ſide, and likewiſe on the weſt and north, till we haue ſailed to S. Jes baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Bzeſan Ile eaſtward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middeſt and higheſt part of the baie of the ſame. The ſoile alſo is verie hillie here, as for ſaint Jes towne, it is almoſt (as I ſaid) a byland, and yet is it well watered with ſundrie rilles that come from thoſe hilles vnto the ſame.

The Haile riſeth in ſuch maner, and from ſo manie heads, as I haue before ſaid: howbeit I will adde ſomewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chéefe head of Haile riſeth by weſt of Gwdalfin hilles, and going downe toward ſaint Erthes, it receiueth the ſecond, and beſt of the other three rilles from Gwdalfin towne: finallie, comming to ſaint Erthes, and ſo vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, ſouth of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the ſaid village ſtanding directlie betwirt them both.

The Caine riſeth ſoutheaſt of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increaſe by weſt of Gwethian, and ſo into the ſea weſt of Mara Darwale. From hence we coaſted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riſeth of two heads from thoſe hilles that lie by ſouth of the ſame: one of them alſo runneth by ſaint Uni, another by Redreuth, and méeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another ſmall rill, and likewiſe two other créekes, betwixt which the towne of ſaint Agnes ſtandeth; and likewiſe the fourth halfe a mile beyond the moſt eaſterlie of theſe, whoſe head is almoſt three miles within the land in a towne called ſaint Alin. Thence going by the Manrocke, and weſt of ſaint Piran in the ſand, we find a courſe of three miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts do méet at weſt aboue ſaint Kibbard, and ſo go into the ſea. I take this to be ſaint Pirans créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whoſe head is at Gulwarth, from whence it goeth vnto Trerife, and ſone after taking in a rill from by weſt, it runneth into the ſea coaſt of ſaint Carantakes. Beyond this is another créeke that riſeth aboue little ſaint Colan, and goeth by leſſe ſaint Columbe: and eaſt and by north hereof commeth downe one more whoſe head is almoſt ſouth of the Nine ſtones, & going from thence to great ſaint Columbes, it paſſeth by Lamberne, and ſo into the ſea. S. Merous créeke is but a little one, riſing weſt of Padſtow, and falling in almoſt ouer againſt the Gull rocke. Then turning betwéene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padſtow hauen three miles lower than port Iſſec, and a mile from port Gwin, whoſe waters remaine next of all to be deſcribed.

The Alan ariſeth flat eaſt from the hauen mouth of Padſtow, well néere eight or nine miles about Dauidſtone, neere vnto which the Eniam alſo iſſueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it paſſeth to Camelford, ſaint Aduen, ſaint Bernard (both Cornith ſaints) and ſone after receiueth a rill at northeaſt, deſcending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Bliſeland, and Helham, the firſt bridge of name that ſtandeth vpon Alin. Yer long alſo it taketh in one rill by ſouth from Bodman, another from ſaint Laurence, the third by weſt of this, and the fourth that commeth by Methiell, no one of them exceeding the courſe of three miles, and all by ſouth. From hence it goeth toward Igleſaleward, and there receiueth a water on the eaſt ſide, which commeth about two miles from ſaint Teath, by Michelſton, ſaint Tuchoe, ſaint Maben (no Cornith patrons) and finallie ſouth of Igleſall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Bzeaca to Woodbzidge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there ſhould fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carneſeie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I ſée them to iſſue on ſeuerall ſides beneath Woodbzidge almoſt directlie the one againſt the other. That which deſcendeth from northweſt, and riſeth about ſaint Kew, is named Carneſeie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the ſouthweſt banke bight Laine, and noted by Leland to riſe two miles aboue S. Elſe. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, there are two other créekes on ech ſide alſo, beneath theſe, as Pethzike créeke, and Minner créeke (ſo called of the Cornith ſaints) for that ſoile bred manie, wherewith I finiſh the deſcription of Alen, or (as ſome call it) Dunmere, and other Padſtow water.

From Padſtow hauen alſo they ſaile out full weſt to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewiſe two rockes, which lie in the eaſt ſide of the hauen, ſecretlie hidden at full ſea, as two pads in the ſtraw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padſtow is a corrupted word for Adelſtow, and ſhould ſignifie ſo much as *Athelſtani locus*, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time paſt ſundrie charters of priuilege from Athelſtane, although at this preſent it be well ſtored with Iriſhmen. But to our purpoſe. Le-

land

Luggam.
S. Pirans créeke.
Carantocke.
Padſtow.
Locus bufonis.
Plannus.
Eniam.
Carneſeie.
Laine.
Pethzike.
Minner.
Dunmere.

Himneie.
Lid.
Bzeſan Ile.
Haile.
Clowart.
Caine.

land ſuppoſeth this riuer to be the ſame Camblan, where Arthur fought his laſt and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that dw eare the ground there, dw oft plow vp bones of a large ſize, and great ſtore of armour, or elſe it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had ſome field (or Caſtra) thereabout, for not long ſince (and in the remembrance of man) a braſſe pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus paſſed Padſtow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a proze fiſher towne, where I find a broke and a peere. Then I came to Portiſſee *alias* Cunilus two miles further, and found there a broke, a peere, and ſome ſuccor for fiſher boats. Next of all vnto a broke that ran from ſouth eaſt, directlie north into the Sauerne ſea, and within halfe a mile of the ſame laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to ſaint Simphorian, and in which paroch alſo Tintagell or Dundagle caſtell ſtandeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the ſituation, and would be made with little reparations one of the ſtrongeſt things in England. For it ſtandeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the ſea. There is a chappell yet ſtanding in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to ſaint Vlet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in ſunder.

The next creeke is called Boſſinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the ſame Tredwie water reſorteth, and ſo they go to the ſea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one ſide lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the faſhion of an hauenet or peere, whither ſhiplets ſometime dw reſort for ſuccour. A frier of late daies toke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie alſo two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the weſt northweſt point, or ſide of this creeke, the one (ſauing that a little gut doth part them) ioining with the other, and in theſe by all likelihod is great ſtore of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boſcaſtell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this deſcription of the latter. Boſcaſtell creeke that lieth eaſt of Tintagell, is but a ſmall thing, running at the moſt not aboue two miles into the land, yet it paſſeth by foure townes, whereof the firſt is called Leſneth, the ſecond ſaint Juliet, the third Minſter, and the fourth Boſcaſtell or Buſhcaſtell, as ſome men dw pronounce it.

Tredwie.

Boſcaſtell.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whoſe chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Norham. And here alſo it croſſeth another whoſe head is eaſt of ſaint Marie wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolſton and Whaleſborow, and thence into the ſea betweene Efford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north ſide of Cornewall. Now let vs dw the like with thoſe that remaine of Deuonſhire, whereof the ſaid Hartland is the verie firſt point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barſtable bar, and ſo into the hauen, whereinto two principall ſtreams dw perpetuallie vnburden their chanels.

Bede.

Lancels.

The firſt and more weſterlie of theſe is called Ocus, whoſe head is not farre weſt of the head of Darnt, and both in Darntmore. Riſing therefore in the aforeſaid place, it runneth northweſt to Snorton, and ſo to Okehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water comming from ſoutheaſt, & riſeth not much weſt from the head of Tawe. From hence it goeth to Stow Erborne, Monke Okington, & Iddeſleie, where it taketh in the Tauridge a verie prette ſtreamelet, whoſe iſſue is not full a mile by eaſt from the head of Thamar, three miles by north eaſt from Hartland. Comming therefore by weſt and eaſt Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from ech ſide of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & ſo to Thornebirie, where meeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with ſpeed into the Tauridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Sheepewaſh (by weſt whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and ſo to Hatherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by ſouth, and endeth his race at Iddeſleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus haſteth to Dowland, and betweene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by eaſt, as it doth an other betweene Doulton and Parton from by weſt, and ſo proceeding on with his courſe, it commeth eaſt of Torrington the leſſe, and taking in a water at eaſt, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are ſituat, it deſcendeth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one ſide, and the Ware broke on the other, it proceedeth to Bedifor, croſſing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betweene Annarie & Litham. From Bedifor bridge it goeth without anie increaſe to Weſtleie, Norham, Apledoure, and ſo into the hauen.

Buckland.

Langtree.

were or ware.

Tauridge.

Torrege.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithſtanding that his hauen be barred with ſand; and thereby dangerous, and hath moſt rils deſcending into his chanell. Howbeit, by theſe two is all the hart of Deuonſhire well watered on the northſide of the mores. The Tawy riſeth directlie at ſouth weſt of Throwleie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland ſaith) in Ermore ſouth eaſt from Barſtable. From thence alſo it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Alhridge, Colridge, and ſome after receiueth the Bowmill creeke, wherof one head riſeth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneth Biſhops Morchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue beene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by ſouth whereof it meeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwod, and there taketh in the Houlebraie water conſiſting of two in one chanell, wherof the Holl doth riſe aboue north Moulton, and comming to Moulton receiueth another rill running from Holland, and ſome after the ſecond that growing by two brokes (the head of one being at Knawſton, and of the other weſt of Crokeham, and both uniting themſelues beneath Mariſton) doth fall into the ſame yer long alſo, and ſo go togither till it croſſe the Braie, which (being the ſecond of the two that maketh the Houlbraie) riſeth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and ſouth of Holtwod doth make his confluence with Taw. Being paſt the wod, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Taueton, Taueſtocke, & Barſtable, ſometime a prette walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and ſuch in deed, as that the ſuburbes thereof are greater than it ſelfe. I ſuppoſe that the name of this towne in the Britiſh ſpeach was Abertaw, becauſe it ſtood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdneſſe pronounced ſhort (as I geſſe) for Aberneſſe. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to dw in the proper name of the towne. King Athelſtane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is alſo worthie to be noted hereof, that the houſes there are

Ocus.

Tauridge.

Torrege.

Woulebraie.

Braie.

of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themselues within three miles of Barstaple. Soone after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Bitenden by Ashford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named the Doneham, bicause one head is at west Done, and the other at Yam, both of them meeting west of Ash. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appeere in Low water marke at Barstable, and yet is it a prettie riueret. This also is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiueth no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Donehaw.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint alias Bagpoint, we go by Moze baie, Mortstone alias Mortstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe Marton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie creekes of salt water, but not serued with anie fresh that I as yet do heare of. Marrie there is betweene Martinbow & Trenslow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betweene Linton and Conisberie called Oze, which riseth in Summersetshire in Exmoze (east of Moze oke, moze than a mile) and going by Owze, falleth into the sea betweene Linton and Conisberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Paradine.

Orus.

The breadth of Deuonshire & Cornewall.

Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Portloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunkeir brooke, which runneth from about Wotton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunkeir, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hils south of Bickualer by Westquantocke head, and almost at Monisord, receiueth the Williton becke, then to east Quantocke brooke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers do make their confluence, which I will seuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

Loch.

Durus.

Vacetus.

Williton.

Doddington.

The first of these is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Pow, who saith that the riuer Pow doth runne from Ilchester to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receiueth a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seuen springs in an hill called the seuen sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Mere. Another brooke likewise commeth by Yeidon from Puscandell, three miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glaston Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run forth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Iuell) and so to Clifton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Putford, Alhinton, and east of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade that runneth from Parlington, by north Cadbirie, and sone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Quenes Camell, west Camell, and so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betweene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Merlot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasilburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I do vnderstand.

Cade.

Parret.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorneie bridge, and Puchelneie where it meeteth with the second called Ill or Ilus, whose head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chalcombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilminster on the east side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell loseth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Nevertheless, how soeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Awber toward saint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

Pederton.

Ilton.

Iuelus.

The seuen sisters.

The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by west of Wiuelscombe, to Stawleie, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water coming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brunt Rale, Piluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Hethford and Norton, then another from Crokeham by bishops Slediard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidminster. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Kilton, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth yer long with the Chare, a prettie riuer that commeth by east from Northborow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Yigham, Audzle more, Audzle, and Pitchellborow. From whence going on betweene Quenes more and North more, it receiueth one brooke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth through Pederton parke and North more; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, yer it do come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northwest, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two wa-

Tone.

Chare or Care.

Peder.

ters

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Coꝛpole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Sidding ton and Comage, and then receiuing the Bꝛier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this ſuffice foꝛ the deſcription of the Iuell, whoſe ſtreame doth water all the weſt part of Summerſetſhire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

Camington. Bꝛier.

Bꝛier. Leland writeth the firſt Bricuclus and the ſecond Mellodunus of the Milton water.

The Bꝛier, Bꝛuer, oꝛ Bꝛéer, riſeth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood foꝛreſt, & commeth downe by Bꝛuecombe, Bꝛuham, and Bꝛuton. The other which Leland nameth Mellos, is noꝛtheſt of Staffoꝛdell towne, and going by the ſame, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it mæteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnſfoꝛd, Alfoꝛd (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by noꝛth that riſeth néere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfoꝛds, Baſboꝛow wood, the Coꝛ hill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did thꝛow Calibur his ſwoꝛd) by Glaſtenburie and ſo into the Méere. Beſide this riuer there are two other alſo that fall into the ſaid Méere, whereof the one called Solwaie commeth from Cꝛéechurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlacke bꝛidge, the other named Cos oꝛ the Coſcombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which caſt of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and ſo into the Méere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Burtlehouſe, and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe, one arme goeth by Baſtian aliàs Bꝛent bꝛidge, to Pigh bꝛidge, leauing Huntſpill a market towne by ſouthweſt, the other by Parke to Rokes bꝛidge, Hebbes paſſage, and ſo into the ſea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beſide Bꝛentmarth are ſeuen oꝛ eight townes, of whoſe names I haue no knowledge.

Howaie oꝛ Stowaie. Dulis. Cos.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I ſaid) into the Coſcombe water on the right hand of the Cawſeie; you ſhall vnderſtand that as manie ſpꝛings are in Wels, ſo the chiefe of them is named Andꝛes well, which riſeth in a medow plat not farre from the eaſt end of the cathedꝛall church, and afterward goeth into the Coſcombe, in ſuch place as I haue noted. Leland ſpeaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which ſhould fall likewiſe into the Bꝛier: but whether thoſe be they whereof the one riſeth aboue Staffoꝛdell, and in the deſcent runneth by Shipton, Pitcombe, and ſo to Awnſfoꝛd on the one ſide, as the other doth riſe betweene Batcombe and Upton noble on the other halfe; oꝛ vnto whether of them either of theſe names are ſeuerallie to be attributed: as yet I do not read.

Milton. Golafer.

Are. The Cheder bꝛooke, dꝛiueth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

The ſecond Are which commeth by Are towne in old time called Uera, iſſueth out of Diwkie hole, from whence it goeth by Diwkie towne, afterward mæting with the Cheder bꝛooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, whereof much hath béene written & ſurmiſed paſt credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compaſſe into the noꝛtheaſt bꝛanch of the afoꝛeſaid riuer laſt deſcribed, betweene Rokes bꝛidge and Hebbes paſſage, as I haue béene informed. From the fall of Are we come to an other called Bane, noꝛtheaſt of Wiwdſpꝛing, whoſe head is about Banwell parke, oꝛ elſe in Smaldon wood. Then to another, and to the third, called Artro, which riſeth about Litton, and going by the Artroes, Abbeie, Perꝛibꝛidge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by ſouth) beneath Cungelbirie, oꝛ (as I learne) betweene Kingſton and Laurence Wike, it mæteth with the ſea.

Bane. Artro.

Sotteſpill. Sotteſpill water riſeth betweene Cheueleie and Malleſeie, howbeit it hath no increaſe before it come into the ſea at Sotteſpill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne nære to the fall thereof. It riſeth ſoutheaſt of Barrow, goeth by Burton Malleſeie, and ſo vnto Cleueden. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a gœdlie water, and growne to be verie famous by ſundꝛie occaſions, to be particularlie touched in our deſcription of Bꝛiſtow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars dales, the verie ſame yeare that the old monaſterie of Euetham fell downe by it ſelfe, a poꝛpaſſe was taken therein nære to the ſaid monaſterie, and neuer anie before oꝛ ſince that time heard of to haue béene found in that ſtreame. And euen ſo not manie yeares before I firſt wrote this treatiſe, a ſturgion was taken aliue in Rocheſter ſtreame, which the biſhop gaue vnto your honoꝛ, and you would as gladlie haue ſent it to the quéenes maieſtie, if ſhe might haue béene preſented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both theſe rare occurrents gaue no leſſe occaſion of ſtrange ſurmiſes to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Bꝛerton, when they appeare, do vnto that familie; of which the repoꝛt goeth that they are neuer ſéene but againſt ſome miſchéefe oꝛ other to befall vnto that houſe. But how farre am I gone from my purpoſe?

Cleueden. Auon. 3. Sturgion taken in Rocheſter water.

The Auon therefoꝛe riſeth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Bꝛokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmſburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to ſaie, one from by weſt comming by Foreleie and Bꝛomleham, which runneth ſo nære to the Auon in the weſt ſuburbe of Malmſburie, that the towne thereby is almoſt made an Iland. Another from Okeleie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Gareſden. After this confluence it haſteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the ſoutheaſt, till it mæt with a water comming from ſouthweſt (betwéene Hullauington and Bꝛadfield) by Alton: and ſone after with another at the noꝛthſide from Binall by Motton Baſſet (thꝛough the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bꝛidges) and after the confluence to Dauntſeie, Segar, Sutton, Chriſtmalford, Auon, Calwaies houſe, and then to weſt Tetherton. Beneath this towne alſo it taketh in a water increaſed by two bꝛookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie houſe and Bꝛamble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) paſſeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thence foꝛth goeth to Chippenham, Kolwdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Colham water, goeth to Lacocke, Mellham, and yer it come at Whaddon, croſſeth two other in one chanell, whereof one riſeth about Bꝛumham houſe, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creke wood, Woꝛton, Malton, Bucklington, and ioining with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and noꝛth of Whaddon afoꝛeſaid into the maine ſtreame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and ſouthweſt of that towne mæteth with the Were that commeth from Upton by Milton, Bꝛooke parke (there croſſing a rill called Biſſe from Weſtbirie vnder the plaine) then to noꝛth Bꝛadleie, Trubꝛidge, and ſo into Auon that goeth from thence to Bꝛadfoꝛd, & within a mile oꝛ thereabouts, before it come at Freſhfoꝛd, it mæteth with the Frome, whoſe deſcription doth inſue.

Colham. were. weſtbirie vnder ỳ plaine, neuer without a theéle oꝛ twaine.

The Frome riſeth in the eaſt part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Aſtwie, the Colepits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmeſbꝛidge, and ſone after taketh in the Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie caſtell, thence to Walles and Dꝛcharleie bꝛidge, where it receiueth a pretie bꝛooke

Frome. Nonneie.

deſcending from Frome Selwood weſt of Brackleie, increaſed with ſundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood foreſt (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningſham, and the fourth from Coſſeie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie caſtell, Boord and Freſh ford, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and eaſt of Freſhford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from ſouthweſt, increaſed by ſundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Eſton, Midſummer Norton, by Welſton, Rodſtocke, Wrigleton, Foſcot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whoſe head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by weſt Kineton to Caſtell combe (where it ioineth with a rill riſing by north from Litleton druе) and thence commeth ſouth to Slaughtenford, Haſelburie, Box, Baſthford, and ſo into the Auon, which turning plaine weſt, haſteth to Baſthwike, and (meeting with another in his paſſage from Caldaſton) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coſton.

Silling.

Heere alſo it taketh in a rill by the waie from Markeſburie by Milmerton and Newton, and then going on to Salwford, it meeteth with one rill ſome weſt of Northſtocke, named Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Durhain by Wike, and ſo proceedeth ſtill holding on his way to Caimſham, a towne in Summerſet ſhire (ſo called of Caim an Engliſh ſaint, by whoſe praiers, as the countrie once beleeued, all the adders, ſnakes and ſerpents were turned into ſtone, their formes reſerued, and for a certeine ſpace of ground about the ſaid towne, and whereof ſome ſtore as yet is to be found in thoſe quaries. But this miracle is ſo true as the hiſtorie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike ſhould chaſe all venemous creatures out of Italie with his ſtaffe; or that maid Radegund ſhould driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while ſhe went vnto a chappell to heare & ſee a maſſe) where it croſſeth the Chute, which iſſueth at Winford, and goeth by biſhops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & ſo into the Auon. The Auon likewiſe after all theſe confluences goeth to Braiſelton, and ſo to Braſſow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each ſide (whereof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocеſterſhire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Braſſow, the other by ſouth from Mundreie hill and towne, by Biſport and Bedminſter) and ſo deſcending yet lower, goeth to Rawneham paſſage and Cliſton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Lake, next of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the ſea, whither all waters by nature do reſort.

Swinford.

Swinford parteth Summerſet & Glocеſterſhires in ſunder.

Beſide this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie brooke, which in ſome ancient records is alſo called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of Dourefleie becke, whoſe principall head is in Dourefleie towne: howbeit he ſaith no thing of it more, than that it ſerueth ſundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by Torſworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard ſtone about Dourefleie, he telleth of the Torſworth becke, that runneth within a ſtight ſhot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I miſtake his meaning, which may ſone be done among his confuſed notes.

Alderleie.
Dourefleie.

Torſworth.

The deſcription of the Sauerne, & ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.

Chap. 13.

THe Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which ſometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, ſo called of Camber, the ſecond ſonne of Brute, as our hiſtories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walth, whereby that nation doth vſe to call all ſtrangers without reſpect of countrie. This riuer toke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, baſe daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Eſtrildis daughter to Humber otherwiſe called Cumbrus or Umar, and for which ſome write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that ſometime inuaded this Iſland, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as ſhall be ſhewed at hand: although I ſuppoſe rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoniam*: for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the Britiſh ſpeech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is ſo much to ſaie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our diſcourſe of Humber or Umar, which is worthie to be remembred. Sauerne.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to paſſe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir ſonne: and then getting the ſaid Eſtrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, ſhe drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir huſbands diſloialtie towards hir, ſhe cauſed the ſtreame to be called Habren of the yong ladie, for which the Romans in proceſſe of time for readineſſe and mildneſſe of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the ſaid Abren alſo I find theſe verſes inſuing:

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine ſea betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and ſhall be called the Sauerne ſea, ſo long as the riuer doth keepe hir name. But as the ſaid ſtreame in length of courſe, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: ſo for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & ſtore of all kind of fiſh, as ſalmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or ſecond to the ſame. Finallie, there is nothing to be diſcommended in this riuer, but the openneſſe thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby ſundrie perils oft ouertake ſuch as fiſh or ſaile in ſmall veſſels on the ſame.

The head of this noble ſtreame is found in the high mounteines of ſouth Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon: in Engliſh, the blacke mounteins, or more heads, from whence alſo the Wie and the Rhidoll do proceed: and therefore theſe three waters are commonlie called the three ſiſters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fifteene and fiftie, as the deſcription inſueth. So ſone as it is out of the ground, it goeth ſoutheaſtward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by ſouth ſouthweſt, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the ſouth ſide, & ſouthweſt of Lan Idlos. It riſeth (as it ſhould ſeeme) of diuerſe heads in the edge of Radnorſhire,

and

and taking in ſundrie ſmall rilles, it meeteth at the laſt with the Brueham broke, and ſo they go togither till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh from northweſt, a water produced by the influence of foure prettie brokes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaſlin, the third Lhoid riſing in lin Begilin, and the moſt ſoutherlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne procéedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the eaſt ſide the Couine, thence to Cairfuſe caſtell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforeſaid fortreſſe. After this it croſſeth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Duleſſe that riſeth in the edge of Radnor ſhire, and meeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powiſſe, otherwiſe called Trenewith, as I find in Britiſh language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eſchue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bedfellowes anceſtrie, which came from hence, & were ſurnamed Newtons onelie, for that the grandfather of ſir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwiſe the right name is Caradoc, for which ſome do corruptlie write Cradocke, reſpecting rather the ſhortneſſe of pronuntiation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue béene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and ſeruice; their lands alſo ſometime belonged (for the moſt part) to the noble Gonnoanies of Summerſetſhire: but in what order they deſcended to the Newtons, in good ſooth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our riuer, which being paſt Newton, runneth forth by Landilouarne, and ſo forth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whoſe head is in the edge of Radnor alſo, and thereto his paſſage by Kerie and Lanmereiwie. After this alſo it procéedeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in alſo the Tate or Tadbrooke water riſing out of the hilles a mile from Biſhops towne, the whole courſe thereof being about ſeauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this alſo I find two deſcriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who ſaith that it is a prettie broke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie priorie ſtood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (ſaith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne ſhore, and likewiſe of the Lan Idlos broke that méeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I ſpeake not, but thinke it ſufficient to touch thoſe of ſome eſtimation, onelie leauing the reſt to ſuch as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchſtocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winſbirie, and ſo into the Sauerne.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Forden, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Peluerleie, and there it méeteth with ſundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie prettie water (whereinto the Peuereie or Marnewie doth fall, which deſcendeth from the hilles by weſt of Patrafall not farre from Lhan Flin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they méet with the Mordant broke, and there loſe their names ſo ſone as they ioine and mix their waters with it. The head of the Mordant iſſueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerſe ſaie, that the pariſh church of croſſe Oſwald or Oſwelter ſometimes ſtood. Certes, Oſwelter is thirtéene miles northweſt from Shrewſburie, and conteineth a mile within the walles. It hath in like ſort foure ſuburbs or great ſtrétes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wulfho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns ſtanding on a row belonging to the citizens or burgeſſes, and the fourth named the Blackegate ſtréet, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne & haie. There is alſo a broke running thorough the towne by the croſſe, comming from Simons well, a bow ſhote without the wall; & going vnder the ſame betweene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whoſe courſe the Baderikes or Bederich gate ſtandeth, and therefore called Bederich broke. The third palleth by the Willigate or Newgate, & theſe fall all togither with the Croſſe broke, a mile lower by ſouth into the Mordant that runneth (as I ſaid) by Oſwelter. From hence alſo it goeth to Mordant towne, and betwéene Landbreuie and Peluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall ſtreame goeth to Sheauerdon caſtell, Mountford, and Bicton chappell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riſeth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Perton, the other at Ellſmere, and ioining betweene Woodhouſes & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddeſmer, Roiton, Balſchurch, Walford, Grafton, Witton, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwije, vpper Roſſall, Shelton, and ſo to Shrewſburie, where it croſſeth the Pele water, whoſe head (as I heare) is ſaid to be in Weſton.

The Pele therefore riſing at Weſton, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aſton Pigot, Weſtleie, Aſterleie, and at Lea it méeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford and Aunſton. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other ſide that deſcendeth by Weſtburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewſburie, it falleth (as I ſaid) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hafteth to Aſſington, Preſton, and betwéene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire ſtreame and worthie to be well handled; if it late in me to performe it. This riuer riſeth in a mere beſide Welbridge parke, nére vnto Ternemere village in Staffordſhire. From whence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales croſſeth with a water comming from about Adbaſton (where maiſter Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: ſo that the Terns on the one ſide, and this broke on the other, do incloſe a great part of *Blore heath, where a noble battell was ſometime purpoſed betwéene king Henrie the firſt, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution.

But to procéed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and yet long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croſſeth with a broke that riſeth about Brinton, and going by Higham, Norton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilſon, Pickſtocke, Reinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the ſaid Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it méeteth with another broke that commeth from Chalt'uen Aſton, by Newport, Longford, Aldneie, and ſo through the Wilde more to Kinſleie & Slépe, and finallie into the Terne, which hafteth from thence to Eſton bridge, and nére vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Duenleie, croſſeth a rill from Cowlemere by Leniall. Thence it goeth to

Norton,

Bruchām. Cleſwdogh. Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Biggs. Couine. Carnon. Caran. Hawes. Duleſſe. Mule. Lenlet. Camalet. Tate. Lan Idlos. Tanet. Peuereie or Marnewie. Auernie. Mordant. Simons becke. Bederich. Wele. Haberleie. Terns. * See Hen. 6. pag. 649. Roden.

Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Nonlaie that commeth from Pidle) runneth on to Wen, Aſton, there croſſing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Pꝛées ward, and ſo to Lée, Becford, Stanton, Morton, Shabꝛée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Norton, Barwyc, Acham, and ſo into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shꝛewesburie (as I wéene.)

Thus haue I deſcribed the Terne in ſuch wiſe as my ſimple ſkill is able to performe. Now it reſteth that I pꝛoceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne ſtreame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Rorater or Rorceſter, Bꝛampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Dꝛaiton, where it ioineth with the Euerne that runneth from Frodeſleieward by Withiall and Pitchford, Treſſedge, Garneſton, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildaſſes croſſeth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and ſo goeth on to Bꝛowſleie and Hoꝛd parke, where it vniteth it ſelfe with another bꝛoke to be deſcribed in this place, whileſt the Sauerne reſts, and recreates it ſelfe here among the pleſant bottoms.

Euerne.

Wenlocke or Rhe.

This water ariſeth aboue Tongcaſtell, and yet it haue run anie great diſtance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roſton, and there croſſing another from Wlodhouſes, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it pꝛoceedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to croſſe the Wꝛoxe (ſometime a great ſtreame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and ſo paſſeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Wꝛoxſfield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another bꝛoke into it called Churle, & ſo goeth on to Rindleford, and then into Sauerne ſomwhat aboue Bꝛidgenoꝛth at Penſton mill (except mine infoꝛmation deceiue me.) From Bꝛidgenoꝛth our Sauerne deſcendeth to Wlodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Parbꝛoke beneath Eaton that riſeth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Norill & Underton, it runneth by Didmanſton, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, croſſeth with a bꝛoke comming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingleie, and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Clarnewood parke, Hawbach and Dowleſſe. Here alſo it méeteth with the Dowleſſe water, a pꝛetie bꝛoke iſſuing out of the Cle hilles in Shꝛopſhire, verie high to loke vpon, and thꝛée miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire foꝛreſt, & taking withall the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

Wꝛoxe.

Parbꝛoke.

Dowleſſe.

Lempe.

But to pꝛoceed. From Bewdleie our Sauerne haſteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and Redſton, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, deſcending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Woꝛceſterſhire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbꝛidge (taking in there the third water per long running from Sturton caſtell) then to Kinuer Whittenton, Duerleie and Kidoꝛminſter, aboue which it croſſeth one bꝛokelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belboꝛow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffoꝛdſhire included, and alſo the Cle hill. From hence the aforeſaid Sauerne haſteth by Redſton to Shꝛawleie; and aboue this towne receiueth the Aſtleie water, as beneath the ſame it doth another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt caſtell, and ſo to Grimleie, taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwale waters, whereof this riſeth at Chadſwyc, and runneth by Stoke pꝛioꝛie, & Dꝛoitwich, the other aboue Chaddeſleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Woꝛceſter, in old time called Cair Bꝛangon, oꝛ Cair Frangon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand aboue that citie, and beneth it neere vnto Powyc with the Temde, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe beforе I pꝛoceed oꝛ go anie further with the Sauerne.

Stoure.

Aſtleie.

Doure. Sulwale.

Tiber.

The Temde, or (as ſome name it) the Tame riſeth vp in Radnoꝛſhire, out of the Melenith hilles, and ſome after his iſſue, méeting with a water from Wlthall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and ſo to Knighton, which is fiue or ſix miles (as I heare) from his oꝛiginall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standiſh, and croſſing a rill that commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnoꝛſhire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it méeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find theſe deſcriptions here folowing woꝛd foꝛ woꝛd in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riſeth aboue New Chappell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun iſſueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Uehan and Paiſton, and going on by Bucton, Cluncaſtell, Clundon, Purlaw, and Clunbirie, it croſſeth with a bꝛoke that runneth along by Kempton and Bꝛampton. Thence going forth by Clunbirie, Bꝛome, Abcot and Marlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and ſo in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I ſuppoſe that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Dwke, but I will not abide by it bicauſe I am not ſure of it. After theſe confluences therefoꝛe, our Temde goeth by Trippleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Bꝛomefield, where it méeteth with the Dneie, which is an indifferent ſtreame, and increaſed with ſundꝛie waters, whereof I ſaie as followeth.

Clude.

Barfield Clun.

Dwke.

The firſt of all is called the Bow. It riſeth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hillington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwyc, where it croſſeth the Warren that iſſueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adſton and Wentnoꝛ. After the confluence alſo going on by Choulton and Cheinles, it taketh in the Queneie and Stradbꝛoke both in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it paſſe by Fellanton. The ſecond mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Ruthburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaſter, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Queneie, and ſo by Stratford into the Dneie, which hath boꝛne that name ſince the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwyc, whereof I ſpake beforе. Finallie, the Dneie which ſome call the Somergill being thus increaſed, it runneth on to Halwford chappell, Dneibirie, Bꝛomefield, and ſo into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus bꝛought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Coꝛue, which commeth thorough Coꝛuedale from aboue Bꝛocton by Moꝛehouſes, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Bꝛencoſt caſtell, goeth on to Coꝛſham caſtell, and there croſſing another from ſaint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and ſo likewiſe to Ludlow.

Warren.

Queneie and Stradbꝛoke.

Somergill.

Coꝛue.

From Ludlow in like ſoꝛt it goeth to Ludford, the Aſhfoꝛdes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burford vniteth it ſelfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Wilburne ſtoke, from betwéene Bꝛowne, Cléehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ladwich, Conam, and ſo into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other ſide, and the ſecond on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Rixton, Stateꝛton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Aſham,

Ladwich.

Rhe.

Aſcham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Cliſton, Whitburne (and croſſing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwyc and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that deſcendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credcleie, Auſtike, and ſo into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the ſaid ſtreame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riſeth about Martleie, and paſſeth by Kengewyc) it goeth to Powyc, and ſo into the Sauerne before it come at Wickeceſter.

Langherne.

Thus haue I brought all ſuch ſtreames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powyc, wherof (as you may eaſily perceiue) the Temde is the moſt excellent. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the reſt of the diſcourſe intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powyc mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worceſter, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempleie and Cleueld, whence after it hath croſſed a broke comming from Cowleie, it hafteth firſt to Stoke, and ſo to Upton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Gloceſter, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall deſcending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore parke, & ſone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth alſo from Maluerne hils by little Malverne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After theſe confluences in like ſort, it runneth to Bulhelleie, and Tewkeſburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be deſcribed, before I proceed anie further in my diſcourſe of Sauerne.

Auon 4.

The Auon riſeth at Nauelbie in the borders of Northhamptonſhire, a little ſide hand of Gilleſborow and fot of the hils whereon Nauelbie ſtandeth, and euen out of the church yard of the ſaid village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Cliſton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it croſſeth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colſford. From thence alſo it goeth to Newbold, Wolſton, Ruington, and betweene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and ſone after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which ſome do call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue red from Kenelſworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & ſo into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon proceedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Aſhehow, Piluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwyc.

Swiuethus.

Souus.

Kinell.

But yer it come there, it meeteth from ſouth eaſt with two waters in one chanell, whereof the leaſt commeth to Parton from Biſhops Itchington, by Yerburbirtie and Thorpe, where it croſſeth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that deſcendeth from about Helladon, or nere vnto Catesbie in Northamptonſhire, and going by Duencote, Braunſton, Lemington and Pertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and ſo into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike alſo the Auon taketh in a water running northweſt from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there croſſing another from Shirburne, it paſſeth forth to Biſhops Hampton, meeting finallie with the third, from Kineſon that ronneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this laſt rehearſed confluence, it hafteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riſeth aboue Cherington, & whoſe courſe from thence is ſuch, as that being once paſt the head,

Leame.

Stoure.

it goeth by Weſton, and yer long croſſing a water from Campden, hanging Aſton, & Todnam, it runneth to Barcheſton, Aldermaſton, Clifford, & ſo into the Auon.

From hence then the ſaid Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and being parted from the ſaid towne, yer it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which riſing in the blacke hils in Worchelterſhire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ypſleie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Feckham forreſt, and going by Coughton parke, it hafteth to Alceſter, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and ſo into Auon, which after this conjunction goeth to Vffenton & then to Couelholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth about Willerſeie, the other nere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badſeie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor brooke, before it come to Couelholme.

Arow.

Alne.

Pludor.

Being paſt Couelholme it croſſeth the Aincell, which riſing out of the hils ſomewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Luddington, or Woddington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the laſt on the right hand alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as ſome dow write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almoſt at Perſore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſone after carrieng a broke withall deſcending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Belleford and Delleford, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Pitton, and Tewkeſburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Vincelus.

Piddle.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtand, that from Tewkeſburie it goeth to Derehirſt, the How paſſage, and ſone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Aſhelworth, Sainthirſt; and here it parteth it ſelfe till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe againe. But in the meane time the eaſterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preſton, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the ſaid branch on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter.

Chilus.

Leadon.

The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it meeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which riſing not farre from Side, goeth by Pallade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneſwyc Lodge, by Pitteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſecuteth his voiage to Stone houſe, Eſlington, white Wiſen, & ſo toward Framilode, where the ſaid Strowd doth fall into the Sauerne. After

Strowd.

this

the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and some after receiuing a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it méet with another water on ech side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Newarne, which cõmeth from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

Newarne.

Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.

Chap. 14.

THe Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie vpon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betweene Aust in Glocestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memorie doth faile me. This riuer Guie or Wie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles where the Sauerne doth arise, and passing through Wencland, that is, southeast by Raiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon méeteth withall) it goeth to Glasburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Monhafren, which seuereth Wales from Summersetshire, Deuonshire, Cornewall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third riuer, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberiff with, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

Wie mouth.

Guie alias Wie.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wie saith thus; The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Vehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Rosse, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwise called grailings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riuer is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vse; wherof we of the east parts do not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.

Vmber a fish one'ie in the Wie.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mounteines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Raiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast comming by saint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Raiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whose head is nére to Comerisk with, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from southwest & hillie soile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Disart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer rising aboue Lhanbister, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lanbaderne dawr: beneath which it crosseth a water on ech side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Duleise and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whose head is aboue Lanihangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ithor, till it come to Disart, taking in the Yawie on the left side yer it come there, and then into the Wie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Irwon, a notable streame, descending from the hilles aboue Lanihangle Abergwessen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marth, Lanauan, Uechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whose head is about Lanauan more, the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that commeth from the hilles west of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dilasse from by southwest, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it crosseth the Dehon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeast, which ariseth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little aboue) taketh in the Machaweie that commeth by castell Paine, and so going on in processe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

Lamaron.

Yawie.

Irwon.

Pinsell.

Kenbrooke.

Weuereie.

Dulasse.

Comarch.

Fromete.

Duleise.

Dehon.

Edwie.

Loden alias Acon.

Machaweie.

Leuenni.

The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men do fish in Vniligneis or botes of one peece, as they do in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finallie, bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Mennith gader, and is increased with the Trusrin) it falleth into the Wie aboue Glesbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a prettie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Iewes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little brooke, which commeth from Lanigon, it méeteth with the Duleise that commeth also from the Atterill by Kerlop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leauing Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long course béene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Monington, Bisord, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlesses, & there méeteth with a water rising short of Wormeslei, which goeth by Maunsell, Lacie, Brinsop, Crednell, Stretton, and Huntington, and some after into the Wie, beside a little rill that runneth betwéene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wie hasteth to Rotheras church, Hampton, and Mordeford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and nert of all to be described, before I go anie further with the course of the Wie, whereunto it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Momonacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fuldibrooke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betwéene Bonie & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march

Euer.

Euerie.

Erestke.

Brennich.

Trusrin.

Duleise.

Gainar.

Garran.

Wona.

Elkon.

Eskill.

Lug.

Hodnete.

to

Darnoll.

Elland.

Clardwen.

Ithan.

Duleise.

Cluedoch.

to Radnor forreſt, directeth his ſtreame betweene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Nally, and ſo into the Lug, which preſentlie paſſeth by Kinſham, Shirleie, Almiſter, Kingland, Eaton chappell, and ſo into Lemiſter, where it croſſeth the Dneie (a ſtreamelet riſing ſhort of Shobden, and going by Chorleſter) a little before it come to the weſt ſide of the towne.

At Lemiſter it ſelfe in like ſort three waters doo meet, and almoſt inuiron the towne, that is to ſaie, the Lug, the Pinfulleie or Pinſell (a riueret riſing at Kingſland two miles from Lemiſter) & the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemiſter, otherwiſe called Leofminſter, of the builder, and alſo Leonminſter, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betweene Hatfield and Bickleton, another neere vnto Marſton, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Horton, Sutton, Shelwie, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromeie or Frome, a preetie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riſeth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the ſouthweſt by Edwinſloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Biſhops Frome, Caſtell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Biſhops Grendon, by Pencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Yarkeleie, Worthington, and Longward, and ſo into the Lug, betweene Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Worceſter, or Worthford, and there into the Wie, vnto whoſe deſcription I now returne againe.

Pinſell.
Kenbroke.
Fromeie.
Loden alias Acon.

Being come therefore vnto Worceſter, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Capull *regis*, where it receiueth a water called Treſke, from little Berch by Treſke, Fawleie, How, Capull Inkeſton, Foie, Brampton, Bridſlow, Wilton caſtell, the Roſſe, and there a rill from Biſhops Uptonward by Rudhall, Were ſend, Yam, Glewſton, Godderich, here in like ſort meeting with another that commeth from Eccleſwall in the confines of Glouceſterſhire, by Peniard caſtell & Coughton, to Welch Bickner, Engliſh Bickner, Huntelham, including a parcell of Monmouthſhire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordſhire which butteth vpon Glouceſterſhire (as you ſhall find the like peece of Herefordſhire in the confines of Salop and Worceſter, wherein Rochford ſtandeth, beſide manie other which I haue elſewhere ſpoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſeth the Garran broke, that riſeth in Gregwod, ſhort of Arcop, ſir miles from Monemouth by northweſt: after which theſe two doo runne as one to Marſton, and almoſt Whitchurch, and ſo into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dirton, and Monemouth, where I will ſtaie a while, till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

Treſke,
Gainar.
Garran.

The Mona or Monbecke, riſeth in the forreſt of Hene, twentie miles from Monemouth by weſt in Cirtland, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeaſt of Hatuill hils, which after it hath run a good diſtance from the head receiueth firſt the Eſkle, and paſſeth by Lanihangle and the old Court, from northweaſt, then the Olcon, from ſouthweſt, which meeteth withall neere Cledoll or Lnedoch, & paſſing by the old towne, it hasteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betweene Hereford and Monemouth ſhires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewiſe the Horwie or Hodneie which riſeth in Brecknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaell church in Monemouthſhire, and ioineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence haſteth to Walderſtone, Lanſillo Langua, betweene which and Kinechurch it ioineth with the Doure that riſeth about the Bache aboue Dourſton, which is ſix miles aboue Doure abbie, ſo that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Horehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Duleſſe, from ſouthweſt and Lanihangle, by Harleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and yer long the Wormelbecke, deſcending from aboue Beuernall by Didleie, Deucror, Workebridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech church, Griſmond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and ſo to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge.

Doure.
Duleſſe.
Wormelbecke

The Guie or Wie therefore being increaſed with thus manie brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with the Trollie becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth ſhire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanihangle, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Wonaſtow, Troie, and ſo into Wie, that runneth alſo by Wies wod chaſe, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langowen, Lannillen, Penclaſe, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforeſaid ſtreame, the Wie directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it croſſeth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcaſicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepſtowe, and ſo into the ſea, leauing the Treacle (a chappell ſtanding on a rocke) on the hand betweene it & Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lieth ſouth of Betteſtie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Thence paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riſeth short of Trogie caſtell, and runneth toward the ſea, by Landuair, Dewſton, Calicot, and ſo into the Ocean, ouer againſt the Charſton rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by ſaint Brides, north and by weſt of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall & Porthot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſh broke, whoſe head is aboue Landueigo in Wencewod, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Wittſton.

Elwie.
Trollie.
Trogie.
Dennie Iland in the middeſt of the Sauerne, and likewiſe another little one called Beuerage.

Next vnto this is the Aberwith, or Wiſke, in Latine Oſca, whereon Caerleon ſtandeth, ſometime called Cheſter and Ciuitas legionum, becauſe the Romans ſojourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who alſo held a noble parlement in the ſame, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in thoſe daies the maieſtie thereof was ſuch, as that all the forefronts of their houſes were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vſage. There was in the ſame in like ſort a famous vniuerſitie, wherein were 200 philoſophers; alſo two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two Britiſh martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropoliticall ſee in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greateſt in Southwales, and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuertheleſſe, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welſh or twelue Engliſh miles from

Wilke.

Hodneie.

Chepſtowe

Cheplow or Strigull, and of ſome thought to be in baſe Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockſhire, as Kenni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganſhire. But to leaue theſe by-matters, and come to the deſcription of the water.

Uſke. You ſhall vnderſtand that the Uſke or Wiſke, in Latin Oſca riſeth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pminidh Duy out of which it falleth, and ſituate in the verie confines betweene Brechnocke and Carmardine ſhires, from whence winding into the northeaſt, it commeth to Trecaſtle, and in the waie betweene it and Capell Kidburne, it taketh in the Craie broke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going alſo from thence toward Deuinocke, it croſſeth the Senneie on the ſame ſide (which riſeth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, & at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Brenich, whoſe head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it meeteth I ſaie with the Uſke, about maſter Awbries manor. Beneath Aber Yſter, it receiueth the Yſter, which riſeth northweſt aboue Martyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanſpithed and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthie on the one ſide, whoſe head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by Deſrune chappell, Lanihangle and Landiuilog, it meeteth with the Uſke or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of this water was ſometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewiſe it receiueth the Tertarith that riſeth among the Bane hils, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewiſe into the verie ſuburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the courſe.

Craie. Sennie. Camblas. Brane. Yſter. Hodneie. Tertarith.

After theſe confluences, the Uſke proceedeth on toward Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whoſe head is in the roots of Penuchdennie hill, and paſſage by Cantreſſe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie caſtell, Lanſanfreid, Landettie, Langonider, and ſone after receiuing the Riangall (which riſeth about the hill whereon Dinas caſtell ſtandeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it paſſeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerigkhowell, to Langroinie, and there about croſſeth the Groinie broke, that deſcendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Uſke is paſt this broke, it taketh in three other ſhort rils, from by ſouth within a little diſtance, whereof the firſt hight Cledoch Uaur, the ſecond Fidan, and the third Cledochvehan. Of theſe alſo the laſt falleth in nere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Uſke runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Rebbie water from by north, that riſeth ſhort of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that deſcendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and ſo goeth on to Hardwyc, beneath which it croſſeth three nameleſſe rilles, on the right hand or ſouthweſt ſide before it come at Lanihangle vpon Uſke, of whoſe courſes I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of ſufficient greatneſſe ſeuerallie to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and Troſkreie it meeteth with ſuch an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Coer Uſke or Brenbigeie (whoſe bridge, I mene that of Uſke, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the ſir and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon ſaint Hughes daie after a great ſnow) but yer it come there, it receiueth the Birthin on the right hand, which is a prettie water, deſcending from two heads, whereof the firſt is northweſt of Manhilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

Kinuricke. Riangall. Groini. Cledoch vaur. Fidan. Cledochvehā. Rebbie. Geuenni. Birthin. Coer vſke ſtandeth on one ſide of Uſke, and Caerleon on the other, but Coer vſke by diuerſe miles further into the land.

Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whoſe head is eaſt of Penclaſe, and running weſtwards by Penclaſe, Laniſſen, Langowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a broket from Ragland caſtell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth ſouthweſt, vntill it come at the Uſke, which crinkling towards the ſouth, and going by Lanhowell, meeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the firſt lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the midlemoſt falling into the ſame, not farre from Lantreſſen, as I haue beene informed. From the mouth of the Romeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greateſt riuer in all Glamorganſhire, called (by Ptolomie Rhatoſtadiybius, as I geſſe) and the citie Taffe it ſelfe of good countenance, ſith it is indued with the cathedrall ſee of a biſhop. The courſe of the water in like maner is verie ſwift, and bringeth oft ſuch logs and bodies of trees withall from the woodie hilles, that they do not ſeldome cruſh the bridge in peeces, but for ſo much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter coſt, wheras if it were of hard ſtone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riſeth in Brechnockſhire among the woodie hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Monuchdenie, the other weſt of that mounteine, of which the firſt called Taffe baure, goeth by Capell Ian behan, Mainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Mantie, and ioining at ſouthweſt beneath Morlais caſtle, they go to Martyr Tiduill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northweſt a broke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockſhire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneis comming out of the ſame quarter (but not out of the ſame ſhire) which runneth by Eſkridinodoch, a crotched broke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie baure, & Rodneie behan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Egleſilian, caſtle Coch, Whitchurch, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and ſo into the ſea, not far from Pennarth point, where alſo the Laie doth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or ſtreame. Furthermore, from Marthellie it haſteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Cheſter in the ſouth, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the firſt commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, without anie further increaſe: but the other is a more beautifull ſtreame, called Auon, and thus deſcribed as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riſeth in the hilles that ſeeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke ſhires in ſunder, and after a rill receiued from Blorench hill on the northſide of the ſame, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by ſouth almoſt of equall courſe, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in proceſſe of time another little one from the ſame ſide, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Euennocke and Penroſe, & ſo in Uſke before it go by Caerleon. But here you muſt note, that the courſe of this ſtreame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which deſcendeth (as I ſaid) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, doth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penroſe ſtandeth, & much Romane coine is found of all ſorts, ſo that the influence of the one into the other ſeemeth to me to be but a draine deuiſed by man, to keepe the citie from the violence of ſuch water as otherwiſe would oft annoie the ſame.

Elwie. Auon.

Being paſt Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where maiſter

maiſter Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another bꝛoke withall, that riſeth noꝛth of Tomberlow hill, and deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth foꝛth to Newpoꝛt (in Welch caſtle Newith) and from thence vnder a bꝛidge, after thꝛee oꝛ foure miles courſe to the ſea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meeteth with the ſame almoſt in the verie mouth oꝛ fall, and riſeth in the edge of Bꝛecknoch ſhire, oꝛ (as Leland ſaith) high Wincland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Uchan, the other Eberith Mawꝛ, as I haue beene infoꝛmed. The courſe of the firſt head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they paſſe togither by Lanhileth, and comming by weſt of Tomberlow hill (croſſing a rill, from noꝛth eaſt by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Treſtrent, & is of leſſe race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riſleie, Rocheſton caſtell, next of all thoꝛough a parke, and ſo by Greenefield caſtell, and is not long yer it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I doo find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowie.

Romeneie.

The Romeneie oꝛ (as ſome coꝛruptlie call it) the Monneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betweene Monemouth & Glamoꝛgan ſhires. The head hereof is aboue Egglins Tider bap Hoell otherwiſe called Fanum Theodori, oꝛ the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie ſpꝛings, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuerſe ſmall beckes, whereof thꝛee (and one of them called Ifra) are betweene the riſing and Bꝛathetere chappell, the fourth cõmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Kethligaire, the fift from betweene the Faldꝛaie and Lanuaboꝛ, the firſt & ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie caſtell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mableie and Romeneie, & yer long croſſing a becke at noꝛth weſt that commeth from aboue Liſuan, Lamſſen and Koch, it falleth into the ſea, about ſix miles from the Wiſbe, and albeit the mouth therof be nothing pꝛofitable foꝛ ſhips, yet is it alſo a march betweene the Silures and Glamoꝛganſhire.

Laie.

The Laie falleth into the ſea a mile almoſt from the Taffe, and riſeth in the hilles aboue Lantriſſent (foꝛ all the region is verie hillie.) From whence comming by Lantriſſent and Auercaſtell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Bꝛides, Lhannihangle, ſaint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and ſo into the ſea, without anie maner increaſe by anie rils at all ſauing the Dunclais, which riſeth foure miles from his fall, eaſt noꝛth eaſt, and meeteth withall a little moꝛe than a quarter of a mile from Pont Uelim Uaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell. Here will I ſtaie a little and bꝛeake off into a diſcourſe, which Leland left alſo as parcell of this coaſt who toucheth it after this maner.

Dunclais.
Methcoid.
Pedware.

Laie.

From Taffe to Laie mouth oꝛ Ele riuer a mile, from Laie mouth (oꝛ rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the weſt point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuer (from whence is a common paſſage ouer vnto Mineheued in Summerſetſhire of 17 miles) are about ſeuen Welſh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pꝛetie ſuccour foꝛ ſhips) whoſe head is in Wenno paroch two miles and a halfe from the ſhoꝛe. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a mile off in plaine ground by noꝛtheaſt, and right againſt the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Iland a flight ſhot from the ſhoꝛe at the full ſea. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Comc kidie, which riſeth flat noꝛth from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and ſerueth oft foꝛ harbour vnto ſea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are thꝛee miles, wherevnto ſhips may come at will.

Thawan.

Scilleie.

Barrie.

This Ile went fiftie yeares agons foꝛ x. pounds.

Comc kidie

Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill reſoꝛteth from Lau Iltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to ſaint Dinothes caſtell, and thꝛee miles further. The Alen riſeth by noꝛtheaſt vp into the land at a place called Lhes Bꝛoimith, oꝛ Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur *alias* Gur thꝛee miles. Then come they in pꝛoceſſe of time vnto the Kenſike oꝛ Colbꝛoke riuer, which is no great thing, ſith it riſeth not aboue thꝛee miles from the ſhoꝛe. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein doo ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſeeke harboꝛough. It commeth of two armes, wherof that which lieth noꝛtheaſt is called Auon Uaur, the other that lieth noꝛthweſt Auon Uchan. They meet togither at Lhanuoie Hengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles alſo from the ſea.

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplets almoſt to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed the ſame we come vnto the Taue, which deſcendeth from the afoꝛeſaid hilles and falleth into the ſea by eaſt of Swanſeie. Being paſt this we come vnto the Lichwꝛ, oꝛ Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wlꝛmes head, we paſſed to the Wandꝛeſmouth, wherof I find this deſcription following in Leland. Both Uendꝛaith Uaur and Uendꝛaith Uchan riſe in a peece of Carmardineſhire, called Iſſekenen, that is to ſaie, the low quarter about Kennen riuer, and betwixt the heads of theſe two hils is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a greenith colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Uendꝛaith Uaur riſeth in, is called Mennith Uaur, and therein is a poole as in a moꝛiſh ground, named Lhintegowen, where the pꝛincipall ſpꝛing is, and this hill is eight oꝛ nine miles From Kidwellie: the hill that Uendꝛaith Uchan ſpꝛingeth out of, is called Mennith Uchan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne.

Neth.

Taue.

Lochar.
Wandꝛes.

Uendꝛaith Uaur, Uendꝛaith Uchan.

But about thꝛee oꝛ foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a bꝛoke called Treſgirth, the courſe whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Uendꝛaith, and yet it hath foure oꝛ fiue tucking milles and thꝛee coꝛne milles vpon it. At the head of this bꝛoke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as foꝛ the bꝛoke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Uendꝛaith Uaur, you ſhall find great plentie of ſea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Uendꝛaith Uchan, where men vſe to enter into vaults of great compaſſe, and it is ſaid, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wlꝛmes head, and another waie to Cairkemen caſtell, which is thꝛee miles oꝛ moꝛe into the land. But how true theſe things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Uendꝛaith Uchan. There are diuerſe pꝛints of the paſſage of certeine woꝛms alſo in the caue, at the head of Uendꝛaith Uchan, as the inhabitants doo fable: but I neuer heard of anie

man that ſaw anie woꝛme there, and yet it is beléeued that manie woꝛmes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne courſe.

Laie. Leauing the Laie, which ſome call Claie, and paſſing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betweene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen beꝛe deſcribed) and came vnto the Barrie, whoſe head is aboue Wrinſton caſtell, and from whence he runneth by Deinſpowis, Cadorton, Barrie, and ſo into the ſea.

Barrie.

Aberthaw Being paſt the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riſeth two oꝛ thꝛée miles aboue Lanſanoꝛ, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbꝛidge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimſton, Gilſton, and betweene the eaſt and the weſt Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne ſea. But yer it come all there it receiueth a bꝛoke called Kenſan, oꝛ Karnſan, oꝛ Kenſech, on the eaſt ſide, whoſe head is eaſt of Bolſton, & comming by Charnelhold, Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the foꝛmer aboue either of the Thawans. Leland ſaith, that Kenſan hath two heads, whereof the moꝛe noꝛtherlie called Bzane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth ſeauen miles beꝛoꝛe it méet with the other. Leauing this water we ſailed on, caſting about the Naſh point, omitting two oꝛ thꝛee ſmall waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye ſee made mention) becauſe I haue nothing moꝛe to add vnto their deſcriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whoſe courſe (to ſaie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

Kenſan.

Ogur. The Ogur oꝛ Gur, which ſome call the Ogmur, is a well faire ſtreame (as we were wont to ſaie in our old Engliſh) whoſe head is in the ſame hilles, where the Kodeneies are to be found, but much moꝛe weſterlie, and running a long courſe yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere oꝛ Langonodoch, to S. Bzides vpon Ogur, then to Newcaſtell, and Narthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur oꝛ Ogmur caſtell on the eaſt ſide of the banke. It riſeth fiue oꝛ ſix miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at laſt by Lanharne, it croſſeth a rill yer long from noꝛtheaſt, and the confluence paſſeth foꝛth by Coitchurch, Ogur caſtell, & ſo into the Ogur. Leland writing of the waters that fall into this Ogur ſaith thus. Into the Ogur alſo reſoꝛteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lanſanſride bꝛidge, deſcending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermoꝛe (ſaith he) another called Leuennie riſing in the pariſh of Glin Coꝛug, at noꝛthweſt, and then running two miles lower, vniteth it ſelfe with the Coꝛug bꝛoke, a little ſhoꝛt thing, and woꝛthie no longer ſpeach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth ſeauen miles further yer it meete with the Ogur on the weſt ſide, at Lanſanſride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And ſo far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Wennie.

Garrow.

Leuennie.

Coꝛug.

Kenſig. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenſig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kenſig caſtell, and being paſt the ſame we croſſe the Margan rill, where ſir Edward Manſell dwelt, and ſo vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is ſaid) the moꝛe eaſterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodapoꝛt chappell, the other by Glin Coꝛug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and ſo into the ſea, yéelding alſo in time of néed a good harbour foꝛ ſhips to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, riſing of diuerſe heads, whereof the moꝛe eaſterlie named Nethuehan riſeth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedoꝛin to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue the towne, which riſing not farre ſoutheaſt of the head of Taule in Bzecknoch ſhire (as all the reſt doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the Peltaie and the Hepſaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile oꝛ moꝛe beꝛoꝛe it ioine with Nethuehan. Foꝛ as Trangarth riſeth eaſt of Nethuaur, ſo the Pelta riſeth by eaſt of Trangarth, and ioineth with the ſame aboue Iſtrad wealthie, and a little beneath the ſame towne taketh in the Hepſaie. So that albeit their ſeuerall riſings be half oꝛ a whole mile in ſunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like diſtance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamoꝛganſhire, which they directlie doo croſſe. After theſe confluences, the maine ſtreame runneth in and out by ſundꝛie miles, and thꝛough the woddie ſoiles, till it méet with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the ſame beneath the Reſonlaie, and goeth withall to Laniſked, where it taketh in the Duleſſe, whoſe head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Bzecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cadoꝛ towne, oꝛ betweene it and Lanniſtide, then to Neth towne, whither ſmall veſſels often come: and beneath the ſame receiuing the Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and alſo Neth abbeie where maiſter Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitſranke foꝛreſt, Nethwod, Bzitonferrie, and ſo into the ſea.

Nethuaur. Trangarth, Peltaie. Hepſaie. Duleſſe. Cledoch.

Nethuehan. The Taule riſeth in the thickeſt of the blacke mounteines in Bzecknochſhire weſt of Nethuaur, and comming downe weſt of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the eaſt banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus vnited, the chanell paſſeth foꝛth by Iſtradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch oꝛ Toꝛch water that cõmeth from the foꝛt of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinſhire, it runneth to Langoge, Lanſamled, ſaint Johns, Swanſeie, and ſo into the Baie. Being paſt this, we come by another little fall, whoſe water runneth thꝛée oꝛ foure miles yer it come into Swanſeie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whoſe deſcription I neither haue, noꝛ find anie great want therof. Wherfoꝛe going about by Diſſermont caſtell, and Mumbles point, we paſſe foꝛth toward the ſouthweſt by Penmarch point, till we come to Ilſton water, whoſe head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thoꝛough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch caſtell, a rill oꝛ two doth fall into the ſame. Then caſting about by Oꝛwich point, we go onward there by, and ſailing flat noꝛth by the Holme (hauing paſſed the Woꝛmeſtead and S. Kennets chapell) and then noꝛtheaſt by Whitfoꝛd point, we went at length to the Lochar oꝛ Loghoꝛ, oꝛ as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichwꝛ, whoſe indꝛaught foꝛ a certene ſpace is march betweene Caermardine and Glamoꝛgan ſhires. It riſeth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from noꝛtheaſt. Being paſt Bettus, it paſſeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bꝛidge, and ouer againſt Landilo Talabout, it croſſeth from by weſt, the Combwilie by weſt of Parkreame, and afterward the Moꝛlais aboue Langnarch on the ſame ſide. Then comming to Loghoꝛ caſtell, it taketh in on the eaſt ſide, the Lhu, whoſe courſe is not aboue fiue miles, and thence loſing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraic, as ſome geſſe, vntill it come to the ſea, where it parteth it ſelfe going on each ſide of Bachannie Iland, a ſmall thing, and not woꝛthie (foꝛ anie thing I read thereof) as yet to be particularlie deſcribed. From this water we paſſed (I ſaie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whoſe head being in the hilles aboue Pzenacrois, it paſſeth by

Taule. Coilus. Toꝛch. Lochar. Combwilie. Moꝛlais. Lhu. Burraic.

by Lhanelthein, and thence into the ſea. Then went we to the Duleſſe a little rill, whoſe head is not farre from Trinſaren: thence by the Pembraie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandres or Uendraith mouth, whoſe deſcription is partlie touched alreadie; but bicauſe it is not ſuch as I would wiſh it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale ſomewhat further withall. Gwendrath or Uendraith vaur riſeth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Renneth Uaur, whereon caſtell Careg ſtandeth, and deſcending by a prætie long courſe vnder ſundrie bridges, commeth at the laſt to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and ſo vnto the ſea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Uendraith Uehan riſeth a mile higher towards the north than Uendraith Uaur, but out of the ſame ſoile, & thence directing his courſe toward the ſouthweſt, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Loighdenie, Kidwillie, and ſo into the ſea, about one mile from the fall of Uendraith Uaur.

Duleſſe. Wandres.

Towie.

The Towie riſeth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by ſoutheaſt from Lintiue, and two from Lingonon, in a mariſh ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a forreſt called Biſhops forreſt, midwaie betwixt Landwibreuie & Landanuerie caſtell. For fiſh, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Taffe, whoſe head breedeth no fiſh, but if it be caſt into it, they turne vp their bellies, flote aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Brecknoch from Cardigonſhire alſo for a certeine ſeaſon, till it come by the water of Trauſnant, that falleth thereinto from by eaſt out of the confins of Brecknoch, vnto Pilin capell, and ſo to Iſtrodefine, where it meeteth with the Tothæ that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riſeth, and ſo through Reſcoth forreſt, vniting it ſelfe by the waie with the Peſcotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonſhire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the ſame, till it ioine with the Tothée, and both come togither beneath Iſtrodefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbreie, Lanihowell, and Lanimphrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt is called Brane, the other Gutherije (which lieth more ſoutherlie of the two) and fall (as I ſaid) into Towie beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it meet with the firſt Duleſſe that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Morlais, and theſe on the northweſt. Certes the Brane is a prætie broke riſing two or three miles aboue Capell Newith, and deſcending by Lanbrane and Uſkradwalter, it meeteth (I ſaie) with the Gutherije, whoſe head is weſt of Tridcaſtell in Brecknochſhire, and thereby it is not a little increaſed. But to proceed with the Towie, which being paſt Lanimphrie and a rill that meeteth with the ſame, deſcending from northweſt of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerſe waters in one chanell, of which the greateſt is called Modewie, and thereof I find this deſcription.

Tothée. Peſcotter.

Brane. Gutherije. Duleſſe. Morlais.

Modewie.

The Modewie, or (as ſome pronounce it) Motheuie, riſeth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanihangle, the ſtreame runneth on till it meet with the Cledoch on the left hand, proceeding alſo further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawtheie, whoſe two heads deſcend from the blacke mounteines or eaſt edge of Carmardineſhire (as mine information leadeth me.) After this confluence the ſecond Duleſſe doth meet with the Towie, whoſe head is in the hilles aboue Talthogaie abbeie, northweſt from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilobaur, Newton, Dinefar caſtell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Duleſſe from by north that commeth in by Lanihangle and Dillan caſtell, and after that the Cothie, whoſe race is ſomewhat long, and therefore his deſcription not vtterlie to be paſſed ouer.

Cledoch. Sawtheie. Duleſſe. 2. Duleſſe. 3.

Cothie.

Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbreuie, vnder the hulke of Blame Icorne, a narrow paſſage, and therein manie heaps of ſtones) and ſomewhat beneath Lana Pinſent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lanſawell, Abergorlech, Breghuangothie, Lannigod, and ſo into Towie, which hatking forward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by north, then the Gwilie from northweſt, whoſe head is aboue Lanie Pinſent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewilie, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanſtephan, S. Ilmaels, and ſo into the ſea.

Turche. Rauelthie. Gwilie.

Taus.

Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whoſe head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembrokeſhire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from ſouthweſt, out of the ſame countie by Lanbederuelſtraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Egleſware chappell, beneath which it croſſeth the Marlais by north that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland. Thence meeting with one rill called Uenni, as I take it, that commeth through Cardith forreſt on the one ſide, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it weſt of Landowror, it haſteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, or Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow or Tow both in one chanell, of which the firſt riſeth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilſant, and Langinnin, the other iſſueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Widrun, & ioining with the former a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanihangle, and betweene it and Abercowen, admitteth finallie the Gowen or Gow ſtreame, which comming likewiſe from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & ſo into the Taue, who directeth his courſe by Lancharne caſtell, and then into the ſea.

Dudderie. Marlais. Uenni. Caire. Carthkinnie. Gow. Gowen.

Gwair.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a ſmall thing riſing aboue Lambeder Uelſtraie, and going from thence by eaſt of caſtell Merbie hill, Crumuier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, and ſo we leaue Cairdinſhire, and go ouer into Penbroke. Then paſſed we by an other comming out of Rathe forreſt called Coit Rathe, the water it ſelfe riſing about Templeton. Thence leaning the Monkeſton rocke, we came to Tenbie or Dinbechie Piſcod, and paſſing into the port betweene the caſtell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it ſerued with two little backe waters, of ſo ſmall countenance, that they are not worthie of anie further talke to be ſpent in their deſcriptions: yet the one ſeemeth to be called Flozence broke, the other Freſſo, Gunfreſton ſtanding betweene them both, whereby their ſight cannot periſh. After this we paſſed betweene Londie and an other Ilet or rocke lieng by northweſt of the ſame, to Ludſop point, & ſo to Abertrewent, where I found a ſillie freſh water named Trewend that riſeth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went ſouthwards by Brode hauen, till we came to S. Gowans point. Then gathering weſt and by north before we came at Shepe Iland, we found another freſh water, that riſeth ſhort of Kirtog Maharen, and running ſouth of Uggarſton, Windmill hill, or betweene it and Caſtell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat weſt all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Wrenni vaur hill.

Wezane.

Being paſſed this water, we caſt about toward the northweſt, by the Poptons and Pennar, till we

From Londie to Caldis thirtie miles.

Trewent.

Pennar. came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in maner inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt creekes on both sides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a meere salt course) incloseth three parts of Carew castell. The other rising neere to Coit Rath forrest is a fresh, & going by Gestraiston, Creswell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two swords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their course from the northeast called Dugledu or the two swords, and betweene them both is a rill which they call also Cultlell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, bicause he came so sone to hir house yer anie of hir maids were vp: Oh good hostesse (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betweene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betweene these two riuers, and his brest towards the south neere to the head of Cultlell. But to passe ouer these iests. Here Leland speaketh of a riuer called Gwilie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requisit that I proceed according to my purpose.

Dugledu. Cultlell. Gwilie.

The one of these swords is called Clotheie or Clothie, of which I find this short and breefe description. The Clothie riseth at the foot of Mreennie baure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northwest before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which commeth from aboue the moze by Clarbaston and Bletherston, his head arising in the hill west of Manclogbaie, as Leland doth informe me. Per long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunaston, Slebach, Picton castell, Sikker houses, Minware & Martheltwie, at Rise castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue beene informed) it taketh in the other swozd, named Dugledie, whereof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somwhere at northwest, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dogwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Herefozd west, and there vniteth it selfe with a water, which peraduenture is the same that Leland called Gwilie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Herford west, but in Welsh Hulford; as Lhoid doth set it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from south west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and enterance betweene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receiueth the name of Harrald the successour of Edward the confessour as some call him, who was a greeuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I haue noted elsewhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the Frese frō Fresethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making hast vnto Culthell, & omitting two rils betweene it and the Clotheie on the southside, of no great weight and moment. The Culthell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolston, with a freight course from by north, of three or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bowlston, after whose vnition with the aforesaid water, they run on as one till they meet with the Clothie, calling out by the waie sundrie salt creekes, as the maine chanell doth from thence forth vntill it passe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a fillie fresh rill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Clotheie. Dugledie. Gwilie.

Hauing thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we call about by the Blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betweene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlie ouer against Stockeholme Iland that is situat further off into the sea, toward the southwest, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elsewhere described. Betweene the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Yardland stone, the other Pewlstone, it shall not be greatlie requisit to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like sort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is southwest of Caltrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you sails thither on the south side, you must neds passe by the Pewlstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Yarland stone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the situation of these Ilands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramseie and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Bzid baie, wherein (notwithstanding the great nesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at lest wise to see what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and situate neere the land, before I came at Caltroie rode. From thence we went about by the little hauen, Doluach hauen, Carnaie hauen, Shtrelace rocke, Carnbuddie, and Carnaie baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betweens Ramseie and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annered to the maine: but in the middest thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the horse (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramseie) and more infortunate than ten of Scians colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephans, and Whitesand baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peraduenture haue vse, his words are these. Being therefore past this hauen and point of Demetia, in calling about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little creekes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, beside those that are here mentioned out of a register of that house.

Brides Iland. A sort of dangerous rocks lieng on a row vpon the west end of Southwales called the Bishop & his clerkes. S. Dewie or Dauid all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a creeke serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this creeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about

Saluach. bout foure miles is Saluach creeke, otherwiſe called Sauerach, whither ſome freſh water reſoꝛteth: the mouth alſo thereof is a good reſcue foꝛ balingers, as it (I meane the regiſter) ſaith. Thence go we to Poꝛtelais three miles, where is a little poꝛtlet, whither the Alen that commeth through ſaint Dewies cloſe doth run. It lieth a mile ſouthweſt from S. Dewies, ſaint Stinans Chappell alſo is betweene Poꝛtelais, and Poꝛtmaw. The next is Poꝛt Maw, where I found a great eſtuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Uehan is three miles from Pendwie, where is a ſalt creeke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another creeke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creeke is there in like ſoꝛt where fiſhermen catch herrings. Heere alſo the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidiane from Fiſcherdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fiſchard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a poꝛtlet oꝛ hauenet alſo foꝛ ſhips. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Poꝛtelais. Alen. Poꝛtmaw Maw. Pendwie. Lanuchan. Tredine. Langunda. Fiſchard. Gwerne.

Beſides this alſo, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but foꝛ aſmuch as my purpoſe is not to ſpeake of lakes and lhinnes, I paſſe them ouer as haſting to Teiſie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius oꝛ Tiuirobius, which is the next riuer that ſerueth foꝛ my purpoſe. And yet not foꝛgetting to touch the Gwerne, foꝛ after we came from ſaint Dauids head, we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wee came ouer againſt ſaint Catharins, where going noꝛthwards by the bꝛoad hauen, and the Strombles head, we ſailed thence noꝛtheaſt, and by noꝛth, to Langlas head, then ſtat ſouth by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & ſo coaſted ouer to Abergwin oꝛ Fiſchard, where we found a freſh water named Guin, oꝛ Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in maner directlie out of the eaſt into the weſt, from Wremie hils by Pont Vaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foꝛeſaid towne. It riſeth ſtat noꝛth of the Perſelie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & ſo to Abergwine, oꝛ Abergwerne, foꝛ I read both. From Abergwine, we caſt about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newpoꝛt ſtandeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Wrenie vaure, and thence go foꝛth as one vntill they come to Newpoꝛt. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I did ſtumble on, wherein lieth a litle Iland ouer againſt the noꝛth point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teiſie, a noble riuer which riſeth in Lintiuie, and is fraught with delicate ſamons, and herein and not elſewhere in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Caſtoꝛ oꝛ Beuer to be found. But to pꝛoceed. The verie hed thereof (I ſaie) is foure miles aboue Stradfloꝛe in Luitiuie, and after it hath run from thence a little ſpace, it receiueth a bꝛoke from ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradfloꝛe abbeie, beneth which it meeteth with the Piricke water (that riſeth aboue Stradmirich) and ſome after with the Landurch (both from the noꝛthweſt) and finallie the Bꝛennich aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt; as Leland hath ſet downe.

Gwerne. Neuerne. Teiſie oꝛ Tine. Pyſtriche. Landurch.

Neere to Landwibꝛeuie alſo it croſſeth the Bꝛomis by eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and ſome after taking in the Matherne from by eaſt, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe that Dulas aboue Lanbedder (which riſeth aboue Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the noꝛthweſt, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lantuair, beneath which it croſſeth the Graueth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanibether, Lanlonie, Lanthangle, and Sandiſſell, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethoꝛ oꝛ Dettoꝛ, which commeth downe thither by Lantiſliued chappell, Lanſraine, and finallie Landiſſell from by noꝛth, as I do here affirme. After this confluence it pꝛoceedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangoꝛ, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcaſtell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by noꝛth, whoſe head is not farre from that of Clethoꝛ, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as deſcend into the ſame. Foꝛ weſt of Kenwith two becks in one chanell do fall into it, which be namcleſſe, and but of a little length.

Bꝛomis. Matherne. Dulas. Graueth. Clethoꝛ. Kerie.

Beneath Tredwair alſo it croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie meeting with the Teiſie, they run as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met with the Matherne) and ſo foꝛth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which riſing ſoutheaſt aboue chappell Euan, doth part Carmardine and Bꝛechnocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teiſie. From this confluence, and being ſtill a limit vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Marierdine, and ſo to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by noꝛth deſcending by Penneralt, by noꝛth of Monardiue oꝛ Marierdine, and two other from by ſouthweſt, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron caſtell, the other from Lantwood noꝛthweſt of Dſcoid Moꝛtemer, which lieth ſoutheaſt of Cardigan, and then going foꝛward betweene S. Dogmaile, & Langoidmere, it is not long yer it fall into the Iriſh ſea, ſtat weſt and by noꝛth from his vpriſt, and ſending vs foꝛth from Penbꝛoke into Cardigon ſhire, wherevnto it hath become march euer ſithence it came from Kellam, oꝛ confluence with the Matherne. Cheach.

Being come into Cardigon ſhire, and hauing paſſed the Cardigon point, an Iland of the ſame denomination lieng by weſt thereof, we came vnto the fall of Airon three miles beneath Lanclære, it riſeth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Peniall belonging to Landwie bꝛeuie about three oꝛ foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and ſome after taking in a rill from by ſouth from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Iſſrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the ſea, croſſing by the waie the Bidder bꝛoke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the ſame, betweene Lanchairin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of anie long courſe, yet ſomewhat crotched, and it riſeth three oꝛ foure miles oꝛ moꝛe within the land ſlopewiſe, and comming by Lambaderne, and Trueglois, it falleth into the ſea, noꝛtheaſt of Aberarth. Airon. Bidder. Arth.

Being paſt the Arth, & hauing ſtaied there a while bicauſe we found ſome harboꝛongh, we came next of all vnto the Wereie, which riſeth of two heads, aboue whoſe confluence ſtandeth a towne, named Lanihangle, Kedzod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Lariſſed, & ſo into the Ocean. Then went we to the Yſtwith, which riſeth in the blacke mounteins aboue Comerſtwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Iſpittie, Iſtwith, Lananon, Lanuler, Lan Nachairne, and ſo into the ſea, taking withall firſt the Meleuen, then the Kidall oꝛ Redholl not farre from the ſhoꝛe, whereof I haue this deſcription. The Kidall riſeth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Kidall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it croſſeth one water on the noꝛth, and another beneth it on the ſoutheaſt, and ſo goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberiſtwith, the Iſtwith, and ſo into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Iſtwith, and taken Wyſtriche. Landurch. Bꝛomis. Matherne. Dulas. Graueth. Wereie. Iſtwith. Redholl.

our selues againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memorall.

Salique.

The Salique brooke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Ammaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Mallalique, and from thence goeth into the sea, southwest from his originall. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I gesse (yet I may be deceiued) for anie ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanihangle, cassell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeast of his course. But what stand I vpon trifles?

Mallalique.

Lerie.

Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerdigan shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betweene it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will doo in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie, and goeth on forth right to Lammothwie, by Nowdhewie, Nathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueth two rilles from northwest, and the third comming by Mallroid called Cludoch from northeast, & so holdeth on crossing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in part, till it come to Romis, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that passeth by Lambrin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Mathrauerue, crossing another from by north and so forth to Lanwoting, where it meeteth with the Berig on the one side, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorolwen on the other.

Wie.

Romis.

After this, our maine riuer goeth by Pengos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence from southeast, called the Dulas, and another from the northwest. From thence it hasteth on to Magenillet, or Machenict, first crossing the Leuennie from southeast, secondlie the Peniall from northwest, thirdlie the Einon, fourthlie the Rinar, fiftlie the Cleidor, these three last rehearsed falling into it from southeast, & the last hauing his course by Langwinhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeth. It seemeth in some mens iudgements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welsh or British Diffi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth seeme to fetch his sound. But to proceed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northwestward, we come to a fall frō the north called Towen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie riuer rising in the hilles aboue Lanihangle, and west of cassell Traherne receiueth the Ridrric, which commeth from Chadridric hill, by Callillin cassell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from southeast, fetching his course by Lanegrin, and so into the sea within fiue miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Moth or Derie, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuer descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Dee hath his issue, and betweene which the Karan baure hilles are situat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeast called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beurose wood, and so holdeth on towards the south betweene Laniltid and Kemmor abbaie, till it met a little by west of Dolgelth with the Auon baure, which comming also out of the Wodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hasteth northwestward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Resilgun, then the Hirgun, & after a course of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth by Corsogdale and Lanthwie, *alias* Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Landango, which is a towne situat on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the riuer Ho, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mounteins no lesse fertile for grasse, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, whereof all the writers doo make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerse riuers with him whose names I doo not know. Then vnto the Artro a brooke, whose head commeth from by north east, and in his course receiueth the Gedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windlesses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith behan, which is the fall of the Dyrid, a pretie riuer comming from the marches of Caernaruonshire, which passing by Festinog, soone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Melenrid; and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, bicause their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a riuer proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betweene Merioneth and Caernaruon shires. From Traith mawr we passe by the Krekith, and come to another water descending from the north by Lankidwie, and after that to the Woie, whose mouthes are so neere togither, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth seeme to keepe them in sunder.

Ho.

Mawr.

Artro.

Farles.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke descending from Padrin hils, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe doo seeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses doo come along from the west and northwest; the most southerlie being called Girch, and the other the Hellie: except my memorie doo faile me. Then casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Aberfoch or mouth of the Soch riuer vpon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrin: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is so hard to me, that I chose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen doo giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.

Erke.

Soch.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron riuer, whereupon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shore betwixt Aberdaron and Aberdaron.

gerns

gernes vale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more ſouth of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Uennie brooke, whoſe courſe is little aboue ſo manie miles; and not farre from it is the Liuan, a farre leſſe water, comming alſo from the eaſt: and nert vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by ſouth and the Carrog by north after their coniunction doo make their common influence. Hauing paſſed this riuer, we call about toward the north eaſt, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the ſtreicts or ſtreame called Menaie, betweene Angleſeie and the maine, méeting firſt of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and paſſeth by Lanunda into the ſea or Menaie ſtreame at South crocke. Nert of all we méet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, paſſeth by Lanihangle, and ſo falleth into the Menaie at Aberſaint, which is on the ſouthweſt ſide of Caernaruon: on the other ſide alſo of the ſaid towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it ſtandeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Dreg.

Edarne becke.

Then come we (ſaith Leland) to Gwinliwith mirth (or Horſſe brooke) two miles from Moilethon, and it riſeth at a Well ſo called full a mile from thence. Moilethon is a bowe ſhot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleſeie. Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Menеie ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Menеie. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mounteine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his courſe) almoſt a mile aboue it. Aber Dgwine is two miles aboue that; it riſeth at Lale linne, Dgwine pole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withou. Aber Auon is two miles aboue Aberogwrne, and it riſeth in a pole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon Ian var Uchan riſeth in a mounteine therby, and goeth into the ſea, two miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conwele, which riſing in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it ſelfe into Menеie ſalt arme. On the ſaid ſhore alſo lieth Conweie, and this riuer doth run betwixt Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Uchan. It riſeth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about ſixtie miles from Conweie abbeie, now diſſolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and weſt of this riuer ſtandeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

Conte.

Gegeine.

Torronnen.

Dgwine.

Auon.

Lannar Uchan.

Duegeuelth.

This riuer (which Ptolomie calleth Toeſobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, paſſeth on the weſt ſide by Spittieuan and Tiberio, beneath which it taketh in a ſtreame comming from the eaſt out of Denbighſhire, deriued from three heads, and of the greateſt called Nag. Some after alſo another, and then the third, which commeth in from the weſt by Lanpen Nawr: next of all the Leder on the ſame ſide, which commeth by Dolathelan caſtell: and aboue that from a Lin of the ſame denomination. Beneath this and ſelfe hand lieth likewiſe the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Number and the Ligow. On the right hand as we ſtill deſcend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we méet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be paſt another on the right ſide, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Pgan, to the Idulin, to the caſtell Water on the left, & then to the Melandider on the right, without the ſight of anie other, till we come almoſt to Conweie, where we find a notched ſtreame comming from by weſt, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the ſame by one chanell on the northeaſt ſide of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer againſt Lanſanfraid in Denbighſhire; ſo farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonſhire ſtretcheth alſo beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Drmeſhed point, wherein alſo is a rill, whoſe fall into the ſea is betwéene Penrin and Landright. And thus we haue made an end of the chéefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Tec.

Ligow.

Drmeſhed.

The nert is a corner of Denbigh, by which we doo as it were ſtep ouer into Flintſhire, and whoſe firſt water is not great, yet it commeth from ſouthweſt, and falleth into the north or Iriſh ſea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the nert that commeth ſouth from Bettas doth the like three miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it ſelfe importeth) but alſo noted to take his courſe through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighſhire, that lieth betweene thoſe of Carnaruon and Flint, we come nert of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a ſtreame not to be thortlie intreated of. It riſeth among certeine hilles, which lie not far diſtant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighſhires. Southeaſt from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Meſpin on the right: and ſone after the third from by weſt, whoſe head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen alſo it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and ſo holdeth on till it méet with the Cluedoch, then with the Pfrade, which paſſeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Wheler on the right, and ſo to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Aſaphes, a biſhops ſée that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riſeth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lanſannan, and ioineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence paſſeth on to the ſea by Rutland caſtell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by eaſt, and hath a courſe almoſt of ſirtéene miles. From hence we toke ſea toward the Dée mouth: and as we paſſed by the reſt of the ſhore, we ſaw the fall of a little brooke néere Baſing Werke, of another néere to Flint, of the third at Powleie caſtell, which with his two armes in maner incloſeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like ſort goeth round about the ſame, & from whence we came to the Dée, where we landed and toke vp our lodging in Cheſter. In this place alſo it was no hard matter to deliuer & ſet downe the names of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as are alſo to be found in Angleſeie, finding my ſelfe to haue ſome leaſure and fit opportunitie for the ſame: and imagining a iourneie thither alſo, as vnto the other places mentioned in this deſcription, whither as yet it hath not béene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amiſſe to take it alſo in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Gele.

Maniton.

Cluedoch.

Elwie.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonſhire to Beaumariſe, I went by land without croſſing of anie riuer or ſtreame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the ſouthéeſt point of that Iland. This Brant riſeth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his courſe ſouthward to Lanthoniell Uaall, it goeth on to Bodowerueh, Langainwen, and ſo into the ſea.

The nert fall we came vnto was called Paltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers,

the

the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langreſtoll. This alſo laſt rehearſed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riſeth in the hillie ſoile aboue Tregaion and Langwithlog: ſo that part of the Iland obteineth no ſmall commoditie and benefit by their paſſage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whoſe head is neere to Langinewen, and paſſage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth eaſt of Aberfraw, and ſo into the ſea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer courſe than that which I laſt deſcribed. For it riſeth two or three miles aboue Hanegloſſe: and paſſing from thence to Treualghmaie, after the deſcent of foure miles, it falleth into the ſea. After this we came to an other, which riſeth more to Cap Iegan ferwie, and falleth into the ſea ſoutheaſt of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt. It is nameleſſe alſo as the other was, and therefore hauing ſmall delight to write thereof, we paſſed ouer the ſalt creeke by a bridge into Cair Kibie, which by the ſame, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in ſome reſpect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north ſide therefore of Cair Kibie is a little rill or creeke: but whether the water thereof be freſh or ſalt, as yet I do not remember.

Fraw.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforeſaid bridge, into the maine of Angleſeie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by three riuerets, each one hauing his courſe almoſt ſouth from other; and the laſt falling into the confluence of the two firſt, not halfe a mile from the weſt, where I firſt eſpied the ſtreame. The name of the moſt northerlie is Linon, of the ſecond Allo; but the third is altogither nameleſſe for aught that I can learne, wherefore it ſhall not be neceſſarie to ſpend anie time in the further ſearching of his courſe. Being paſt this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eaſtward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Nathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and neere to the Langechell. And after the ſame we paſſed on ſomewhat declining ſouthward by the Hillarie point, toward the ſoutheaſt, till we came to the Duleſſe, and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eaſtward; and finallie ſouthward, till we came to Langurdoy; from whence vnto Beaumariſe (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the deſcription of the Dee.

Linon. Allo.

The Dee or Deua (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & breeder of the beſt trout, whoſe head is in Merioneth ſhire, about three miles aboue the lake, ſituate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whoſe ſtreame yet verie ſmall, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of his courſe, falleth into the ſaid lake, not far from Lanullin. There are ſundrie other waters that come alſo into the ſaid lake, which is foure or fiue miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by ſouth, whoſe fall is eaſt, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his iſſue into the ſame by Langower: the third on the north ſide of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlintegid called the Iauerne, the lake it ſelfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a pretie ſtreame, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monach which fall by north into the ſame, and ioineth with the Dee ſouth of Lanuair; from whence forth it loſeth the name, and is afterward called Dee. Eaſt of Bala in like ſort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and ſo paſſing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riſeth in the hils aboue Langham, the other in the mountains about fiue or ſix miles by northweſt of Lanihangle in Denbighſhire, where (as I geſſe) it falleth into the ground; and afterward riſing againe betweene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full ſix miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lanſanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighſhire, and ſo to Langellon, Dinas, Bzen, &c: keeping his courſe by certeine windleſſes, till he receiue the Griſtioneth, deſcending by Ruabon, then another eſt of the ſame; the third, from by weſt called Keriog (whoſe head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and courſe by Lanarmon, Lanſanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from ſouth eaſt out of Shropſhire, called Morlais, and ſo paſſeth as bounds betweene Denbighſhire, and the outliggand of Flintſhire, to wit by Biſſocke on the one ſide and Bangor on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell deſcending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the ſecond from Hannere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by eaſt of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betweene Chad and Worſall. Theſe two later meeting aboue nether Durtwich, do hold on to Talerne, as mine information inſtructeth me.

Griſtioneth. Keriog.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northweſtwards toward Shockligc, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to thoſe trouts for which the Dee is commended) and deſcendeth by Capell Poinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrexham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrexham, not far from Hantwerne. Soone after alſo our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by eaſt, which is bound on the northweſt ſide to the outliggand of Flintſhire, and ſo paſſeth on betweene Holt caſtell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betweene Denbighſhire and Cheſhire; and then taketh in the Alaunus or Alen; a pretie riuer and worthie to be deſcribed. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighſhire, and ſo diſpoſed that it riſeth in two ſeuerall places, each being two miles from other; the one called Alen Hawr, the other Alen Uchan, as I do find reported. They meet alſo beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by weſt, it runneth on to the Hold to Horſheth; and ſo in and out to Greſeford; taking the Cagidog from ſouthweſt with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and ſo into the Dee, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which alſo deſcendeth from ſouthweſt out of Flintſhire, and is march vnto the ſame, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Cheſterſhire on both ſides, goeth to Aldford with a ſwift courſe, where it meeteth with the Belton brooke, whereof I do find this deſcription following.

Gwinrogh. Alannus.

Dee or Deua. Trowerin. Ruddoch. Cleton.

The Belton water riſeth in the woddie ſoile betweene Spurſton and Belton caſtell with a forked head, and leauing Belton towne on the northeaſt, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakeſleie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Coldburne, and Leehall, to Alford, and ſo into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it branceth againe, ſending forth one arme by Stanneie pole, and the parke ſide into Merſeie arme, toward the northweſt, and another by ſouthweſt, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Upton, the Baites, and ſo vnder a bridge to Cheſter ward, where

Belton.

" where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes bꝛoke,
" excluding Wirall on the noꝛthweſt as an Iland,
" which lieth out like a leg betweéne the Merſeie and
" the Dée armes, and including and making another
" freſh Iland within the ſame, whoſe limits by noꝛth-
" weſt are betweéne Thoꝛneton, Cheſter, & Aldfoꝛd, on
" the noꝛtheaſt Thoꝛneton and Hakelleie, and on the
" ſoutheaſt Hakelleie and Aldfoꝛd, whereby the foꝛme
" thereof doth in part reſemble a triangle. And thus
much of the Dée, which is a troubleſome ſtreame when the wind is at ſouthweſt, and verie dangerous, in ſo much that few dare paſſe thereon. Sometimes alſo in harueſt time it ſendeth downe ſuch ſtoꝛe of water, when the wind bloweth in the ſame quarter, that it dꝛowneth all their graſſe and coꝛne that groweth in the lower grounds néere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about thꝛée hundꝛed foot, at his departure from the Tigme, and woꝛthilie called a litigious ſtreame; becauſe that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to ſéeke new bounds vnto their lands, foꝛ here it laieth new ground, and there tranſlateth and taketh awaie the old, ſo that there is nothing moꝛe vnconſtant than the courſe of the ſaid water. Of the monaſterie Bangoꝛ alſo, by which it paſſeth after it hath left Dꝛton bꝛidge, I find this note, which I will not omit, becauſe of the ſlaughter of monks made ſometime néere vnto the ſame. Foꝛ although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogither to omit it.

The ſituation of ỹ monaſterie of Bangoꝛ.

This abbeie of Bangoꝛ ſtood ſometime in Engliſh Wallo, by hither and ſouth of the riuer Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that houſe ſtood, by the ſpace of a Welſh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe Engliſh) and to this day the tillers of the ſoile there dw plow vp bones (as they ſaie) of thoſe monks that were ſlaine in the quarrell of Auguſtine, and within the memoꝛie of man ſome of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto thoſe of our late blacke monks, as Leland ſet it downe: yet Eraſmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was ſuch as moſt men did weare generallie at their firſt inſtitution. But to pꝛoceed. This abbeie ſtood in a valleie, and in thoſe times the riuer ran hard by it. The compaſſe thereof likewiſe was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may eaſilie be diſcerned, of which the one is named Poꝛt Hogan lieng by noꝛth, the other Poꝛt Clais ſituat vpon the ſouth. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth thꝛough the verie middeſt of the houſe betwixt thoſe two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As foꝛ the ſquared ſtone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no ſuch neceſſitie of the reherſall thereof, but that I may paſſe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being paſt the Dée we ſailed about Wirall, paſſing by Hilbꝛie oꝛ Hilbꝛée Iland, and Leuerpole, Naſſe, making our entrie into Merſeie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betweéne Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. Foꝛ riſing néere to the noꝛthweſt ſhoꝛe, it holdeth a courſe directlie toward the ſoutheaſt by Wallaſeie and Poꝛton, and ſo leaueth all the noꝛth part beyond that water a peninſula, the ſame being thꝛée ſquare, inuiꝛoned on two ſides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforeſaid bꝛoke, whoſe courſe is well néere thꝛée miles except I be deceiued. Frõ hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betweéne Webington and Bꝛombꝛo chappell, deſcending from the hilles, which are ſeene to lie not farre from the ſhoꝛe, and thence croſſing the fall of the Beſton water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, than the

Wiuer.

which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth moꝛe oꝛ halfe ſo many windleſſes and crinklings, before it come at the ſea. It riſeth at Buckle hilles, which lie betweéne Ridleie and Buckle townes, and ſone after making a lake of a mile & moꝛe in length called Ridleie pole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moꝛe that commeth from Warburie: and beneth Sandfoꝛd bꝛidge the Combꝛus from Combꝛus. Combermer oꝛ Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerſlaw, then betweéne Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and ſo into the Wiuer, which watereth all the weſt part of England, and is no leſſe notable than the firſt Auon oꝛ third Duze, whereof I haue ſpoken alreadie. After theſe confluences it halſeth alſo to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton croſſeth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Wid- Betleis. denberie, and ſo by Barderton into the aforeſaid ſtreame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but yer it come at Marchfoꝛd bꝛidge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbꝛoke (as I geſſe) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewiſe beneath the ſaid bꝛidge, with the Lée and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth at Weſton, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer runneth on to Minchion and Cardeſwiſe, and the nert water that falleth into it is the Athe (which paſſeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Rotall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Noꝛthwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be deſcribed as followeth. The Dane riſeth in the verie edges of Cheſter, Darbiſhire, & Staffoꝛdſhire, and comming by Wharnefoꝛd, Swithamleie and Boſleie, is a limit betweéne Staffoꝛd and Darbie ſhires, almoſt euen from the verie head, which is in Parwell foꝛreſt.

Salop. Lée and Wuluarne. Athe. Dane.

It is not long alſo yer it dw méet with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Moꝛton to Sandbach, croſſeth another that deſcendeth from church Cawſton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining alſo beneath Midlewich with the Croco oꝛ Croxſton, the ſecond great water, whoſe head commeth out of a lake aboue Bꝛuerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Croxton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boſtocke, Dauenham, Shebꝛuch, Shurlach, and at Noꝛthwich into the foꝛeſaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like ſoꝛt receiueth two bꝛokes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Alloſtocke, by Holme & Laſtocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelfoꝛd (where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holfoꝛd, and there croſſing the Waterleſſe bꝛoke (growing of two becks and ioining at nether Tableie) it goeth foꝛth to Winſhambꝛidge, and then méeting with the other, after this confluence they pꝛoceed till they come almoſt at Barneton, where the ſaid chanell ioineth with a pꝛetie water running thoꝛough two lakes, whereof the greateſt lieth betweéne Comberbach, Rudwoꝛth and Warburie. But to go foꝛward with the courſe of the maine riuer. After theſe confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbꝛidge, and Dutton, ouer againſt which towne, on the other ſide it méeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: alſo the ſecond going by Moꝛleie, and Gritton, finallie the third ſone after from Kimſleie, and then pꝛoceédeth on in his paſſage by Atheton chappell, Frodeſham, Rockeſauage, and

Wbelocke. Croco. Piuereie. Waterleſſe.

ſo

ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I dw find of the Wiuer, whoſe influences might haue bæne moze largelie ſet downe, if mine inſunctions had bæne amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may ſuffice foz his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

Merſeie. The Merſeie riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Wodhouſe, and taking ſundzie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betweene Cheſter and Darbiſhires. Going alſo toward Goitehall, it meeteth with a faire bzoke increaſed by ſundzie waters called Goite, whereof I find this ſhozt and bziefe deſcription. The Goite riſeth not far from the Shire meere hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their oziginall) that parteth Darbiſhire and Cheſterſhire in ſunder, and thence commeth dowme to Goite houſes, Duerton, Tarhall, Shawcroſſe, and at Weibzidge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riſeth aboue Merſethall and runneth by Duerſet. After this confluence alſo the Merſeie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockfozd oz Stopfozd towne meeteth with the Tame, which diuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhire in ſunder, and whoſe head is in the verie edge of Yozkeſhire, from whence it goeth ſouthward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Yukelhirſt, Stalie hall, Aſhdon Underline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddiſh, and ſo at Stockfozd into the Merſeie ſtreame, which palſeth fozth in like ſozt to Diddeſbirie, receiuing a bzoke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Bzumhall parke and Chedle.

Goite. Frith. Set. Tame.

Irwell. From Diddeſbirie it pzocedeth to Nozden, Aſhton, Aiſton, Flirſton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefoze his deſcription is not to be omitted before I dw go fozward anie further with the Merſeie, although it be not nauigable by reaſon of ſundzie rockes and ſhalowes that lie diſperſed in the ſame. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waie to Attenfield it taketh in a water from Haſelden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Bzandlesham, Bzurie, and aboue Ratcliffe ioineth with the Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the next vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bicauſe I would not haue ſo manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therefoze paſt theſe two, our Irwell goeth on to Cliſton, Yolland, Edgecroft, Strengwaies, and to Manchelter, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Yzke, that runneth thereinto by Roiton Yidleton, Yeaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manchelter alſo it meeteth with the Medlocke, that commeth thither from the nozthealt ſide of Oldham, and betweene Claiton and Garret Halles, and ſo betweene two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going fozward to Wodſall, Whicleſwyc, Eccles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth neere vnto Flirton, into the water of Merſeie, where I will ſtaie a while withall, till I haue bzought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake before.

Reus, oz Rache. Leland ſpeaketh of the Cozne water about Manchester; but I know nothing of his courſe. Yrke. Medlocke.

Rache. The Rache, Reech oz Riſh conſiſteth of ſundzie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a pzoper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelfe, which riſeth among the blacke ſtonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebzough, and being paſt Clegge, receiueth the Belle, that commeth thither by Yilneraw chappell. After this confluence alſo, it meeteth with a rill neere vnto Rachedale, and ſone after with the Spzotton water, and then the Sudleie bzoke, whereby his chanell is not a little increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The ſecond ſtreame is called Bzadſha. It riſeth of two heds, aboue Tureton church, whence it runneth to Bzadſha, and yer long taking in the Walmeſleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the Yoze. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the rots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the Yoze, and ſo into Bzadſha water, which taketh his waie to Leucrmoze, Farnworth, Leuerleſſe, and finallie into the Irwell, which I before deſcribed, and whereof I find theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt:

Belle. Spzotton. Sudleie. Bzadſha. Walmeſleie.

Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meet with the Merſeie, do looſe their name.

Now therefoze to reſume our Merſeie, you ſhall vnderſtand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, oz Gleſbzoke water, increaſed with ſundzie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Yulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all vnited neere vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroſt, and aboue Holling greene into the ſwift Merſeie. After this increaſe the ſaid ſtreame in like ſozt runneth to Rigſton, & there admitteth the Bollein oz Bolling bzoke water into his ſocietie, which riſing neere the Chamber in Marwell foreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Yzeſbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Wodfozd, Wilmeſleie, Ringeie, and Aſhleie, there receiuing the Birkin bzoke that commeth from betweene Allerton and Marchall, by Yawberleie, and ſone after the Marus oz Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſtozne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer againſt Rixton beneath Croſfozd bzidge into the Merſeie water, which pzocéding on, admitteth not another that meeteth with all neere Lim before it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bzuche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a bzoke that commeth from Par by Bzowſeie, Bzadleie, and Saukeie on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and ſone after the Grundich water on the other ſide, that palſeth by Yzeſton, and Dareſbirie. Finallie our Merſeie going by Houlton, it falleth into Lirepole, oz as it was called of old Liuerpole hauen, when it is paſt Runcozne. And thus much of the Merſeie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no leſſe fame than moſt riuers of this Iland.

Bollein bzoke. Birkin. Mar. Bold. Grundich.

Being paſt theſe two, we come next of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding anie no till we be paſt all Wirall, out of Lirepole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the nozth point of the afozeſaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freſh riſing not far into the land, commeth to Feſton, and ſone after receiuing another on the right hand, that palſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no moze before it come at the ſea. Neither find I anie other falles till I meet with the mouth of the Yarrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one chanell as I take it. The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rauenſpike hill, and yer long runneth by Andertonfozd to Wozthington, and ſo (taking in two oz thzee rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in ſouth from Bzin parke, the other from nozthealt. Being paſt this, it receiueth one on the nozth ſide from Standiſh, and another by ſouth from Yolland, and then goeth on toward Ruſſozd chappell taking the Taud withall, that deſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth thzough Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derbie.

Tarbocke. Alt oz Alc. Dugleſſe oz Duleſſe. Taud oz Skelmere.

Derbie. It meeteth also on the same side, with Derton meers water, in which meere is one Iland called Netholme beside other, and when it is past the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Yarrow.

Yerton.

The Yarrow riseth of two heads, whereof the second is called Bagen broke, and making a confluence beneath Yelbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Egleskan, Crofton, and then toineth next of all with the Duggleſſe, after which confluence, the maine streame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Yolw, Yesket, and so into the sea. Leland writing of the Yarrow, saith thus of the same, so farre as I now remember. Into the Duggleſſe also runneth the Yarrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandshire from Derbieshire. Under the foot of Chorle also I find a rill named Ceorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of stones, whereof the inhabitants do make a great boast and price. And hitherto Leland.

Yarrow.
Bagen.

The Ribble, a riuer verie rich of salmon and lamprie, doth in manner inuiron Preston in Anderneſſe, and it riseth neere to Ribbesdale aboue Gisborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Wlodington, Clithero castell, and beneath Hitton meeteth the Odder at northwest, which riseth not farre from the crosse of Great in Yorkeshire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirst, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Calder from southeast. This broke riseth aboue Holme church in Yorkeshire, which lieth by east of Lancasterſhire, and goeth by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiueth a trilling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long crossing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle broke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it meeteth with the Calder, which passeth forth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other side, it runneth on to Altham, and so to Martholme, where the Henburne broke doth ioine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Rishton, and so into the Calder, as I haue said before. The Calder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where maister Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and sone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Salisburie hall, Ribchester, Osbaskin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine sea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandshire from Anderneſſe, and it riseth by east aboue Darwent chappell; and sone after uniting it selfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodlesworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and so into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke broke, it riseth somewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lee hall, and so into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to saie of this riuer.

Ribble.
Odder.
Calder.
Pidle.
Henburne.
Darwent.
Blackeburne
Rodlesworth.
Sannocke.

The Wire riseth eight or ten miles from Garstan, out of an hill in Wiresdale forrest, from whence it runneth by Shireshed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Grenelaw castell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garstan, and Kirkland hall, it first receiueth the second Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerseie chappell, then another chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe before I proceed anie further with the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called Plimpton broke, it riseth south of Gosner, and commeth by Cawford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ioineth with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland forrest, by Claughton hall, where maister Broke hales doth lie, & so through Persco forrest. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water meeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which passeth forth to Michaell church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton crosseth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie through the sands into the sea, according to his nature. When we were past the fall of the Wire, we coasted vp by the salt cotes, to Coker mouth, whose head, though it be in Weresdale forrest, not far from that of the Wire, yet the shortnesse of course deserueth no description. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not increased with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof so much we sooner.

Wire.
Calder.2.
Plimpton.
Barton.
Burbecke.
Skipton.
Coker.
Cowdar.

Being past these two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of statutes hath) Lonwire *Anno* 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and giueth name to Lancaster, Lonecaster, or Luneca-ſter, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerse stamps, whose course doth rest to be described as followeth; and whereof I haue two descriptions. The first being set downe by Leland, as maister Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he saith) to search out and view the same, but verie latelie to speake of. The Lune (saith maister Moore) of some commonlie called the Loine, riseth at Crosse-ho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondshire out of three heads. North also from Dent dale is Garsdale, an vplandish towne, wherein are seene manie times great store of red deere that come downe to feed from the mounteins into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewise is a broke meeting with Garsdale water, so that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beside these waters also before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great broke, which commeth out of the Worth, betweene Westmerland and Richmondshire, which taking with him the aforesaid chanels, doth run seauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lansdale, corruptlie so called, peraduenture for Lunesdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles southward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto maister Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riseth at Wulfall head, by west, and going by Wulfall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that descendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & so to Tibarie, where it meeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from besides Orton, another from betweene Kasebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each side of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundswath, aboue which it uniteth it selfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Yowgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Yorvill hilles, and afterward crossing the Dent broke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their course as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by east, then to Kirbie, Lansdale, and aboue Whittenton crosseth a broke

Lune.
Burdecke.
Breder.
Barrow.
Dent.

comming

comming from the countie ſtone by Burros, and ſone after beneath Tunſtall and Greteie, which deſcending from about Ingelborow hill, paſſeth by Twiſelton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton, and nere Thurland caſtell, toucheth finallie with the Lune, which brancheth, and ſone after vniteth it ſelfe againe. After this alſo it goeth on toward New parke, and receiueth the Wennie, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riſeth north of the croſſe of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the Rheburne that riſeth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence alſo aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaſter, Excliffe, Awcliffe, Soddaie, Dixton, and ſo into the ſea. Thus haue you both the deſcriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleaſure, for I am ſworne to neither of them both.

Greteie. Wennie. Hinburne. Rheburne.

The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the ſame that Leland doth call the Kerie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitſon was borne, it riſeth north of Docker towne, and going by Barwyc hall, it is not increaſed before it come at the ſea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Luneſands. Next of all we come to Bitham becke, which riſeth not far from Bitham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihod reſorteth in the end to Linſands.

Docker. Kerie.

Being paſt this, we find a forked arme of the ſea called Kenſands: into the firſt of which diuerſe waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarig hall, another frō by weſt of Whinfield, & ioining with the firſt on the eaſt ſide of Skelmere parke. The third called Spriot or Spriota riſeth at Slodale, & commeth downe by weſt of Skelmer parke, ſo that theſe two brookes haue the aforeſaid parke betweene them, & fall into the fourth eaſt of Barneſide, not verie farre in ſunder. The fourth or laſt called Ken, commeth from Kentmers ſide, out of Ken more, in a pole of a mile compaſſe, verie well ſtored with fiſh, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Weſtmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by eaſt, it paſſeth by Barneſide, to Kendall, Helſton, Sigath, Siggeſwyc, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and ſo into the ſea. Certes this Ken is a prietie deepe riuer, and yet not ſafelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reaſon of rolling ſtones, & other huge ſubſtances that oft annoie & trouble the middeſt of the chanell there. The other peece of the forked arme, is called Winſtar, the hed wherof is aboue Winſtar chappell, & going downe almoſt by Carpmaunſell, & Netherlake, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, or ſands, for all this coaſt, & a gulfe from the Ramſide point to the Mealenaſſe, is ſo peſtered with ſands, that it is almoſt incredible to ſee how they increaſe. Thoſe alſo which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kenſands: but ſuch as receiue the deſcent from the Folſe, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leueſands, as I find by ſufficient teſtimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon alſo is not farre from this impechment: wherefore it is to be thought, that theſe iſſues will yer long become verie noiſome, if not choked vp altogither. The Winander water riſeth about Cumbalraſeſtones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a mere: then to Ambleſide, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greateſt mere, or freſh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one ſmall chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue ſix miles yer fall into the ſea. There is in like ſort a water, called the Foſſe that riſeth nere vnto Arneſide, and Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Griſdale, Satrethwate, Rulland, Powbridge, Bowth, and ſo falleth with the Winander water into the maine ſea. On the weſt ſide of the Foſſe alſo commeth another through Furneſſe felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurſtan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, paſſeth forth by Nibthwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and ſo into the ſea. Hauing paſſed the Leuen or Coniſands, or Coniſtoneſands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Lew, which riſeth at Cewike chappell, and falleth into the ſea beſide Plumpton. The Rawther deſcending out of low Furneſſe, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Ulmerſtone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they haſten into the ſea, whither all waters direct their voiage. Then come we to another rill ſouthweſt of Aldingham, deſcending by Glaiſton caſtell; and likewiſe the fourth that riſeth nere Lindell, and running by Dawlton caſtell and Furneſſe abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the ſea ouer againſt Waucie and Waucie chappell, except mine aduertiſements miſcade me.

Foſſe. Sparke. Lew. Rawther.

The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Weſtmerland, commeth from the Shire ſtone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Johns, Aſkaie parke, & Brougton, it falleth into the ſaltwater, betweene Kirbie, and Wallum caſtell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglaſſe point, and well entred into Cumberland countie.

Dodon.

Comming to Rauenglaſſe, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or poles, whereof one iſſueth out of Denocke or Deuenocke mere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eſke from Eſke pole which runneth by Eſkedale, Dalegarth, and ſone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Pawburthwate and Rauenglaſſe, falleth into the ſea. On the other ſide of Rauenglaſſe alſo commeth the Pite broke, from Piterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the firſt is forked, but ſone after making a lake, they gather againe into a ſmaller chanell: finallie meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the ſea at Carleton ſouth eaſt, as I weene of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland forreſt, by Cander, Sellefield, and ſo into the ſea. Then come we to Ener water, deſcending out of a pole aboue Coſwaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it croſſeth a water from Arladon, and after proceedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill from Hyde, it is not long yer it meeteth with the ſea.

Denocke. Eſke. Pite. Brenge. Cander.

The next fall is at Moreſbie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we caſt about by ſaint Bees to Derwentſet hauen, whoſe water is truelie written Dargwent or Deruent. It riſeth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and ſo vnto Keſwyc, where it falleth into the Bure, whereof the ſaid lake is called Burſemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like ſort the Bure or Burthmere water, riſing among the hils goeth to Tegburtheſworth, Forneſide, S. Johns, and Threlcote: and there meeting with a water from Griſdale, by Wakethwate, called Griſe, it runneth to Burneſſe, Keſwyc, and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keſwyc in like ſort it goeth to Thorneſwate (and there making a plath) to Armanſwate, Iſell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar, which

Dargwent. Burthmere. Griſe. Cokar.

which riſing among the hils commeth by Lowſe-water, Bzakenthwate, Lozton, and ſo to Cokar-mouth towne, from whence it haſteth to Bzoge-ham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the ſouth ſide that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Sam-burne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the ſea.

Wire. Leland ſaith that the Wire is a créke where ſhips lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon oz Wirkington towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth alſo that there is iron and coles, beſide lead oze in Wire-dale. Neuertheleſſe the water of this riuer is foz the moſt part ſoze troubled, as comming thozough a ſud-die oz ſoddie moze, ſo that little good fiſh is ſaid to liue therein. But to pzoceed. The Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautré, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſbie, Harbie, Bzow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand comming by Dozpennie, it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh wa-ters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by War-ton, Rabbie, Cotes, and ſo into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by ſouth, called Croco, that com-meth from Crockdale, by Bzomefield. The ſecond is named Wampole bzoke, & this riſeth of two heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like ſozt it goeth to Thureſbie, Croſton, Diuton, Gamleſbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an eſtuarie, whither thzée notable riuers dw reſozt, and this is named the Sol-ueie mouth. But of all, the firſt excédeth, which is cal-led Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth follow here at hand.

Elmus. Croco. Wampus.

Eden. The Eden well fraught with ſamon, deſcendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelſtane moze at the fot of Hulſtat Mozuell hill, where Swale alſo riſeth, and ſoutheaſt of Mallerſtang fozreſt. From thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerſtang towne, Pen-dzagon caſtell, Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie ca-ſtell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yet it come at great Pulgrane, it receiueth thzée waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, bicauſe it commeth from the Derne and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the ſame de-nomination. The other is named Bellow, and deſcen-deth from the eaſt mounteins by Sowarſbie, & theſe two on the nozth eaſt: the third falleth from Rauen-ſtandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Bla-terne, and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Marcop; and taking in the Dzne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Nozton becke on the other, it ha-ſteth to Applebie, thence to Cowlbie, where it croſſeth the Dzbecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there méeting with the Trowt becke, and beneath the ſame with the Liuenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Churenlie méeting withall beneath Cle-bzon) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the conflu-ences alſo the Eden paſſeth to Temple, and ſone af-ter méeting with the Milburne and Blincozne wa-ters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Nozthebie, where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed the water that méeteth withall nére the afozeſaid place called the Alſe.

Helbecke. Bellow. Dzne. Nozeton. Dzbecke. Trowt becke. Liuenet. Milburne. Blincozne. Alſe.

Marke. Hartleſhop. Paterdale. Roden. Glenkgain. This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with ſix rils, whereof one is called the Marke, and nére the fall thereof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name; the ſecond hight Hartleſhop, & runneth from Hartleſhop hall by Depedale; the third is Pa-terdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenk-guin, but the firſt runneth into the ſaid lake, ſouth of Towthwate. Afterward when this lake commeth to-ward Pole towne, it runneth into a ſmall chanell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker caſtell. Thence it goeth to Stockebzidge, Ponewozth, and ſone after méeteth with a pzetie bzoke called Loder, comming from Thozneythwate by Bauton, and hére a rill; then by Yelton, and there another; thence to Alkham, Clif-ton, and ſo ioining with the other called Alſe, they go to Bzougham caſtell, Nine churches, Hozneby, and ſo into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that com-meth downe from Pencath. Being paſt Hozneby, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and ſone after re-ceiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and loi-ning beneath Wingſell, it haſteth to Laſenbie, then to Kirke Oſwald (on ech ſide whereof commeth in a rill from by eaſt) thence to Nonneie, and there a rill, Anſkable, Cotehill, Cozbie caſtell, Wetherall, Newbie: where I will ſtaie, till I haue deſcribed the Ir-ding, and ſuch waters as fall into the ſame beſoze I go to Carleill.

Loder. Thozneythwate Loder

Irding. The Irding ariſeth in a moze in the bozders of Tindale, nére vnto Hozſle head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Nozthumberland and Gilleſland in ſunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfoze come to Duerhall, it receiueth the Pultroſe becke, by eaſt, and thence goeth on to Duerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercoſt, and Caſtellſtead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Aſkerton caſtell, Walton, and ſo into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & ſo into Eden. But a little beſoze it come there, it croſſeth with the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and ſone after falleth into it. After theſe confluences, our Eden goeth to Linſtocke caſtell, (and here it interteineth a bzoke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Car-leill, which is now almoſt inuironed with foure waters.

Terne. Pultroſe. Cambocke. Gillie.

Pedar alias Logus. Foz beſide the Eden it receiueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from ſoutheaſt. This Peder riſeth in the hils ſouthweſt of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Gra-ſtocke caſtell, Cateleie, and Kenderſide hall, and then taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cath-wade, Pettrelwate, Newbiggin, Carleton, and ſo into Eden, nozth eaſt of Carleill. But on the nozth ſide the Bzuferth bzoke doth ſwiftlie make his en-trance, running by Leuer dale, Scalbie caſtell, and Hoyſedon; as I am infozmed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which riſing about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Noſedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Roſe caſtell, Dawſton, Bzounſton, Harrington, and weſt of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimſdale, Kirke Andzos, Beaumont, falleth into the ſea be-neath the Rowcliffe caſtell. And thus much of the E-den, which Leland neuertheleſſe deſcribeth after an-other ſozt, whoſe wozds I will not let to ſet downe here in this place, as I find them in his commen-taries.

Bzuferth.

Alſe after Leland. The Eden, after it hath run a pzetie ſpace from his head, méeteth in time with the Alſe water, which is a great bzoke in Weſtmerland, and riſing aboue Hare dale, a mile weſt of Loder, it commeth by the late diſſolued houſe of Shappe pziozie, thzée miles from Shappe, and by Bzampton village into Loder oz Lodon. Certes this ſtreame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake foz two miles courſe, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth foozth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The ſaid Eden in like ſozt receiueth the Aimote a-bout thzée miles beneath Bzougham caſtell, and in-to the ſame Aimote falleth the Dacoz becke (alreadie touched) which riſeth by nozthweſt in Paterdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacoz caſtell, and then going

Loder. Aimote. Dacoz.

thorough Daco2 parke, it runneth by east a good mile lower into Esnote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Daco2. In one of his bookes also he saith, how Carleill standeth betweene two streames, that is to saie the Deua, which commeth thither from by southwest, and also the Logus that descendeth from the southeast. He addeth moze ouer how the Deua in times past was named Vala o2 Bala, and that of the names of these two, Lugibala fo2 Caerleill hath bœne deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else-where described, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are moze ancient, where iust occasion moueth me to remember them, fo2 the better vnderstanding of our histozies, as they dw come to hand.

Deua. Vala.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the sea in one chanell, and with them the Lamsozd and the Elske, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfoze aboue Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Bzacken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Elske. In like sozt the Kirsop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirsop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Yarlow, Yathwater, and taking in the Elske aboue the Yote, it loseth the fozmer name, and is called Elske, vntill it come to the sea.

Leuen. Lamsozd. Elske. Tomunt. Kirsop. Lidde.

Hauing thus gone thozough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we pzoceed with those which are to be found vpon the Scotish shoze, in such ozder as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it shall be easie fo2 vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did set fozward in the beginning of our voiage. The first riuer that I met withall on the Scotish coast, is the Elske, after I came past the Soluete, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Bozow on the sands. This Elske hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluete first at Atterith. After this I passed ouer a little creke from Kirthell, and so to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale doth seeme to take the name. There is also the Nide, whereof commeth Nidsdale, the Ken, the Dee, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all these (besides diuerse other small rilles of lesse name) dw lie vpon the south of Gallowaie.

Elske.

On the nozth side also we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Castile Dune, the Burwin, the Clude (whereupon sometime stood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, whereunto the Blake on the southwest and the Lomund lake, with his fleeting Iles and fish without finnes (yet verie holesome) doth seeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swelleth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best marriners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoise vp sailes on hie. The like is seene in windie weather, but much moze perillous. There are certeine Iles also in the same, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which otherwise is verie fruitfull fo2 pasturage of cattell.

Lene. Long. Goile. Yeke. Robinsoie.

Nert vnto this is the Leue, the Rage, the Long, the Goile, & the Yeke, which fo2 the exceeding greatnesse of the ir heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinsoie, the Fozeland, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, whereunto the Spansoie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Yeke dw fall, there is also the Sell, the Yozd, the Dwin, the Newille, the Dine the Lang, the Dzun, the Yew, the Bzun, the Kell, the Dowz, the Faro, the Nesse, the Yerre, the Con, the Glasse, the Maur, the Urdall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairloke, which two latter lie a little by west of the Dzchades, and are pzoperlie called riuers, bicause they issue onelie from springs; but most of the other lakes, bicause they come from linnes and huge poles, o2 such low bottomes, fed with springs, as seeme to haue no accesse, but onelie recesse of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

Foxlan. Tarbat. Lean. Abir. Arke. Yeke. Sell. Yozd. Dwin. Newille. Dine. Lang. Dzun. Yew. Bzun. Kell. Dowz. Faro. Nesse. Yerre. Con. Glasse. Maur. Urdall. Fesse. Calder. Wisse. Bzowze. Clin. Twin. Shin. Sillan. Carew. Nesse. Narding. Spaie. Downe. Dee. Estie.

But to pzoceed. Hauing once past Dungisbie head in Cathnesse, we shall yer long come to the mouth of the Wisse, a pzettie streame, comming by south of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Bzowze, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth thzee riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Nesse, which besides the plentie of samon found therein is neuer frosen, no2 suffereth yce to remaine there, that is cast into the pole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Vine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we saile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and so to the Downe, and Dee: which two streames bzing fozth the greatest samons that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentie of the same. Then to the nozth Elske, whereinto the Esmond runneth aboue Bzechin, the south Elske, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the finest riuer fo2 water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto most riuers and lakes dw run. As Farlake, Yzth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rillets which I did neuer loke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londozs, vpon whose mouth saint Andzewes doth stand, the lake Lewin, vnto whose streame two other lakes haue recourse in Fiseland, and then the Firth o2 Fozth, which some dw call the Pictish and Scotish sea, whither the kingdome of the Nozthumbers was sometime extended, and with the riuer last mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londozs) includeth all Fife, the said Fozth being full of oisters and all kinds of huge fish that vse to lie in the deepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iustlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the same, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Wan, Tozkelon, Rosham, Mushell, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, partlie after information, and partlie of such townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are past the Yaie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leaning Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill standeth, and conteineth a triangle of so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well neere foure miles in length, and thzee miles in bzedth in the bzoad end; except mine information dw faile me.

Clacke. Alon. Dune. Kerie. Cambell. Cumer. Tere. Wan. Tozkelan. Rosham. Mussell. Blene. Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualis o2 Toesis, & betweene which and the Tine the countie of Nozthumberland is in maner inclosed, and watred with sundzie noble riuers) is a noble streame and the limes o2 bound betweene England & Scotland, wherby those two kingdomes are now diuided in sunder. It riseth about Dzimlar in Eusdale (o2 rather out of a faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the mosse of an hill called Aireane, o2 Yareskan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and so comming by Pibble, Lander, Dzibiwgh, Kelse, Warke, Nozham,

Norham and Hagarſtone, it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus ſaith Leland. But I not contented with this ſo ſhort a diſcourſe of ſo long a riuer & briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame, will adde ſomewhat more of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſh ſide, and rehearſall of ſuch riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Ridam, it receiueth betweene that and Carham a becke, which deſcendeth from the hilles that lie by weſt of Windram. Going alſo from Ridam by Longbridgham (on the Scotiſh ſide) and to Carham, it falleth immediatlie to Warke caſtell on the Engliſh, and by Spilaw on the other ſide, then to Cornewall, Caldſtreame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth ſundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand.

Till. Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the iſſue of the furtheſt water that commeth hereinto, riſeth not farre from the head of Alwaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did ſometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartſide, Ingram, Branton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Bewiſe, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by weſt, and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons, and ſo they go as one with the Bromish, by Chatton to Folbrzeie (where they croſſe the third water falling downe by north from Howborne by Heſelbridge) thence to Woller, there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the reſt afore remembred, wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increaſed, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till paſſing therefore by Weteland and Medington, meeteth ſone after with a faire ſtreame comming from by ſouthweſt, which moſt men call the Bowbent or Bobent.

Bromis. Bobent. It riſeth on the weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hasteth to Hattons, beneath the which it ſoineth from by ſoutheaſt with the Yellerborne, and then goeth to Pudſton, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by north of Newton Kirke, and betweene it and weſt Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Yethpole, and from thenſeforth runneth on without anie further increaſe, by Copland Euart, and ſo in the Till. The Till for his part in like ſort after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcaſtell, Catall caſtell, Heaton, & north of Tilmouth into the Twede, or by weſt of Weſell, except my memorie doth faile me. After this alſo our aforeſaid water of Twede deſcendeth to Grotehugh, the Newbiggins, Norham caſtell, Ford, Lungridge, & croſſing the Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwike, and ſo into the Ocean, leauing (as I ſaid) ſo much Engliſh ground on the northweſt ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betweene Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, or not much more, except he be deceiued.

Whitaker.

Being paſt this noble ſtreame, we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowſden by Barington. Then by the ſtrond which ariſeth betweene Middleton and Detchant or Dereham, and runneth by Eſkill and the Kolle, next of all to Warnemouth, of whoſe backe water I read as followeth. The Warne or Gwerne riſeth ſouthweſt of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradford, Spindleſtone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and ſo falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almoſt nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Yellington, which commeth downe betweene Newland and Olcheſter, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the ſame. From Warnemouth, we ſailed by Bamborow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that ſeruith this iſſue, riſeth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which ſeemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton, Conleie, Dorford, Brunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the ſea, as to his courſe apperteineth.

Warne.

From this water we went by Dunſtanburgh caſtell, vnto the Chalne or Alnemouth, which is ſerued with a pretie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riſeth in the hils weſt of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnius. From thenſe alſo it runneth by Kile, Bile, Eſlington, and Whittingham, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by ſouth, and beneath the ſame, the ſecond that deſcendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewiſe the third that riſeth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham caſtell and Lemmaton (all on the ſoutheaſt ſide or right hand) and ſo paſſeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewiſe, & then to Dennyſe, receiuing there a rillet from by ſouth and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betweene Ailmouth towne and Wooddon, it ſweepeth into the Ocean.

Alne, or Aine, alias Chalne.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head alſo thereof is in the roots of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteſide, and there meeting with the Alwaie (which deſcendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Linbridge, and there receiueth the Ridleie by ſouthweſt, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Yoe, which commeth from the Woodland and hillie ſoile by Allington, & falleth into the ſame, weſt of Parke head. It ioineth alſo yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in north by Bilſtone, and then hieth to Sharpton, to Harbottle, where it croſſeth the Pardop water by ſouth, then to Woodhouſe, and ſwallowing in a litle becke by the waie from ſouthweſt, to Bickerton, to Tollons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towre, it taketh a broke withall that commeth in northweſt of Alnham, nere Eliſhaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thzerton, and ſone after vniteth it ſelfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Kethburie, or Whitton towre, to Halie, to Brinkeborne, Welden, taking withall ſone after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from by ſouth, then to Eliſhaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Farelie broke, that goeth by Wintring by ſouth eaſt, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Halon, to Brainſaugh by north) and from thence to Portricke Warkworth caſtell, and ſo into the ſea.

Cocket. Alwaie. Ridleie. Yardop. It may be Leland miſtaketh Tickington water for one of theſe.

There is furthermore a little fall, betweene Hawkeſlaw and Druriſh, which riſeth about Stokes wood, goeth by eaſt Cheuington, and Whittington caſtell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a prette broke riſing weſt of Eſpleie, from whence it goeth to Critlington, Ugham, Linton, and yer long in the ſea. Wanſbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It iſſueth vp weſt and by north of weſt Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Here it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Moſeden to Pitforth, and there in like maner croſſeth the Font, which iſſuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by Nonneie Kirke, Witton caſtell, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, and ſo into the Wanſbecke, which runneth in like maner from Pitford to Morpheth caſtell (within two miles whereof it

Lune. Wanſbecke. Font.

ebbeth and flowеth) the new Chappell, Bottle caſtell, Shepwaſh, and ſo into the ſea, three miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water riſeth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belſe, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port *alias* the Brocket, that ſpringeth eaſt of S. Oſwolds) paſſeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Padſennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Dillingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the eaſt (whoſe head is Hartleie. not farre from that of Hartleie ſtreame) and is paſt Barwiſe on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie ſtreamelet riſeth in Weſtſlade parioch, goeth by Haliwell, and at Hartleie

North Tine. towne yeldeth to the ſea.

The Tine or Tinna, a riuer notablie ſtored with ſamon, and other good fiſh, and in old time called Alan, riſeth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the firſt that followeth to be deſcribed. It ſpringeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence Shele. goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirſop and the Shele) thence to Cragſheles, Leapeliſh (receiuing on the ſouth a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, againſt which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, alſo two other on the ſame ſide, betweene Parro and Fawſton hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and ſo goeth on to Grenefed, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north alſo made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that paſſeth by Holinhead, and likewiſe another on the ſouth comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacaſtell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaſide, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth meeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whoſe Ridde. deſcription is giuen me after this maner.

The Ridde therefore riſeth within three miles of the Scotiſh march, as Leland ſaith, & commeth through Riddeſdale, wherevnto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riſeth in the roots of the Carter, and Redſquibe hilles, and yet it hath gone farre from the Shelhop. head, beſide a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Cheſlop on the Cheſlop. ſouth, beſide ſundrie other wild rils nameleſſe and obſcure, as one on the north ſide nert vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by ſouth out of Riddeſdale, the third weſt of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Mullaw to Rocheſter, then two from ſouthweſt, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durth, then the Smalburne from the weſt. Next to the ſame is the Otter or Otterburne on the north ſide alſo the Duereie, and finallie the laſt which deſcendeth from Elleſdon hilles, by Punkrige and ioineth with our Ridde, northweſt of Mudhowgh, after which the ſaid Ridde goeth by Wodburne, Riſingham, Leame, and ſo into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which ſtandeth ſomewhat alofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the leaſt aboue the towne of 3. Burnes. Heрham. After this confluence it paſſeth to Leehall, Shitlington. to Carehouſe (croſſing Shitlington becke by weſt which alſo receiueth the Pare on the ſouth ſide of Shitlington) another alſo beneath this on the ſame ſide, made by the confluence of Worke ſburne, and Middleburne, at Roſeburne, beſide the third called Horleis or Horelée aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechaſe, and likewiſe the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne caſtell, next of all the Riall from the northeaſt, which commeth by Errington, & ſo holding his courſe directlie ſouthwards, it goeth by S. Oſwolds through the Pictiſh wall, to Wall, and ſo into ſouth Tine, beneath Accam, and northweſt (as I dow weene) of Heрham.

Tine. S. The ſouth Tine ariſeth in the Cheuiot hils, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Eſgill on the eaſt, and another rill on the weſt, and ſo Eſgil. going by the houſes toward Awſken more, it ioineth with Schud from by weſt, and ſone after with the Uent from by eaſt aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (croſ- Uent. ſing the Gilders becke on the one ſide, and the Aine Gilders beck. on the other) to Thornehope, where it is inlarged with a water on each ſide, to Williamſtone, and almoſt at Knareſdale, taketh in the Knare, and then Knare. runneth withall to Fetherſtone angle. At Fetherſtone angle likewiſe it meeteth with Hartleie water, by ſouthweſt comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from ſoutheaſt, and thence when it commeth to Billeſter caſtell, it carieth another withall from by weſt, Thirlewall called Rippall which riſeth in the forreſt of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinſop, & Wildon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north riſing Coque. weſt of Swinfield, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltweſtell: thence going by Unthanke, it croſſeth another rill from by ſouth, deſcending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteſwic, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the ſouth, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north ſide of Beltingham; after which it meeteth with the Alen a proper water, and deſcribed after this maner.

The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is East Alen. called eaſt Alen, the other weſt Alen. The firſt of them riſeth ſoutheaſt of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by eſt; after which confluence it runneth to Newſhele, Allington, Caddon, Old towne, & in the courſe to Stauertpele, meeteth with the weſt Alen. The weſt Alen riſeth in Killop low hilles aboue Wheteleie ſheles, from whence West Alen. it goeth to Spartwell, Halwcopole, Dwſton, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it proceedeth on to Permaudbie, and croſſing there another rill in like maner from by weſt, it goeth by Whitefield, and ioining Were. ſone after with the eſt Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankford, and ſo into the Tine betweene Warde Beltingham and Lées, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lées Haddon, Wodhall, Dwmers, Wallop Whernebie, Coſtlete, & ſo by Warden, till it croſſe Kellop the north Tine, and come to Herham, from whence it goeth to Dilſtan, croſſing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, and is called the Wolch, which holdeth his courſe by Stelehall, and Newbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill ſomewhat lower deſcending from Hedlete, and running by Riſing, till it fall into the ſouth ſide of our ſtreame from Dilſtan, it goeth to Bywell caſtell, ouer againſt which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindlete, Wale thence it haſteth to Eltingham, Prudoo, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by ſouth. Bedl

This riuer riſeth aboue Knewdon, and Rudlam- Darwent. hope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the ſoutherlie the Guent: and ioining ſo well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Humſterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Aſpertheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield ſide, Panſheles, Ebcheſter, and there taking in a water from Hedlete in Northumberland, neere to Blacke hall in the biſhoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinſide, Whickham, Swalwell, and ſo into Tine, which paſſeth from thence by Elſwic, and meeting with another water comming from Shirraw, by Rauenſworth caſtell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcaſtell, Fellin, Netherhelworth, Walker, Walſwon, Hedburne, and next to Jetro or Girwie,

where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diuerse townes resort, as monke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southlheles, Harton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Hewoothes) and from thence to the south and Northlheles, and so into the sea, fiue miles by northwest of Weremouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, Kanoeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcastell, and hereby doth the Coque run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, wherby Leland gesseth that the name of the broke should rather be Cole than Coque, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oliwyn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vsed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement. In this countrie also are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theeues or true men do most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddesdale, Tindale, and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scottish, and without the marches of England. Neuertheless, sithens that by the diligence chiefelie of maister Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue beene called to some obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wildnesse and fiercenesse is qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue beene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Coque.

Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Uedra, a riuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous preest, who was brought vp in a monasterie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It riseth of three heads in Bellop-pellaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerlie Bellop, which uniting themselues about S. Johns chappell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Pare, and so to Frosterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another west of Wodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from southwest by Bollop, Bishopsleie, Pilhouses, and Landew, as I haue beene informed. Being therefore united all with the Were, this streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Wascropburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betweene Witton and Witton castell called Bedburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this riuer doth now war verie great. Going therefore from hence, it hasteth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondelle, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newsteds, and Willington. Neere vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, crosseth one broke from southest by Yet, Crorleie, Cronefurth, Turdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northwest in one botome, whereof the first commeth from aboue Alh by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Weare parke, & so meeting beneath Kelleie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuer goeth on to Howghwell, Shirkeleie, old Durelme (and there taking in the Pidding broke by northeast) it goeth to Durelme, Finkeleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie castell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are united betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedleis) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Ufferton, Hilton parke, Bishops, Weremouth, and so into the sea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called monke Weremouth of the monasterie sometime standing there, wherin Beda read & wrote manie of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and six from Newcastell. Being thus passed the Were, & entered into the Bishoprie, yer we come at the mouth of the These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwic, and likewise Hartlepole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in maner of a byland or peninsula, we met with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuer that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by northwest about Noretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton; the other at Dawlton, going by Bleerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.

Pidding broke. Pilis.

The These, a riuer that breedeth and feedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Were called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forrest; and taking in the Langdon water from northwest it runneth to Durkpit chapell, to Newbiggin, and so to Middleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by southwest that riseth at three seuerall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by south at Bardor Skarth hill, and meeting all aboue Arnegill house, they run togither in one bottome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the These. Hauing therefore met with these, it runneth to Pickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander broke by south west) and then going to Norewod hag, and Norewod parke, till it come to Bernards castell.

These. Hude. Lune. Arnegill. Skirkewith. Bander.

Here also it receiueth the Thuresgill water comming east of Kere crosse in Yorkshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost southwest, and being united with the These, it goeth by Stratford, Egleston, Rokesbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Quington, Winston, and betweene Barforth and Gainforth meeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forest, betweene Rabie castell and Standorpe, of whose name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed. The These being past Ramsorth, runneth betweene Persore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Crofts bridge taketh in the Skerne a prettie water, which riseth about Crimdon, and goeth by Filbburne, Bradburie, Preston, Braforton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the These beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crofts bridge, and (as it should seeme) is the same which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunsleie, Middleton row, Newsham, Yarne (crossing a broke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whose crinkling

Were crosse. Skerne.

courſe is notable, and the ſtreame of ſome called Thorpe, which I find deſcribed in this maner.

Thorpe alias Leuand.

The Thorpe riſeth of ſundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and ſo to Stokeſleie. The ſecond hath two branches, and ſo placed, that Kildale ſtandeth betweene them both: finallie, meeting beneath Caſbie they go by Eaton, and likewiſe vnto Stokeſleie. The laſt hath alſo two branches, whereof one commeth from Ingleſbie, and meeteth with the ſecond beneath Broughton; going from thence to Stokeſleie, they meet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it ſomewhat beneath the ſame. From hence it goeth to Kidwie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto; thence to Crawthorne broke, Leuenton, Milton, Pilton, Ingleſbie, and ſo into the Theſe, betweene Warne and Barwiſe, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our Theſe haſteth on to Barwiſe, Preſton, Thorne abbeie, and Arſham, which ſtandeth on the ſoutheaſt ſide of the riuer almoſt betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one deſcendeth from weſt Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Shillington, or Shilkington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackeſtone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arſham finallie it goeth to Bellaſis, Middleburgh, and ſo into the ſea. Leland deſcribing this riuer ſpeaketh of the Wiske, which ſhould come thereinto from by ſouth vnder Wiske bridge, by Danbie, and Northallerton, and ſhould ſoine with a greater ſtreame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to beſtow the ſame.

Crawthorne.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which riſing aboue Hutton, goeth by Gilborow, and there receiueth another ſtreame comming from by ſouthwall, and then continuing on his courſe, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea. The next is the Scaling water, which deſcendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Polemouth, not farre from whoſe head ſtandeth Wolgraue caſtell: then to Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eſke mouth, which riſeth aboue Danbie wood, and ſo goeth to Caſtelton, there meeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Weſterdale by Danbie, and ſo they go on togither by Armar and Thwate caſtell, till they ſoine with another water aboue Glaſdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another broke with them, running from Godland ward, and likewiſe the Ibur, and ſo go on without anie further increaſe by Buſworth, yer long into the ſea.

Eſke.

Ibur.

There is alſo a creeke on each ſide of Robin Whodes baie, of whoſe names and courſes I haue no skill, ſauing that Fillingale the towne doth ſtand betweene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north ſide called the Harwood broke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Buntſton, and ſone after meeting with another rill on the ſouthweſt, they run as one into the ocean ſea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we ſaw at Bridlington, riſeth at Duggleby, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwic, Boithorpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riſeth by a game at Rudſton) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and ſo into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I mete yer long with a riuer that riſeth ſhort of Witherſie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wilked, from thence to another that commeth by Roſſe, Halſham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riſeth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Eſterwic, Heddon, and ſo into the Humber. The fourth ſpringeth ſhort of Sprotleie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Herflete, as I heare.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will deſcribe alſo here, and then croſſe ouer vnto the ſoutherlie ſhore. The furtheſt head of Hull water riſeth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creeke, and ſo to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with ſundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northeſt ſide, comming from about Liſſet; the ſecond on the northweſt banke from Naſſerton; the third from Emmeſwell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ſoined beneth little Driffeld, and the fourth which falleth into the ſame: ſo that theſe two laſt run vnto the maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to to Katſeie, to Gwdalehouſe, and then taking in a water from Hornſie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from ſouth Netherwic, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I ſaie no more, ſith it is enough to name them in their order.

Hull.

The deſcription of the Humber *or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as doo increaſe hir chanell.*

Chap. 15.

There is no riuer called Humber from the hed. Wherefore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he geſſeth, hath the ſame denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Duze, as beſide Leland ſundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the ſea, and although it be properlie to be called Duze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Umar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himſelfe monarch of the ſame. But as God hath from time to time ſingularlie prouided for the benefit of Britaine, ſo in this buſineſſe it came to paſſe, that Humber was put to flight, his men ſlaine: and furthermore, whileſt he attempted to ſaue himſelfe by haſting to his ſhips (ſuch was the preaſe of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne veſſell, and the rage of weather which happened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned togither in that arme. And this is the onelie cauſe wherefore it hath beene called Humber, as our writers ſaie; and whereof I find theſe verſes:

Humber.

Dum fugit obſtat ei flumen ſubmergitur illic,
Deque ſuo tributt nomine nomen aquæ.

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongeſt ſonne of Brute. But ſince that time the limits of Lhoegres haue beene ſo inlarged, firſt by the proweſſe of the Romans, then by the conqueſts of the Engliſh, that at this preſent daie, the Twede on the one ſide, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and thoſe of Scotland. In deſcribing therefore the Humber, I muſt needs begin with the Duze, whoſe water bringeth forth a verie ſweet, fat and delicat ſalmon, as I haue beene informed, beſide ſundrie other kinds of fiſh, which we want here on the ſouth

and

and ſouthweſt coaſts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occaſion to ſpeake more at large hereafter.

Vre alias Duze, or Iſis. The Vre therfore riſeth in the furtheſt parts of all Richmondſhire, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, toward the weſt fourteene miles beyond Middleham. Being therefore iſſued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawſhouſe, Butterſide, Alkebridge (which Leland calleth the Alkaran, and ſaith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bridges) then to Alkarth, through Manleſſe parke, Menſeleie bridge (made two hundred yeares ſince, by Alwin, parſon of Winſlaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruiſe abbeie, Cliſton and Patham. When it is come to Patham, it receiueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it did the Wile, from verie deepe ſcarrie rockes, before at Alkaran) and diuerſe other wild rilles not worthie to be remembred. From Patham, it paſſeth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by ſouthweſt) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the higher end of Ripon, and ſo to Hutches bridge. But yet it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the ſame, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Aldborow, and ſome after receiue the Swale.

Burne. rille.

Skell.

Swale.

Here (ſaith Leland) I am brought into no little ſtreict, what to coniecture of the meeting of Iſis and Vre, for ſome ſaie that the Iſis and the Vre do meet at Borowbridge, which to me doth ſeeme to be verie vnlikelie, ſith Iſurium taketh his denomination of Iſis and Vro, for it is often ſeene that the leſſe riuers do mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamelis and other is eaſie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Vre after his paſſage vnder Borowbridge, but onelie of Iſis or the Duze in theſe daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it ſelfe, which of the Vre is truelie called Vrewiſe (or Yorke ſhort) or elſe my perſuaſion doth faile me. I haue red alſo Ewerwiſe and Yorwiſe. But to proceed, and leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe.

From Borowbridge, the Duze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldworke, taking in Ulburne water, from the ſouthweſt, then to Linton vpon Duze, to Newton vpon Duze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Mid yer long, and ſo going withall to the Redhouſes, to Poppleton, Cliſton, Yorke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Foulkorth, Middlethorpe, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Kelfleet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Yokelath, Yoke, Sandhall, Rednelſe, Whitegift, Ullet, Blacketoft, Forfleet, Brownfleet, and ſo into Humber.

Foſſe.

Duze. The courſe of the Duze being thus deſcribed, and as it were ſimplie without his influences, now will I touch ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame alſo by themſelues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come nere to the head of Theſe, & ſo ſouthwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie ſoile vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie ſouth point of Humber mouth, whereby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads and courſes. The courſe of the Hull, a ſtreame abounding with ſturgeon and lampreie, as alſo the riuers which haue their iſſue into the ſame, being (as I ſay) alreadie deſcribed, I thinke it not amiſſe, as by the waie to ſet downe what Leland ſaith thereof, to the end that his trauell ſhall not altogither be loſt in this behalfe; and for that it is ſhort, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred conteined in the ſame.

Hull or Hulne.

The Hulne (ſaith he) riſeth of three ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not far from Driefield, now a ſmall village ſixteene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of ſepulture of Alfred the noble king ſometime of that nation, who died there 727, the nineteene Cal. of Julie, the twentith of his reigne, and whoſe tombe or monument doth yet remaine (for ought that I do know) to the contrarie with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Nere vnto this towne alſo is the Daneſield, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſeene ouer their bones and carcaſſes. The ſecond head (ſaith he) is at Eſtburne, and the third at Emmeſwell, and meeting all togither not farre from Driſield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

From hence alſo it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or ſtood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the firſt doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Oxford, and (as it ſhould ſeeme alſo by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hoſtell where the vniuerſitie college now ſtandeth; & therfore they write him, Somtime fellow of that houſe) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as ſome affirme) to this daie. In deed all the countrie betweene the Deirwent & the Humber was ſometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in reſpect of the higher ſoile, but now it is named the eaſt Riding. But what is this to my purpoſe? The Hulne therefore being come almoſt to Beuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout alſo with the Cottingham becke comming from Weſtwood by the waie, it paſſeth to Kingſton vpon Hulne or Hull, and ſo into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

Fowlncie. The Fowlncie riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Scton, Williams bridge, and ſome after ſpreading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelfleet goeth by Cane Cawſeie to Brownefleet and ſo into the Duze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chappell, Blacketoft, and ſo into the aforeſaid Duze, leauing a verie pretie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwiſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

Skelfleet.

Darwent. The Darwent riſeth in the hilles that lie weſt of Robin Whodes baie, or two miles aboue Aiton bridge, weſt from Scarborow as Leland ſaith: and yet it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go togither to Borcie, and at Hackneſſe take in another water comming from about Silſeie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Haibridge, and there croſſeth the Kenford that deſcendeth from Robertſton. After this alſo it goeth on to Poterſburnton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that deſcendeth from Burnton. From theſe confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Arbridge, Peldingham bridge, & ſo to Cotehouſe, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yeelding great plentie of delicate ſamons to ſuch as fiſh vpon the ſame. Leland reckoning by the names of the ſeuerall brookes, numbreth them confuſedlie after his accuſtomed order. The Darwent (ſaith he) receiueth diuerſe ſtreames, as the Shirhutton. The ſecond is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell (ſo called *Tanquam à centum fontibus*, or multitude of ſprings

Kenford

Shirhutton. Crambecke.

Rie. Ricoll. Seuen. Costeie. Pickering.

springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blackemoore, passeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering brooke.

The Seuin also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemoore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bridge ouer Rie goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minster. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoore, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington. Pocklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had beene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Ebberston, the third from Allerston, the fourth from Thorneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & per the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and ioining west of Loton they run through Glansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Costeie, it meeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the fals of sir waters and more per it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Purton, Normanbie, Newsound, Yow, and so into the Rie. The second named Don hath his originall likewise in Blackemoore, and descending by Rasmore, Keldon and Edston (where it receiueth the Hodgebecke, that commeth by Bernesdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Kiwall (as some thinke, but falslie) doth seeme to take the name. Then Fesse, which riseth aboue Bilisdale chappell, and meeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go together vnder the Rie bridge, to Rieuis abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Puniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke brooke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Brabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Don or Done. Hodgebecke. Ricoll. Fesse. Holbecke.

Being past Wickham, it meeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to Setterington at southeall, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worth but sixpence, carie awaie whilest you may, so as you can keepe them from running through the sackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdsall, that other from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Diwham bridge (crossing by the waie an other brooke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Fakon) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (*alias* Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wresill, Babthorpe, and so into the Duze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborow, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke vp his course.

The Fosse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in *Nemore Calateris*, that is, Galters wood or Calwood, among the woddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswic, Huntington, & at Yorke into the Duze. The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill, Ruskell parke, Awne, Collerton, and so into the Duze about Newton vpon Duze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in some places betweene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto Palen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth by Yarcaside to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcleis) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Parrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, the Parike becke, or peraduenture Aplegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Aplegarth, Richmond, Ealbie and Brunton.

Fosse. Kile. Swale. Barneie. Arcleie. Holgate. Parrike becke.

Here by north it interteineth two or three waters in one chanell, called Rauenswath water, whereof the two furthest doo ioine not farre from the Dawlions, and so go by Rauenswath, Hartforth, Gilling, and at Skebie meet with the third, comming from Richmond beconward. By west also of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, running from Redale, and being past Brunton, it goeth to Caterisc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie Feeple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall brooke, *alias* Lemings becke, that commeth west of Kellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chapell. From Gattenbie likewise it goeth to Mawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiueth the Wiske, which is a great water, rising betweene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Sidlebridge, goeth on betweene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birkbie, Hutton Conters, Danbie, Wisc, Patford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Aluerton, it proceedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiske, Newton, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth from thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Kaniton, and aboue Eldmire meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Cawdebec: the south easterlie Rebecke, which ioine est of Thorneton more, and so go to Thorneton in the street, Kilnington, Thrusk, Sowerbie, Crakwic, and sone after crossing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold becks, which ioine aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their famous by Thoreton bridge, Pitton vpon Swale, and so into the Duze.

Rhe. Wiske. Cawdebec Rebecke. Cuckwolds becke.

The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Ripon, as the Vre doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Founteines or Adfontes, so much renowmed for the lustie monks that sometimes

Skell.

south of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Pilner Dam, and some after another from northwest, called Chald, rising in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmesield, Newland, Altofts, and finallie into the Aire, west of Castelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no marueil that I do not set it downe, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cõfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Aire or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

Chald.

Trent. The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it doth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Duze or Sauerne, I meane the second Duze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moore, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Hanlæt, where they meet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastell vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieng: that it riseth in the hils aboue Newcastell, as may be seene by his commentaries.

Foulebrooke.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Acton, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne & Hawood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitemoore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeast, that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Cheshie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke brooke, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going forth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Drayton, Dunstan, Acton, and Banswich, where losing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them do ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerlie banke.

Sow.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Dusleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesleie) thence by Hawksberie, Mauesfane, Ridware, and so toward Yorhall: where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I meet in this voiage. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Cedewood forrest, northeast of Haggerleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamsted Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie moore, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Draycote, Blith. Draycote, Painsleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamsted, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Yorhall, which runneth also from thence, & leauing kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

Tame.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Pettishall, and goeth forth by Hamsted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Acton, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Wolfhall, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhee, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and going by Pareleie and Kingeshirst, it meeteth betweene that and the parke, with a water running betweene Yelmedon and Sheldon.

Rhee. Cole.

Thence it passeth on to Colshull, by east whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Colshull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on each side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth through the Quenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Colshull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Ansleie on the east) and some after on the other doth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhee, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Greeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is aboue Northfield, so that his course shuld be by Kingesnorton, Bremicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Lee, Kingesbirie parke, and going by east of Drayton, Basset parke, to Falkesleie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Drayton, Basset parke, wherof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered vnto me.

Blith. Burne. Rhee.

It riseth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Per long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (vniting it selfe with a water from Boswoth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor; which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crendon, Polleswoth, Armington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that passeth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and some after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Fesilrike, it runneth not farre from Crorhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase, not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Mese, and it riseth in the great parke, that lieth betweene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Wotham, and Stretton, and thereabout crossing

Anchor. Mese.

ſing a rill about Nethерſale grange, from Duerſale by eaſt, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Repton. Leland writing of this riuer (as I earſt noted) ſaith thereof in this wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham brooke, which riſeth foure or fiue miles about Brentcham in the Blacke hils in Worceſterſhire, and goeth into the aforeſaid water a mile aboue Crudworth bridge. Certes (ſaith he) this Bremicham is a towne maintеined chiefly by ſmiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Staffordſhire and Warwikſhires, and toles alſo out of the firſt countie. Hitherto Leland. Now to reſume the Trent, which being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there croſſing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winſhull, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed apart.

Dou. The firſt of theſe is called the Dou or Doue, it riſeth about the three ſhires meere, and is as it were limes betweene Staffordſhire and Darbiſhires, vntill it come at the Trent. Deſcending therefore from the head, it goeth by Carleſbooth, Pilſburie grange, Yarkington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Hunſington grange, and aboue Thorpe receiueth the Manifold water, ſo called, bicauſe of the ſundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it ſelfe theweth before it come at the Dou. Riſing therefore not farre from Axe edge croſſe (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Sheene, Warſlow chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton alſo it taketh in the Hanſleie water, that commeth out of Blackemore hilles to Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Manifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Dou. Hauing therefore met togither after this maner, the Dou proceedeth on to Paplington, beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending from Brallington by Fennie Bentleie, and another ſomewhat lower that commeth from Hoctton hall by Hognaſton and Aſhburne, and then going to Patterfield, Parburie, Ellaſton, Rawſton Rowdeſter, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to be deſcribed before I go anie further. It riſeth a good waie aboue Delacraſſe abbie, and comming thither by Helleſbie wood, it taketh in the Dunſmere, betweene Harracraſſe and Leike.

Manifold. Churne. Hanſleie. Dunſmere.

Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little beneath receiueth the Pendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing croſſed the Alhenhirſt brooke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypſton, Frogball, Below hill, Alton caſtell, Priеſtwood, and at Rowceſter falleth into the Dou, which yet long alſo receiueth a rill from Crowſden, and then going to Eton meeteth firſt with the Teine that commeth thither from each ſide of Chedleie by Teinetwone, Bramhirſt and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Vncester or Vttoxeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Sidberie, Cawlton, it croſſeth a brooke from Sidnaſter college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like ſort it paſſeth forth to Tilberie caſtell, Marſton, and at Edergton meeteth with the water that commeth from Pelderſleie by Longford (where into runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and ſo to Hilton. Theſe waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it ſelfe falleth yet long likewiſe into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwards with his courſe, betweene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on ſundrie ſides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riſeth neere Dalberie Lies, and runneth by Truſſelie and Athe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, deſcendeth from Hartesburne, ſo that the Trent being paſt theſe, haſteth to Twiford, Inglebie, Staunton, Weſton, Newton, and Alton, yer long alſo meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be diſpatched. The Darwent, or (to vſe the verie Britiſh word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine *Fluuius Derуantanus*) riſeth plaine weſt, neere vnto the edge of Darbiſhire, aboue Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be riſen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden houſe, Darwent chappell, Porkeſhire bridge, and at Witham bridge doth croſſe the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newſtole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (croſſing there one rill from Caſkelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hacherſage, from Stonie ridge hill) and ſo goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by weſt, to Stonie Middleton, and Ballow, and hauing here taken in the Burbrooke on the one ſide, and another from Halſop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowſeleie, where it is increaſed with the Wie comming from by weſt, and alſo a rill on the eaſt, a little higher. But I will deſcribe the Wie before I go anie further.

Darwent. Neue. Burbroke.

The Wie riſeth aboue Burſton well, and there is increaſed with the Hawkeſhow, and the Wile brooke, whoſe heads are alſo further diſtant from the edge of Darbiſhire than that of Wie, and races ſomwhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie ſtood, the other is further off by weſt, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cuckneie village, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Ruford, or the Manbecke. Vnto this alſo do other two rills repaire, wherof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunſfield, of which two alſo this latter riſeth weſt about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipſton (three miles lower) and ſo likewiſe to Ruford, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Burſton well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New meadow, Pilhouſes, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Duerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the firſt great water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being therefore paſt the Rowleies, the ſaid Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wenſleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeaſt, as it doth another at Crumford that goeth by Botelhall.

Wie. Hawkeſhow. Wile. Ruford alias Manbecke. Lathkell. Bradford.

From Mattocke, it proceedeth to Watſton, or Watſond, Well bridge, Alderwaſh, and ioineth with another ſtreame called Amber comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whoſe deſcription ſhall inſue in this wiſe, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleſton hall, or (as Leland ſaith) eaſt of Cheſterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Ogſton hall, it taketh withall another brooke, deſcending from Hardwiſe wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a brooke running from Hucknalward to Shireland parke ſide, there croſſing the Moreton becke, and ſo to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and ſo into

Vttoxeter or Vncester. Teine. Pendor. Aula Canuti. Alhenhirſt.

Amber. Moreton.

Dar-

Darwent, taking the water withall that deſcendeth from Swanſwike by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewiſe it runneth to Belper, where it meeteth with a rill comming from Mozleie parke: thence to Pakenie, and at Duſfeld, receiueth the Egleſburne, which ariſeth about Wirkeſwozth oz Mzeſwozth, but in the ſame pariſh out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it palſeth to Bzadſall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Mirkaſton by Weſton vnderwood, Kidleſton and Perton. If a man ſhould ſay that Darwent riuer giueth name to Darbie towne, he ſhould not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend ſome. In the meane time I beleeue it, let other iudge as pleaſeth them, ſith my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaſton, Ambaſton, the Welles, and ſo into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and nozth of Thzumpton taketh in the Soze, a faire ſtreame, and not wozthie to be ouerpaſſed.

Egleſburne.

Soza, oz Durus.

It riſeth in Leiceſterſhire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Bzoughton Affleie. Thence to Harlebozow, and before it come to Eſton, croſſeth another on the ſame ſide (deſcending by Burton, Glen, Winſlow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leiceſter towne, Belgraue, Burſtall, Wanlip; and yer it come at Cuſſington oz Coſton, croſſeth the Eie, which riſeth neere Oecam aboue Bzamſton, going by Knawſtow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whiteſonden; and beneath (a litle) receiueth a rill on the right hand from Coldnozton. Thence to Stapleford, & ſoone after croſſing a bzoke from aboue Spzorton, Coſon, Garthozpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Bzentingbie; and yer it come at Milton, meeteth with two other ſmall rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thozpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Siſonbie, there meeting with another from nozthealt ouer againſt Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Warke oz Arke, and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence alſo it goeth to Aſterbie, Kadgale, Habie, Druſſington, Ratcliffe; and ſoone after croſſeth ſundzie waters not verie farre in ſunder, whereof one commeth from Dueſton, by Twiford, Athbie, and Gadeſbie; another from Loſcbie, by Baggraue, and Crawſton, and ioining with the firſt at Dueenniholw, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The ſecond runneth from Engarſbie, by Barkeleie, and Siſon. But the third and greateſt of the thzee, is a chanell increaſed with thzee waters, whereof one commeth from Nozton by Burton, Kilbie, Foſton and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Bzoughton and Affleie, and meeting with the third from Sapcoth, and ſonie Staunton, they run togither by Parbozow, and ſoone after ioining aboue Elſton, with the firſt of the thzee, they go as one by Elſton to Leiceſter, Belgraue, Wanlip, and aboue Cuſſington do fall into the Warke, and ſoone after into the Soure. The Soure in like ſozt going from thence to mount Sozrell, & taking in another bzoke ſouthweſt from Leiceſter forreſt, by Glenfield, Auſtis, Thurcaſton and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sozrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewod forreſt, and goeth by Bzadegate and Swithland) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there alſo taking in one rill out of Notinghamſhire by nozthealt; and ſoone after another from ſouthweſt, comming from Bzaceden to Shepeſheued, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewiſe the third from Wozthington, by Diſwozth, long Whitton, and Wathozne. Finallie, after theſe confluences, it haſteth to Sutton, Kingſton, and Ratcliffe, and ſo into the Trent.

Warke, Arke, oz wzeke.

Leland calleth one of theſe rilles Croco.

Eie.

These things being thus bzought togither, and we now reſuming the diſcourſe of the ſame riuer, it doth after his meeting with the Soure, proceed withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwaſh, which riſeth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selſton, Wanſbie, Codnoz caſtell, Eſtwood, and croſſing a water from Beuall, runneth to Coſhall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Heноz by Shipleie) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and ſo into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Cliſton, and yer it come at Willford, it meeteth with a bzoke that palſeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodington, and thence to Notingham, where it croſſeth the Line, which riſeth aboue Newſted; and paſſing by Paplewiſe, Hucknall, Baſford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thozpe & Farmdon, where it bzancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the ſmaller of them goeth a bzoke from Beuer caſtell, which riſing betweene eaſt Well and Eaton in Leiceſter is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bzamſton to Knipton, & beneath Knipton meeteth with a bzoke that commeth by weſt of Croſton, and thence holdeth on with his courſe, betweene Willeſthozpe and Beuer caſtell afozeſaid, and ſo to Botteſwozth, Nozmanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by ſouth (whoſe head is neere Clauſton, & courſe from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Dzſton, and Flarebozow) and yer long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthozpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke caſtell, and ſo to Winthozpe, where the bzanches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme to Cromwell (and ſoone after taking in a bzoke comming from Bilſthozpe, by Kerſall, Cawnton, Nozwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a ſtreame on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Nozehouſe by Weſton & Greſthozpe, another from Langthozpe, by Collingham, and Boſthozpe. From hence likewiſe it palſeth to Cliſton, Newton, Kettlethozpe, Tozkeſeie, Knath, Gainſborow, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leauing Arholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and ſo goeth forth to Wildſwozth, Eaſtferrie, Fruſwozth, Barringham, Gunmeis, Hirburgh, Barton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the ſwift Doue by the waie, which for his nobleneſſe is not to be ouerpaſſed, eſpeciallie for that *Anno* 1536 *Hen.* 8, 28, it was (by Gods prouidence) a ſtaie of great bloudſhed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings ſide and the rebelles of the nozth, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell ſhould haue beene ſtricken, and without anie apparent cauſe (a little thowze of raine excepted farre vnpoſſible vpon ſuch a ſudden to haue made ſo great a water) the ſaid riuer aroſe ſo high, & ran with ſuch vehemencie, that on the mozow the armies could not ſoine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification inſued, and thoſe countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the deſcription hereof is not to be ouerpaſſed, bicauſe of the fine graſſe which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is ſo fine and bataile, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the ſame; ſo oft as a man will commend his paſture, to ſay that there is no better feed on Doue banke: that maketh it alſo the more famous.

Erwaſh.

Dene.

Snite.

A miracle.

The Doue therefore riſeth in Yozkeſhire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchwozth (where the colour thereof is verie

Doue.

verie blacke) it goeth to Pennyſtone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Driſpring to Thurgoland, and ſome after (ioining by the waie with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, and Hondſhelfe) it meeteth with another comming from Bowlſterſton chappell. Then goeth it by Waddeſleie wood to Waddeſleie bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then palleth it to Crokes, and ſo to Sheffeld caſtell (by eaſt whereof it receiueth a broke from by ſouth that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it proceedeth to Weſtford bridge, Bridlie bridge; and ſouthweſt of Dimſleie receiueth the Cowleie ſtreame that runneth by Eccleſfield. Next of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it meeteth with the Rother, a goodlie water, whoſe head is in Darbieſhire about Pilleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winſfield church, Wingerworth, and Fozeland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Cheſterford, where it meeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one channell. Thence it runneth to Topton caſtell, and yer long croſſing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one ſide, and the ſecond from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and ſome after meeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

Midhop.
Cowleie.
Rother.
Iber.
Brampton.
Crawleie.
Gunno.
Meleybroke.
Hampall.

The Crawleie riſeth not farre from Yardwiſe, and going by Staneſbie and Woodhouſe, it receiueth aboue Netherhorpe, one water on the one ſide comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewiſe they run as one into the Rother, which haſteth from thence to Eckington (there croſſing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and ſo to Kilmarſh, in the confines of Darbieſhire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by eaſt. Thence to Boughton, vniting it ſelfe therabout with another by weſt from Gledles, called Meſebroke, which diuideth Yorkeſhire from Darbieſhire, and ſo runneth to Treton, Whiſton, there taking in a rill from Aſton, and ſo to Rotheram, where it meeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yeelding plentie of ſamon all the waie as it palleth) haſteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Merburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next deſcribe, and ſtaie with the Doue, vntill I haue finiſhed the ſame. It riſeth at Combworth, and ſo commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it croſſeth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Dyar, where it toucheth with a water from ſouthweſt, & then goeth to Merfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it ſelfe with a faire riuer, increaſed by diuerſe waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeaſt of Merburgh. After this confluence likewiſe the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warneſworth, Doncaſter, Wheatleie (there meeting with the Hampall creeke on the northeaſt ſide, which riſeth eaſt of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fiſhlake, and ſo to Thorne or Thurne, where it croſſeth the Idle (whoſe deſcription followeth) and finallie into Trent, and ſo into the Humber.

But before I deale with the deſcription of the Idle, I will adde ſomewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the deſcription thereof be not ſo exactlie deliuered me as I loked for; yet ſuch as it is I will ſet downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect ſo much as to me is poſſible. It riſeth by ſouth of Waunſfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the ſtreame commeth neere the abbeie, it caſteth it ſelfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow chanell, and ſo goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Buddie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a meetlie long courſe, it goeth to Bawtrie or Vautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamſhire, fiue miles from Doncaſter, and ſo into the Trent. Beneath Rumford alſo commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and ſo into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

Buddie.
Gerberton.
Girt.

The Idle, which ſome call Water ſtreame, riſeth at Sutton in Aſhfield, from whence it runneth to Waunſfield, Clipſton & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riſeth in the forreſt, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forreſters call this Wanbecke, whereof Leland alſo ſpeaketh, who deſcribeth it in this maner. Wanbroke riſeth ſomewhere about Linthirſt wood, from whence it goeth to Bliſthorpe, and ſo to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle hauing taken in the Wanbecke, it runneth to Bothomſall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it meeteth the Weding Waiden, or Widding broke, which riſing about Teuerſall, goeth to Pleaſleie, Nettleworth, Salwcan, Warſop, Budleie, Thurſbie, Bothomſall, and ſo into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Houghton, weſt Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunſton or Gaunſton, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creſwell, Holbecke, Woodhouſe, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elſleie, Graunſton, and ſo into the Idle. Being thus increaſed, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordſall, Retford, Bollam, Tilneie, Matterſeie abbeie, and ſo to Bawtrie, where it meeteth another from the ſhire Okes, that riſeth aboue Geitford, palleth on to Workſop (or Radfurth) Oſberton, Bilbie, and Blith, there vniting it ſelfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Walding well to Careleton, and ſo thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by weſt Furbecke three miles, and ſo to Blith: but the third out of the White water neere to Blith, and there being vnited they paſſe on to Scrobie, and ſo into the Idle.

Idle.
Wanbecke.
Weding becke.
Wilie.
Blith.

From hence it runneth on to Miſſen, to Sadlers bridge, and next of all to Santoft, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which riſing not farre from Sandbecke towne, palleth by Tickhill, Roſington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, and one mile ſouth of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Doue, and ſo with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Areholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & ſo into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwilie (as ſome write it) ſaith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie ſtood; the other riſeth further off by weſt aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckencie village, where croſſing a becke that commeth in from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Ruſford. To this riuer likewiſe (ſaith he) dow two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Waunſfield (riſing foure miles from thence by weſt) and then commeth three miles lower to Ruſford; the other (ſo far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

Sandbecke.

Of ſuch falles of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.

Chap. 16.

HAuing in this maner deſcribed the Duze, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame: now it reſteth that I proceed in my voiage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine ſea, I find no water of ante countenance or courſe (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which riſeth eaſt of Mercate Raſing, and from thence goeth by middle Raſing. Then receiuing a ſhort rill from by ſouth, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, north eaſt; where alſo it meeteth with another broke, from Uſſelbie that commeth thither by Areſbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that deſcend from Howlham, and north Leiſeie) and thence to Newſted, Glanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Applebie, Horſlow, north Ferribie, and ſo into the ſea.

Ancolme.

Being paſt Ancolme, we go about the Neſſe, and ſo to the fall of the water which commeth from Keleſbie, by Cotham abbeie, Nerſham abbeie, Thorneton, and leauing Corhill by weſt, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another broke comming from Fleting, all alongſt by Stallingburne. Then croſſed we Grimſbie gullet, which iſſuing aboue Crebie commeth to Laſcbie, the two Cotes, and then into the ſea. After this we paſſed by another portlet, whoſe backwater deſcendeth from Baleſbie by Aſhbie, Brigglefleie, Wath, and Tolnneie, and finallie to the next iſſue, before we come at Saltfleete, which branching at the laſt, leaueth a prettie Iland wherein Comſholme village ſtandeth. This water riſeth short (as I heare) of Cathe well, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Eſſington, Lowth, Ridirington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme meeteth with the ſea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Kilis.

Saltfleete water hath but a ſhort courſe: for riſing among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the ſea, at Saltfleete hauen: howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it riſeth (as I take it) at Cawthorpe paroch, and deſcendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the weſt middle and eaſt Saltfletes, and ſo into the Ocean. The water that riſeth aboue Ormeſbie and Orbie, goeth to Cawſbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Cattle, Witherne, Stane, and northeaſt of Thetilthorpe into the maine ſea.

Saltfleete.

Maplethorpe water riſeth at Thareſthorpe, and going by Markeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yer it meet with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the iſſue that commeth from aboue Hotoft, and thence to Mumbie chapell, whither the water comming from Clarbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and whereinto another rill falleth) doth runne, as there to do homage vnto their lord and ſouereigne. As for Ingold mill creeke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire broke, which (as I heare) doth riſe at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Aſhwardbie, Sawlthorpe, Partneie, Aſhbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croſt, and ſo into the ſea. As for Wainfleete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betweene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainfleete towne, and treading the path of his predeceſſors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the ſea.

Maplethorpe.

Now come I to the courſe of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed:

Ancolme eke, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerſe the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe: and thereto that the Lincolneſhire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region alſo Ptolomie placeth Rage, which ſome take to be Notingham, except my memorie do faile me. It riſeth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnſhire, and (as I take it) in ſouth Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Caſton, Kirkeſtoke Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by ſouthweſt, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Pan, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from northeaſt, it procedeth further ſouthweſt ward by Pereſton, toward Faſton (there alſo taking in a broke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbroke) it haſteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Staplefoꝛd, Ballingham, Thurlbie, and beneath Amburgh croſſeth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton caſtell.

Lindis, Witham, Rhe.

Witham.

Hake.

Wane.

After this confluence alſo, our Witham goeth ſtill forth on his waie to the Hickhams, Bolcham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by tranſpoſition of the letters, or (as I may better ſaie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof one is called Swan pole) and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe through the principall ſtreet: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their ſither botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer meeteth with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great floods veſſels may come from the Trents ſide to Lincolne. For betweene Torkſeie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue ſeuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Biſhop Atwater began to cleanſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but ſith he died before it was perfourmed, there hath no man beene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame following, from Lincolne to Boſton is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Taterſall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and ſo manie finallie to Boſton.

Wollingborow. Hemſpringhe.

Foſſe dike.

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath beene called Lindeſeie) when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewaſh, Wallingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatneſſe is verie much increaſed. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (deſcending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Taterſall caſtell, taking vp there in like ſort three ſmall rills by the waie, whereof I haue ſmall notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further conſideration to be had of them hereafter, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue to haue the filing of theſe rude pamphlets yet once againe, & ſomewhat more leaſure to peruſe them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being paſt Taterſall, and Dogdike ferrie,

Wilan

Bzai

ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a frend, I will yeld ſo farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and ſet downe alſo what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be ſufficientlie deſcribed alredie.

Witham. Into Witham therefore from by north, and ſeuen miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it Hake. goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Reſbie, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewiſe beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and ioining all in one, ſone after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more heard of. There is alſo a brooke by ſouthwell, that commeth from Kirbie to Cateleie, Billingams, and the Ferrie. At Caterſall it meeteth with the Bane, which riſeth aboue Burgh, and neere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingſbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne caſtell (where it croſſeth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Marton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comſbie, Caterſall, and ſo to Dogdike ferrie. Bane.

Aboue Boſton likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeſeie and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe dooth finallie come ſundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it caſteth one arme into Holiwell water. Hence it hasteth toward Dunnington, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the firſt commeth from Pilthorpe, the ſecond from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after ſome, I wote not vpon what occaſion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine ſtreame is found to run by Kirton holme, and ſo into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewiſe falleth the Holiwell, which riſeth of a ſpring that runneth toward the eaſt from Haliwell to Onebie, Eſonden, Gretford, and ſo to Catbridge, where it receiueth another riſing at Witham and weſt of Manthorpe, and the ſecond comming from Laund, and ſo run from thence togither to Willeſthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after theſe confluences goeth to Tetford and Caſtcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and ſo through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surflet, and Foſdike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Waſh, as I haue noted vnto you. Bollingborow. Sempringham.

Hauing thus ſet forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, whereunto we repaire after we be paſt Boſton, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon ſpeach doth ſignifie deepe fennes and marſhes) and theſe beginning at Peterborow eaſtward, extend themſelues by the ſpace of three ſcore miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This ſtreame riſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betweene Boſworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Feedingworth, Merſon, Bubberham, Truſſell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braiebrooke caſtell) to Bowton, Weſton, Wiland, Aſhleie, Wedburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, where a riuret called little Eie meeteth withall, comming from eaſt Norton by Alerſtone, Stocke, Faſton, and Drie ſtocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weſton, Eſton, and there ioineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Lukkenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (croſſing the Brooke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Hareie, to Mercate, Deeping, Crowland (where it almoſt meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and ſo into the ſea. Warke. Brooke water. Whitnell. Wiland.

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth theſe words which I will not omit, ſith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better conſideration to be had in the ſaid water and his courſe. The Wiland (ſaith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stow: the other named the South into Wiſbech. This latter alſo parteth it ſelfe two miles from Crowland, & ſendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it meeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth courſe with the broad ſtreame, till it be come to Murho, ſix miles from Wiſbech, where it falleth into the South. Newdrene. South. Writhlake.

Out of the South in like ſort falleth another arme called Sheepes eie, and at Hopelode (which is foure- teene miles from Lin) did fall into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, whereupon the inhabitants ſuſteine manie grieuous flouds, becauſe the mouth is ſtanched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea. Hitherto Leland. Of the courſe of this riuer alſo from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being paſt Stanton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Uffington, Tallington, Hareie, Deeping, caſt Deeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singleſole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeſhire, and then going by Dowesdale, Trekenhole, and winding at laſt to Wiſbech, it goeth by Liuerington, ſaint Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme hasteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe, Brether houſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth the Waſton dreane, Longtoft dreane, Deeping dreane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking withall on the right hand ſundrie other dreanes. And thus farre he. Sheepes eie.

Next of all, when we are paſt theſe, we come to another fall of water into the Waſh, which deſcendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importance, I paſſe from thence, as hasting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middeſt thereof in place is a certeine ſwallow, ſo deepe and ſo cold in the middeſt of ſummer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldneſſe, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue beene touched with froſt, much leſſe to be couered with iſe. The next therefore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwiſe called Nene, which the ſaid author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene meere, where it riſeth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſilie ſee. In another place Leland deſcribeth the ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auon riſeth in Nene meere field, and going by Dundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it ſelfe into three armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wiſbech, the third to Ramſeie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the deſcent of theſe waters leaue here a great ſort of Ilands, wher- Auon. Nene.

of Elie, Crowland, and Merland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuer at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoeuer the other dow want. The Auon therefore arising in Menemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northhampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northhampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will staie, till I haue described this riuer. The Wedon therefore riseth at Faulesse in master Knightlies poles, and in Badbie plaches also are certeine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulesse poles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betweene the heads of these two riuers.

Vedunus.

From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Euerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Flozetowne, it receiueth the Florus (a pretie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then passeth on to Yelford, Killingberie, Upton, and so to Northhampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbrooke water at Yelford, Pathall water neere Killingberie, and finallie Preston water beneath Upton, which running from Preston by Wotton, meeteth at the last with Pilton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northhampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitstone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we must staie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham Ferries, it receiueth a pretie water comming from about Kilmarsh, which going by Ardingworth, Daisborow, Kulheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Kettering, Berton, and Burton, meeteth there with Rothwell water, which runneth west of Kettering to Hisham, the greater Yardon, and then into the Auon.

Florus.

Bugius.

Kilis.

Rother.

Being therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Ringsted, Wodford, and (meeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Thrarston, north whereof it ioineth also with the Odeie water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Umkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Doke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and so to Dundell, Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betweene Tothering and Warmington receiueth the Corbie water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwic, Finished, Arthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Passington, Yerwell, Sutton, Castor, Allerton, and so to Peterborow, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into seuerall branches and drains, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it met with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the Duze on the other.

Odeie.

Corbie.

The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Ilis, falleth into the sea betweene Merland & Dolwneham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth neere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarselie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betweene Hisam and Astwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinwesson) and another on the right from Imleie, it goeth on by Westbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The Erin riseth not farre from Yardwyc in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Yeth, Erinford, Godderington, Twiford, Steeple Cladon, & yer it come at Padbirie, meeteth with the Garan brooke descending from Garanburge, and so they go togither by Padbirie, till they fall into the Duze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whittlewod forrest by Lilleid, Lecamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culuerton, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton.

Ilis 3.

Sils.

Imeius.

Erin.

Garan.

Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Were or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betweene Wedon and Weresnham in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Yauersham into the foresaid Duze, which goeth also from hence to Newportpaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Clee, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the verie confines betweene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whipesnade, and going on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth wholie into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, and so goeth on till it met with the Duze neere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being vnited therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turueie on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windlesses, and then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their seuerall courses, supposing my selfe to loke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie whersoeuer) I note the same as followeth.

Verus.

Cle alias Claius.

Saw.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Potton, and met withall neere Beclifwade: another that grew of two waters, therof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arleseie, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, whereof one is not farre from Wod end, the other from Woburne (or Howburne) and ioining about Flitwic, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill broke) and so by Chiphill, and Chicksand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforsaid Langford water with them, they go forth by Beclifwade, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themisford are vnited with the Duze. And now to our purpose againe.

These rise not far from Michelborow & one of them in Higham parke.

After this the Duze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (meeting there with the Wareslie becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or saint Neotes, in old time Goluesburg, as Capgraue saith *In vita Neoti*) to Parkton, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gumicester, which (as it should seeme) hath beene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbars into their citie, and thereunto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I vpon these things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to

Verus or the were.

Stoueus.

Hun-

Scoucus. Huntingdon, Wilton, ſaint Iues, Holtwell, and Erith, receiueth in the meane time the Stow (neere vnto little Parton) and likewiſe the Ellen, and the Helenus. Emmer, in one chanell a little by weſt of Huntingdon. Elmerus.

Finallie, the maine ſtreame ſpreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie Ilets are inforced by the ſame; although of Iles, Parkland, Ancarig or Ancarte be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland alſo hight thornie *Acruda terra*, or ſtore of buſhes ſaith Hugo le Blanc) ſometime growing in the ſame, and Ancarte becauſe ſundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great ſwaie therein. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it ſelfe with ranging a while about the pleaſant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a ſwift courſe vnto Downeham. Betweene it alſo and the Anon, are ſundrie large meeres or plaſhes, by ſouthweſt of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittleſeie meere, and Ramſeie meere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wilton, and great Riuelleie) are ſaid to be greateſt. Of all the riuers that run into this ſtreame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrycſhire, as appeereth by the regiſter of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the moſt noble and excellent, which I will deſcribe euen in this place, notwithſtanding that I had earſt appointed it vnto my ſecond booke. But for ſomuch as a deſcription of Duze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his ſake that gaue them me, not ſeparate them now in ſunder. Riuelus. Granta.

The verie furtheſt head and originall of this riuer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suſſex, wherein (as the townesmen ſaie) are foure ſprings that run foure ſundrie waies into the maine ſea. Leland ſought not the courſe of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the ſong of the ſwan, he writeth thereof after this maner inſuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned phyſician, and ſome other are of the opinion, that this riuer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhée: but I may not ſo eaſilie diſſent from Leland, whoſe iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he ſaith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the eaſt Saxons, which going in a bottome beſide the ſame, receiueth a pretie rill, which in the middeſt thereof doth driue a mill, and deſcendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that ſtandeth not farre from thence. Being paſt Newport, it goeth alongſt in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, weſt of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his houſhold do ſoiourne, and ſometime ſtood an abbeie of Benedictine monks, before their generall ſuppreſſion. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the leſſe and greater Cheſterfords, Pealdune, Hinckſtone, Seoſton or Sawſon, and neere vnto Shalefford receiueth the Babzen that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babzenham, and Stapleford: and ſo going forward it commeth at the laſt to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yer it come altogither to Trompington, it meeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but ſome other the Rhée (a common name to all waters in the Saxon ſpeech) whereof I find this deſcription, to be touched by the waie. The Rhée riſeth short of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, and paſſing vnder the bridge betweene Gilden Morden and Dowmton, and leauing Tadlow on the weſt ſide (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haſelingfield, and ſo into Granta, taking ſundrie rills with him from ſouth and ſouthweſt, as Wendie water ſouthweſt of Crawden, Whaddon broke ſouthweſt of Mowell, Mildred becke ſouthweſt of Malton, and finallie the Orme which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the ſame betweene Barrington and Harleſton, or Harſton; as they call it. Babzen. Rhée.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one ſide, and Grantcheſter on the other, it hafteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which deſcendeth from a caſtell of the ſame denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels ſometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by ſundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quænes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betweene the towne and the caſtell to Cheſterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Store (at whoſe bridge the moſt famous mart in England is yearelie holden and kept) from Cheſterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yer long meeting with two rilles (from Bottelham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningſeie, & Water Bech: and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and ſo forth into the Duze, fifteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath ſet downe. And thus much of the third Iſis or Duze, out of the aforeſaid author: whereunto I haue not onelie added ſomewhat of mine owne experience, but alſo of other mens notes, whoſe diligent obſeruation of the courſe of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the deſcription of the ſame. Now it reſteth that we come nearer to the coaſt of Northfolke, and ſet forth ſuch waters as we paſſe by vpon the ſame, wherein I will deale ſo preciſelie as I may: and ſo farre will I trauell therein, as I hope ſhall content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it ſhall not be ſo great, but that after ſome trauell in the finding, it ſhall with eaſe be corrected. Sturus. Bulbecke.

The firſt riuer that therefore we come vnto, after we be paſt the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iuriſdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This ſtreame riſeth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Whelthām, and from thence it goeth on to Nawnton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genoueſa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Milden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that ſpringeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Atheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the laſt not farre from Iſelham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Duze. With the Burne alſo there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iſelham, and not verie far from Mildenhall. Burne. Dale.

The Dune head, and riſing of Wauenheie, are not much in ſunder: for as it is ſuppoſed, they are both not farre diſtant from the bridge betweene Lopham and Ford, wherby the one runneth eaſt and the other weſt, as I haue beene informed. The Dune goeth firſt of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water cõming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Muddenham, Herling, Gaſthorpe) and ſo on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewſton. Here they meet in like Dunus.

ſort, with another deſcending from two heads, wher-
of the one is nére vnto Pakenham, the other to
Tauelocke, as I heare. Certes theſe heads ioine a-
boue Ieſworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft,
from whence they go to Prworth, Thorpe, Berdwell,
Hunnington, Fakenham, and ſo into the Dune at
Ewſton; as I ſaid. From hence alſo they haſten to
Dolweneham, which of this riuer doth ſéeme to borow
his name. South Ré rill I paſſe ouer as not wor-
thie the deſcription, becauſe it is ſo ſmall.

Bradunus fons. Next vnto this riuer on the ſouth ſide is the Bra-
den, or Bradunus, which riſeth at Bradenham, and
goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, ſouth Pecken-
ham, Birſingham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Hun-
ford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgie,
and ſo into the Duze. The néereſt vnto this is ano-
ther which riſeth about Lukeham, and from thence
commeth to Lerham, Maſſingham, Newton, the
caſtell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie,
Roughton (which at one time might haue béene my
liuing if I would haue giuen ſir Thomas Rugband
monie inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill
and Caius college in Cambridge) Weſtchurch, and
ſo to Linne. As ſo doth alſo another by north of this,
which commeth from the caſt hilles by Congenham,
Grimſton, Bawſeie, Gatwood, whereof let this ſuf-
fice. And now giue care to the reſt ſith I am paſt the
Duze. Being paſt the mouth or fall of the Duze, we
méet next of all with the Riſing chaſe water, which
Ptolomie (as ſome thinke) doth call Metaris, and
deſcendeth from two heads, and alſo the Ingell that
commeth from about Snetſham. From hence we
go by the point of ſaint Edmund, and ſo hold on our
courſe till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth in-
to the ſea by ſouth from Waterden, and going be-
twéene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burn-
ham Norton, it ſtriketh at the laſt into the ſea; eaſt of
Burnham Norton a mile at the leaſt, except my con-
iecture do faile me. The Glow or Glowie riſeth not
far from Baconſthorpe, in the hundred of Tunſted;
& going by and by into Holt hundred, it paſſeth by
Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnſford, Blackneie,
Clare, and ſo into the ſea, receiuing there at hand al-
ſo a rill by eaſt, which deſcendeth from the hilles ly-
ing betwéene Billing towne and Waiburne.

Wantſume. The Wantſume riſeth in Northfolke at Gale-
end in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Wa-
terſend, Townton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Pen-
thorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingford. And
here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of
which the firſt goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the
other by Wandling and Greſſonhall, and ſo run on
ech his owne wate, till they méet at Houndlington,
ſouthweſt of Billingford with the Wantſume.
From hence they go all togither to Below, Jeng,
Weſton, and Norton; but yet it come to Norton,
it méeteth with the Potwke, which (iſſuing about Per-
ham) goeth by Mattelhall and Barrow. After this
the ſaid Wantſume goeth on by Ringland, and ſo to
Norwich the pontificall ſée of the biſhop, to whome
that iuriſdiction appertaineth, which ſéemeth by this
memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of
the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Le-
land addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Be-
neath Norwich alſo it receiueth two waters in one
chancll, which I will ſeuerallie deſcribe, according to
their courſes, noting their confluence to be at Bix-
leie, within two miles of Norwich, except my anno-
tation deceiue me. The firſt of theſe hath two heads
whereof one mounteth by ſouthweſt of Whinborow,
goeth by Gernerton, and is the verie Hiere or Pare
that drowneth the name of Wantſume, ſo ſone as
he méeteth withall. The other head riſeth at Wood in
Mitford hundred, and after confluence with the Hi-
ere at Caſton, going by Brandon, Birton, Berford,
Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Birleie as
I ſaid) doth méet with his companion, which is the ſe-
cond to be deſcribed as followeth. It hath two heads
alſo that méet northweſt of Herſtane; and hereof the
one commeth from Findon hall, by Wrenningham
from about Wotton, by Hennall, Fretton, Stret-
ton, and Taſborow, till they ioine at Therſton, as I
gaue notice afore-hand. From Therſton therefore
they go togither in one to Newton, Shotesham,
Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Birleie, Lakenham,
and Trowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume be-
neath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The
Hiere, Pare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his
voiage, as it were to ſalute his grandame the Ocea-
an, goeth from thence by Paſwiſe, Surlingham,
Clarton, and Yardleie; and here it méeteth againe
with another riueret deſcending from about Shote-
ſham to Herſtane, Shedgeaue, Hockingham, and ſo
into Gare or Pare, whereof Yardleie the towne re-
ceiueth denomination. After this it goeth to Fre-
thorpe, and aboue Burgh caſtell méeteth with the
Wauenie, and ſo into the ſea. Wauen.

Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which ri- Bure.
ſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton,
Bureſdune, Corpeſteis, Parington, Blekeling,
Bure, Aleſham, Brampton, Burton, Horſted,
Werrham bridge, Horning, Ranewoth; and be-
neath Baſtewiſe receiueth the Thurine which riſeth Thurinus.
aboue Roleſbie; then to Obie, Clipſbie (there alſo
receiuing another from Filbie) Kimham, Caſtor,
and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Wauenie
afore mentioned, riſeth on the ſouth ſide of Bring-
ham, and is a limit betwéene Northfolke and Suf-
folke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre
from Dce, it méeteth with the Eie, which riſeth néere
Eckold, or betwéene it and Brainſworth, & goeth on by
Brome, Dce, and ſo into the Wauenie. From Wauen.
thence our Wauenie runneth by Silam, Brodiſh,
Nedam, Harleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton,
Bungeie, Shepemedow, Barham, Beckles, Albie,
& at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or re-
ceiuing Milford water (which is moſt likelie) it go-
eth along by Somerleie, Horningſheet, S. Olaues,
(there receiuing the Frithſtane or Friſian brooke, Einus.
out of low or litle England) Friſtan & Burgh caſtell, Fritha.
where it méeteth with the Hiere, & from thenceforth
accompanieth it (as I ſaid) vnto the ſea. Willing-
ham water commeth by Henſted, Einſted, or Eni-
ſtate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Keſland.

The Cokell riſeth ſouth ſouthweſt of Cokeleie Cokelus.
towne in Blithe hundred, & néere vnto Haſkelworth
it méeteth with the rill that commeth from Wiſſet,
and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Blibo-
row, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen betwéene
Roldon and Walderſwicke. A little rill runneth
alſo thereinto from Eſton by Solwold, and another
from Dunwich, by Walderſwiſke: and hereby it
wanteth little that Eſton Neſſe is not cut off and
made a prétie Iland.

The Ford riſeth at Porford, and going by For- Ford.
derleie, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Pil-
mere créke. Into the Orford hauen runneth one Ozus.
water comming from Aldborow ward, by a narrow
paſſage from the north into the ſouth. By weſt ther-
of (when we are paſt a little Ile) it receiueth the ſe-
cond, deſcending from betwéene Talingſton and
Framingham in Plomes hundred; which cóming Fromus.
at laſt to Parleford, méeteth with a rill ſouthweſt of
Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Ren-
dleſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it ta-
keth another at Snapesbridge, comming from
Carleton by Sarmundham, Sternefield & Snape.
Then going to Iken (where it méeteth with the third
rill

Lins.

Congunus.

Riſing.

Ingell.

Glonius.

Yocus.

Hierus.
Gerne.

Glema.

Iken, or Ike. rill at the weſt ſide) it fetcheth a compaſſe by Sudburne eaſt of Oxford, and ſo into the hauen. Next vnto this by weſt of Oxford, there runneth vp another creeke by Butleis, whereinto the waters comming from Celleſford, and from the Ike, doo run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford hauen.

Deua. The Deue riſeth in Debenham, in the hundred of Yertelsmere, and from thence goeth to Wickford, Winſton, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto ſtill creeping toward the ſouth: but then going in maner full ſouth, it runneth neere vnto Aſh, Rendleſham, Ufford, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiueth on the weſt ſide, a water comming of two heads, whereof one is by north from Otelcie, and the other by ſouth from Henleis, which ioining weſt of Yertelsham, go vnto the ſaid towne and ſo into the Deue, eaſt of Yertelsham aboueſaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfield and Henleis, and meeting ſome after with Brightwell Clarus fons. brooke, it haſteth into the maine ſea, leauing Bawdſeie on the eaſt, where the fall therof is called Bawdſeie hauen.

Vre. Vre riſeth not farre from Bacton, in Yertelsmere hundred, and thence deſcendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Rattleſden, by one houſe) and ſo going on to Nedeham (through Boſmere and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypſwich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer againſt Ypſwich, the Chatſham water, that goeth by Belſted, and ſo into the Vre, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deepe and large pit, whereof ſome marriners ſaie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to paſſe that the hauen there is called Vrewell, for which in theſe daies we doo pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen alſo the Sture or Stoure hath readie paſſage, which remaineth in this treatiſe next of all to be deſcribed.

Sturus. The Sture or Stoure parteth Eſſex from Suffolke, as Houeden ſaith, and experience confirmeth. It ariſeth in Suffolke, out of a lake neere vnto a towne called Stourmere. For although there come two rilles vnto the ſame, whereof the one deſcendeth from Thirlo, the Wrattings and Ketton, the other from Horſhed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in ſummer time they are often drie, ſo that they cannot be ſaid to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforeſaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth ſtandeth a prettie towne named Manitræ, which carieth ſome ſhadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariſeth at Stouremeere, which is a pole conteining twentie acres of ground at the leaſt, the one ſide whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherin the great ſtore of fiſh there bred, is not a little ſuccoured. From this mere alſo it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndiſh, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Burellete, Sudburie, Bures, Borſted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Stratford, eaſt Barfold, Brampton, Manitræ, Catwade bridge, and ſo into the ſea, where in the verie fall alſo it ioineth with Orwell hauen, ſo neere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a ſhingle that doth run along betweene them: neither doth it paſſe cleere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing ſundrie brookes and rilles not here to be omitted.

For on Eſſex ſide it hath one from Hemſted, which goeth by Bumſted, and Birdbrooke: another riſing ſhort of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the ſame at Badlington, weſt of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkeſleie, and meeteth withall weſt of Borſted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke ſide, it receiueth one deſcending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Riddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The ſecond deſcendeth northward from Polling field, and ioineth therewith eaſt of Clare. It was in old time called Cieux or Ceuxis, and it meeteth with the Stoure in ſuch wiſe that they ſeeme to make a right angle, in the point almoſt wherof ſtandeth a ruinous caſtell. Howbeit as ſithence which time this water (in ſome mens iudgement) hath beene named Clarus (not ſo much for the greatneſſe as clearenes of the ſtreame) euen ſo the Stoure it ſelfe was alſo called Ens as they ſay, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no ſmall fame and honour. But theſe are but meere fables, ſith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an houſe of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the ſame, becauſe of an honour the prince had in thoſe parties: which may ſuffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariſeth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Riſbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borſted, Stanſted, and north of Foxerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth iſſueth from betweene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardſtone, Borſted, Alington, Polſted, Stoke, and ſo at ſouth Borſted falleth into the ſame. The fift riſeth northweſt of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimſleie, Yidling, and receiuing Kettle Baſton water ſouthweſt of Kettle baſton Chelſworth (and likewiſe the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Biſſeton ſtreet on the ſouth eaſt of the ſame towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and ſo into the Stoure. The ſixt is a little rill deſcending ſouthweſt from Chappell. The ſeuenth riſeth betweene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betweene Tatingſton, and Whetſted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

Odeie. As for Odeie rill, that riſeth betweene Odeie, and Wikes parkes, and ſo goeth into the Stoure, on Eſſex ſide, weſt of Harwich, and eaſt of Ree Ile; I paſſe it ouer, becauſe it is of it ſelfe but a rill, and not of anie greatneſſe, till it come to the mill aboue Ramſeie bridge, where I was once almoſt drowned (by reaſon of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the ſtreame being there verie great) as an arme of the ſea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vn- Mola. to this, we came to another that runneth ſouth of Beaumont by Moſſe, and falleth into the ſea about the middeſt of the Baie, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze alſo and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riſeth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clac- Clacco. ton parke by great Holland, and eaſt of little Holland, into the deepe ſea.

Colunus. The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Ouington that goeth by Tilberie, and eaſt of Yeldam falleth into the chiefe head which riſeth about Redgewell in Eſſex, from whence alſo it goeth to Yeldam and Hedingham, otherwiſe called Yngham: alſo Hedningham or Heurdingham, or Heuedingham of the ſuperioritie which accrued therevnto, becauſe the chiefe lords of the ſame from time to time kept reſidence in the towne. For Heued or Hed ſignifieth the chiefe, in the old Engliſh language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet ſtanding in England cannot eſſie be forgotten.

The

The third falleth in south of Peldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Brickleseie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places, whereby Maldon (or Ithancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that there assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should séeme rashlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was persuaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made three seuerall passages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderstand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a causeie that leadeth vnto Mersete Ile, ouer which the sea méeteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these three haue their falles either ouer against or néere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the shore. Into the Colne or Colunus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not consent to him herein) do run manie salt creekes beneath Fingering ho, of whose names sith I do not know, nor whether they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further, & likewise of their positions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

Gwin or Pant.

There is a pretie water that beginneth néere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Esser, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Wache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced. This said broke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime chéefe owners of the same. By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the chéefe (whereof some thinke the whole broke to be named Pant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath béene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the mores in Radwinter forcone. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord John of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that broke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But lée the malice of mankind, whereby one becometh a woolfe vnto the other in their mischæuous modes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore preest on a time to do his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: whereupon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tiltele abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockslwets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, méeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Wendith hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Wendiches, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Wendiches gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one lateng the said manour to morgage to the monks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staied longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Whereupon he came before his date to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiment vpon the date assigned. Herevpon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks for all this made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforesaid Wendith could make. The said gentleman also tooke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be séene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue monke or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that méet and ioine with our Pant.

The next is named Frolhwell. And of this spring doth

Frolhwell.

doth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the riuer it ſelfe wher vnto it falleth (from by north) ſo farre as I remember. Certes, all theſe, ſauing the firſt and ſecond, are within your lordſhips towne aforeſaid. The ſtreame therfore running from hence (& now, as I ſaid, called Froſhwell, of Froſh, which ſignifieth a frog) hafteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full ſtreame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stiſted, Paſwic, and ſo to Blackewater, where the name of Froſhwell ceaſeth, the water being from henceforth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the ſalt arme of the ſea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of ſome (except I be deceiued) is called alſo Pant: and ſo much the rather I make this coniecture, for that Ithancester ſtood ſomewhere vpon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danſeie, whoſe ruines (as they ſaie) alſo are ſwalowed vp by the ſaid ſtreame, which can not be verified in our riuer that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, *alias* the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Corall, Caſterford, Bzarſted and Wickham, where it meeteth with the Barus, and ſo going togither as one, they deſcend to Heiebridge, and finallie into the ſalt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is aforeſaid. As

Barus. for the Barus, it riſeth in a ſtatelie parke of Eſſex called Bardfield, belonging to ſir Thomas Wroth whileſt he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being riſen, it hafteth directlie to old Saling Bzaintree, croſſing a rillet by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Notleie, white Notleie, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Bzarſted on the ſouth.

Chelmer. Beſide this, the ſaid Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariſeth alſo in Wimbech aforeſaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Bzodockes (where maſter Thomas Wiſeman eſquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the ſame paroch, and ioining yer long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacked vnder Prowds bridge, meeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boiton end, whereby it is ſomewhat increaſed. Being paſt Thacked, it goeth by Tilteie, and ſone after receiueth one rill which

Lind'ſ. riſeth on the north ſide of Lindſell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeaſt at Tilteie aforeſaid, & another cõming from ſouthweſt, riſing ſoutheaſt from Lindſell at much Eſſton. From thence then holding on ſtill with the courſe, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunmow, little Dunmow, Falſted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, and ſo to Chelmereſford. Here vpon the ſouth ſide I find the iſſue of a water that riſeth fiue miles (or thereabouts) ſouth and by weſt of the ſaid towne, from whence it goeth to Punaſing, Butteſburie (there receiuing a rill from by weſt, to Ingatſtone, Marget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and ſo to Chelmereſford (croſſing alſo the ſecond water that deſcendeth from Rorford

Rorford. ſouth weſt of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this ſuffice.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and ſo to Blackwater northweſt of Maldon, receiuing neuertheleſſe yer it come fullie thither, a becke alſo that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées,

Lée. great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and ſo into Blackwater (whereof I ſpake before) as Maldon ſtreame doth a rill from by ſouth ouer againſt ſaint Oſithes, and alſo another by Bzadwell. After which the ſaid ſtreame growing alſo to be verie great, paſſeth by the Tollhunts, Tolleſbie, and ſo forth into the maine ſea nere vnto Merſeie: betweene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius ſometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beſet, did ſend vnto him for aid and ſpeedie ſuccour, who alſo being come did not onelie reſcue his legat, but in like manner wan Colcheſter, and put it to the ſpoile, if it be Camalodunum.

Burne. The Burne riſeth ſomewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, ſouth Fambridge, Birkeſhot ferrie, and ſo to Foulneſſe. And as this is the ſhort courſe of that riuer, ſo it bzancheth, and the ſouth arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakeſham doth meet by ſouth with the ſaid arme, and ſo finiſh vp his courſe, as we do our voiage alſo about the coaſt of England.

Thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpoſe, although not in ſo preciſe an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promiſed had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I ſaie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by weſt, which parteth England & Scotland on that ſide; to the Twede, which ſeparateth the ſaid kingdoms on the eaſt: if you go backeward, contrarie to the courſe of my deſcription, you ſhall find it ſo exact, as beſide a verie few by-riuers, you ſhall not need to vſe anie further aduiſe for the finding and falles of the aforeſaid ſtreames. For ſuch hath been my helpe of maiſter Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about theſe, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue alſo to remember, that in the courſes of our ſtreames, I regard not ſo much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I ſaie it goeth by ſuch a towne, I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This alſo hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted ſome one man, in the deſcription of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to chooſe one (at aduenture moſt commonlie) that ſeemed the likelieſt to be ſound in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to ſet downe an eſpeciall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on each coaſt of the Engliſh part of this Ile; and had prouided the ſame in ſuch wiſe as I iudged moſt conuenient: it came to paſſe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by ſtealth, and therefore as diſcouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to ſet downe anie thing therefore at all: and ſo much the rather, for that I ſee it may prooue a ſpurre vnto further miſcheefe, as things come to paſſe in theſe daies. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe a little thereof is paſſed in the beginning of the booke, I will ſet downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the ſupplie of the reſt either to my ſelfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to ſome other that can better performe the ſame.

Of

Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.

Chap. 17.

IT maie be that I haue in theſe former chapters omitted ſundrie hauens to be found vpon the ſhore of England, and ſome of them ſerued with backe waters, through want of ſound and ſufficient information from ſuch as haue written vnto me of the ſame. In recompenſe whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (ſo farre as to me is poſſible) I ſhall make ſatisfaction of mine ouerſights. And albeit I cannot (being too too much abuſed by ſome that haue béereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpoſe to paſſe for all the whole coaſt of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to ſet downe ſo much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countriemen ſhall not altogither want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer alſo the reſt, if God grant life and good ſucceſſe thereto.

Northumberland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donſtanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Durham. In the biſhoprie, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepoole, Theſe.

Yorkeſhire. In Yorkeſhire, Dapnam ſands, Steningréene, Staies, Runſwike, Robinhods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bricklington, Horneſeie becke, Siſſer kirke, Kelſeie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerleie, Hull, Haſell, Northferebie, Bucke créeke, Blacke coſſ, Wrethell, Howden.

Lincolneſhire. In Lincolneſhire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebrige, Rodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeſeie, Gainſborow, Southferebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Shatermill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Guimſbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfléete, Willgripe, Mapleford, ſaint Clements, Wenfléete, Friſcon, Toft, Skerbike, Boſton, Frompton, Wolnerton, Folſedike a good hauen.

Northfolke. In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Deſingham good, Thunſtone, Thorneham good, Brankeſter good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Striſeie, Marſton, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouſe créeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beſton, Trinningham, Mounſleie, Bromwall, Haſeborow, Wakeſham, Eckelles, Winterton, Cuſter, Helmeſleie, Okell, Upton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerſe villages on the riuer ſide.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Becles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Laiſtow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Raſſeldon, Blibrow, Coſſe hith, Eſton, Walderſwiſe, Donewich, Swold hauen, Siſewell, Thorpe, Alborow, Orford a good hauen, Balſeie good, Felixſtow, Colneie, Sproten, Ypſwich, Downambridge good, Pinnemill, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.

Eſſex. In Eſſex we haue Dedham, Maning trée, Thorne, Wrabbeſnes, Ramſeie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Banfléete, Newhauen good, S. Olithes, Bentleie good, Bricleſeie, Thorlington (where good ſhips of a hundred tun or more be made) Allford, Wiuenhall, Colcheſter, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, eaſt Perſeie, weſt Perſeie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Staneſgate, Sudmeſter, S. Peters, Burnham, Criſeie, Aldon, Clements gréene, Hulbridge, Paceſton, Barling, litle Wakering, much Wakering, ſouth Sudburie, Wakeringham, Pelton, Paper hill, or Lee, Beamfléete, Pidſeie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Mucking, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Kent. In Kent, Yarling, Cliffe, Tanfléete, Stokehow, Snodlond, Pelhall, Maidſton, Aileſford, New hith, Rocheſter, Gelingham, Reinham, Upchurch, Halſted, Quinborow, Pilton, Feuerſham, Whitſtaple, Yerne, Margate, Brodeſtaier, Ramſgate; and manie of theſe good créekes: alſo Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reaſonable ports, although none of the beſt.

Suſſex. In Suſſex we haue Smalade with the créekes adioining to the ſame, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelſeie nothing at all inferiour to the ſame, and ſo manie ſhires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I muſt abruptlie leaue off to deale anie further with the reſt, whoſe knowledge I am right ſure would haue béene profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thankes at the hands of ſuch ſea-faring-men, as ſhould haue had vſe hereof.

Deſunt cætera.

Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities *of this Iland.*

Cap. 18.

THe aire (for the moſt part) throughout the Iland is ſuch, as by reaſon in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be groſſe, and nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme theſe things, haue onelie reſpect to the impediment or hinderance of the ſunne beames, by the interpoſition of the clouds and oft ingroſſed aire: ſo experience teacheth vs, that it is no leſſe pure, wholeſome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Cæſar himſelfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in ſummer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vſuallie ſéene amongſt other nations lieng beyond the ſeas. Wherefore, we muſt néeds confeſſe, that the ſituation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Eliſian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are ſituate about it in the Ocean. The aire of Britaine.

The ſoile of Britaine is ſuch, as by the teſtimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as now inhabit the ſame, is verie fruitfull; and ſuch in déed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue néed, and yet it ſelfe (if fond niceneſſe were aboliſhed) néedleſſe of thoſe that are dailie brought from other places. Neuertheleſſe it is more inclined to féeding and graſing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reaſon whereof the countrie is wonderfullie repleniſhed with neat, and all kind of cattell: and ſuch ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is ſcarſelie manured for the prouiſion and maintenance of graine. Certes The ſoile.

this

this fruitfulneſſe was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before Cæſars time, which was the cauſe wherefore our predeceſſors liuing in thoſe daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by feeding and graſing onelie. The graſiers themſelues alſo then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whoſe cuſtome was to diuide the ground amongſt them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Iriſh Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoue further, and ſeeke for better paſture. And this was the Britiſh cuſtome (as I learne) at firſt. It hath beene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither ſo fruitfull as that of England, neither the ſoile of Scotland ſo bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the moſt part: otherwiſe, there is ſo good ground in ſome parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the beſt of Scotland be ſcarſelie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotiſh doth faile in ſome reſpect, ſo doth it ſurmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeeld forth like commodities.

Criacht.

But where our ground is not ſo good as we would wiſh, we haue (if need be) ſufficient helpe to cheriſh our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull. For beſide the compoſt that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, douehouſes, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of ſo great force, that if it be caſt ouer a peece of land but once in three ſcore years, it ſhall not need of anie further compelling. Hereof alſo doth Plinie ſpeake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the ſpace of foureſcore yeares: inſomuch that it is laid vpon the ſame but once in a mans life, whereby the owner ſhall not need to trauell twiſe in procuring to commend and better his ſoile. He calleth it Marga, and making diuerſe kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth ſometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the ſcattering of chalke vpon the ſame, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as ſome of our daies alſo do practiſe: albeit diuerſe do like better to caſt on lime, but it will not ſo long indure, as I haue heard reported.

Marle.

There are alſo in this Iland great plentie of freſh riuers and ſtreames, as you haue heard alreadie, and theſe throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fiſh accuſtomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewiſe is verie full of hilles, of which ſome (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerſe extending themſelues verie far from the beginning; as we may ſee by Shooters hill, which riſing eaſt of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the ſouth ſide of the Iland weſtward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto theſe alſo are the Croudon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as alſo the other from the Peke) do run into the borders of Scotland. What ſhould I ſpeake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length: of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the leaſt in length: of the Cle hilles in Shropſhire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from ſome part of Worceſter by the Teme: of the Graines in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eightéene miles at the leaſt from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordſhire to Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, and are verie well repleniſhed with wood and corne: notwithſtanding that the moſt part yeeld a ſweet ſhort graſſe, profitable for ſheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland do ſomewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompenſed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and thoſe of ſundrie kinds of marble, hard ſtone, and fine alabaſter) but alſo rich mines of mettall, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Plentie of riuers.

Hilles.

(*) Here lacks

In this Iland likewiſe the winds are commonlie more ſtrong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane alſo eſpied: and that is often ſeene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and keepe it off. That grieuous inconuenience alſo inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houſes in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, leaſt the cold and ſtormie blaſts of winter ſhould breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one deſireth to ſet his houſe aloft on the hill, not onlie to be ſeene a farre off, and caſt forth his beames of ſtatelie and curious workemanſhip into euerie quarter of the countrie; but alſo (in hot habitations) for coldneſſe ſake of the aire, ſith the heat is neuer ſo vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, becauſe the reuerberation of the ſunne beames either reacheth not ſo farre as the higheſt, or elſe becommeth not ſo ſtrong as when it is reflected vpon the lower ſoile.

Winds.

Building.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purpoſed place (which notwithſtanding haue verie much increaſed, I meane for curioſitie and coſt, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within theſe few yeares) and to returne to the ſoile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in theſe our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath beene in times paſt. The cauſe is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, ſkilfull, and carefull through recompenſe of gaine, than heretofore they haue beene: inſomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this preſent great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compaſſe hath yeelded but ſmall profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of ſuch, as dailie manured and had the ſame in occupieng. I might ſet downe examples of theſe things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to ſaie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but moſt of all out of Wales: in which two laſt rehearſed, verie little other food and liuelihood was wont to be loked for (beſide fleſh) more than the ſoile of it ſelfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, diſſolutelie, and by picking and ſtealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the moſt part) relinquiſhed, ſo that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Husbandrie amended.

The paſture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the ſoile, whereby in moſt places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and ſuch as either fatteth our cattell with ſpeed, or yeeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the pelloweſt butter and fineſt cheeſe are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long ſeaſon) there the graſſe is ſpearie, rough, and verie apt for buſhes: by which occaſion it commeth nothing ſo profitable vnto the owner as the other. The beſt paſture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the paſture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheeſe. I ſpeake of the ſame which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the graſſe growing is not eaten, but ſuffered to rot on the ground, whereby the ſoile becommeth matted, and diuerſe bogges and quicke mores made withall in long continuance: becauſe all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good ſoile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morow find it hidden and ouergrowen with graſſe: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, ſuch is the fruitfulnes of the

Paſture.

afore ſaid

also ſaid countie that it farre ſurmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batablenesse with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were wont to sate of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or godnesse.

Meadowes. Our meadowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, bicause our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borowed from the best & fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the rising of such streames as passe through the same, or violent falles of land-waters, that descend from the hils about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome, and batable, sith the haie of our low meadowes is not onelie full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for couer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twise mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholsome for cattell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases doo consume manie of them before the owners can seeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwise. Some superstitious fooles suppose that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp stones which naturallie haue holes in them, and must be found vnlooked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockshot for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilest the cattell go scotfree and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aske a greater volume than is conuenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much of these things.

Corne. The yeeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate following. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeeld commonlie sirteene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yeeld is neuertheles much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Danus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudæorum in Aethiopia* surmounteth, where he saith that in the field nere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Golan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing doth yeeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our more hitherto and vnprofitable grounds do yeeld such plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better than doo come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his more grounds into hoppards, whereof before he had no commoditie, doth raise yearelie by so little as twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret frends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuertheles after three yeares doo also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

Cattell. The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as for greatnesse of bone, sweetnesse of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oxen, whose largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are such, as none of anie other nation doo commonlie or may easilie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise for good tast of flesh; quantitie of lims, finesse of fleece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than doo our goates, who in like sort doo follow the same order, and our deere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue seene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Peall and Dilnege, that the grease of one being weighed, hath peised verie neere six or seuen ounces. All which benefits we first refer to the grace and godnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnesse.

Peall and Dilnege.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countriemen (especiallie of the south partes) who do not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, as to your lordship also is right well knowen. But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and keeping thereof so chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterprises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor succesle of their trauell can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imploied vpon the same.

Wine.

If it be true, that where wine doth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this

this Iland heretofore, firſt the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one ſufficient teſtimonie. And that it did grow here, beſide the teſtimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of ſome parſons and vicars in Kent, elſewhere, beſides the records of ſundrie ſutes, commenſed in diuerſe eccleſiaſticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: alſo the incloſed parcels almoſt in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witneſſe, as alſo the plot which we now call eaſt Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus ſometime king of this land, with other ſoile there abont vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighton Guild. The truth is (ſaith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent traueller in the old eſtate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Portſoken ward, and giuen in time paſt to the religious houſe within Algate. Howbeit firſt Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Eſſex conſtables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the ſaid houſe, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie alſo was in the firſt times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appéreth, that the biſhop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the leaſt giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beſide whatſoeuer ouer-ſumme of the liquor did accrue to him by leaſes and other eſcheats, whereof alſo I haue ſeene mention. Wherefore our ſoile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were ſo excéeding ſhort, that in Auguſt and September the moone which is ladie of moiſture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wiſe ſhine long inough vpon the ſame: a verie méere toie and fable right worthie to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenith wines.

Cattell.

Wad. Madder. Rape.

Mcall and Diſnege.

Wine.

The time hath béene alſo that wad, wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as Cæſar ſaith) that they might ſeeme terrible to their enimies in the field (and alſo women & their daughters in law did ſtaine their bodies & go naked, in the pickle vnto the ſacrifices of their gods, coueting to reſemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie ſaith li. 22. cap. 1.) and alſo madder haue béene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find alſo that rape oile hath béene made within this land. But now our ſoile either will not or at the leaſt wiſe may not beare either wad or madder: I ſaie not that the ground is not able ſo to do, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the ſame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may ſaie of flax, which by law ought to be ſowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or leſſe: but I ſée no ſucceſſe of that good and wholeſome law, ſith it is rather contemptuouſlie reiected than otherwiſe dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Flax.

Some ſaie that our great number of lawes doo breéd a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; bicauſe we haue ſo manie, that no ſubiect can liue without the tranſgreſſion of ſome of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harme in this reſpect, which (after Ariſtotle) doth ſéeme to carie ſome reaſon withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Euentus varios res noua ſemper habet.

Eleg. 2.

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the gréedie corruption of the promoters on the one ſide, factlitie in diſpenſing with good lawes, and firſt breach of the ſame in the lawmakers & ſuperiors, & priuat reſpects of their eſtabliſhment on the other, are the greateſt cauſes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies ſo redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwiſe to preſume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in theſe things I haue no ſkill, ſo I wiſh that fewer licences for priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increaſed) & that euerie one which by fœed friendſhip (or otherwiſe) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open aſſizes and ſeſſions denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

Principes longè magis exemplo quàm culpa peccare ſolent.

Glaſſe alſo hath béene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the ſaid ſtuffe alſo, beſide fine ſciſſers, ſhéres, collars of gold and ſiluer for womens necks, cruſes and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Auguſtus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like ſort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and veſſels of iuorie (as Strabo ſaith.) Wherby it appéreth that in old time our countriemen were farre more induſtrious and painefull in the vſe and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themſelues more to idleneſſe and following of the warres.

Earths.

If it were requiſit that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundrie kinds of mould, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerſe ſorts (red, blue, blacke and white) alſo the red or white ſandie, the lomie, roſellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could ſaie that there are ſo manie diuerſe veines in Britaine, as elſe where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I muſt néeds confeſſe, that the ſandie & cledgie doo beare the greateſt ſwaie: but the claie moſt of all, as hath béene, and yet is alwaies ſéene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the claie) doo yeeld hir full increaſe (which it doth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: whereas if it faile, then haue we ſcarſitie, according to the old rude verſe ſet downe of England, but to be vnderſtood of the whole Iland, as experience doth confirme:

When the ſand doth ſerue the claie,
Then may we ſing well awaie,
But when the claie doth ſerue the ſand,
Then is it merie with England.

Vallies.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horſſe, another of Euesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worceſterſhire, the third of Aileſbirie that goeth by Tame, the rotes of Chilterne hils, to Donſtable, Newport pannell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birſtane parke, &c. Likewiſe of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemore in Dorſetſhire. The fift of Kingdale or Kendale, corruptlie called Kingtaſle, that lieth (as mine author ſaith) vpon the edge of Eſſex and Cambridgeſhire, and alſo the Marſhwood vale: but for ſomuch as I know not well their ſeuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their deſcription. In like ſort it ſhould not be amiſſe to ſpeake of our fennes, although our countrie be not ſo full of this kind of ſoile as the parties beyond the ſeas, to wit, Marbon, &c: and thereto of other pleaſant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great ſtore of corne and fine fodder for neat and horſſes in time of the yeare (whereby they are excéeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe and quantitie in ground. For ſome of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, ſixtéene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Fennes.

length, that of the Girwies yet paſſing all the reſt, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein alſo Elie the famous Ile ſtandeth, which is ſeuen miles euerie waie, and whereunto there is no acceſſe but by three cauſies, whoſe inhabitants in like ſort by an old priuilege may take wood, ſedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewiſe haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houſes of cuſtome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetouſneſſe hath now begun ſomewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aſwell in the ſaid Ile as moſt other places of this land.

Commons. Finallie, I might diſcourſe in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the ſoiles for the benefit of ſuch poore, as inhabit within the compaſſe of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in moſt places defrauded, in ſo much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the ſame, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, ſo the tractation of them belongeth rather to the ſecond booke. Wherefore I meane not at this preſent to deale withall, but reſerue the ſame wholie vnto the due place whileſt I go forward with the reſt; ſetting downe neuertheleſſe by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

Illa quidem longè celebris ſplendore, beata,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, ſupereminet inſula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, ſpumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Teſtis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worceſtria frugere dundans,
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria piſce,
Eboraca ſyluis, Exceſtria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Ceſtria Gallis,
Ciceſtrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia prapinguis,
Teſtis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Teſtis Eli formoſa ſitu, Doncaſtria viſu, &c.

Of the foure high waies ſometime *made in Britaine by the princes* of this Iland.

Cap. 19.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuiſion of waies, (whereof we now intreat) ſhould apperteine vnto ſuch princes of that nation as reigned here, ſince the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and hereupon they inferre, that Wattling ſtreet was builded by one Wattle from the eaſt vnto the weſt. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of theſe ſtreets it ſelfe ſhall eaſilie declare, whereof ſome parcelles, after a ſort, are alſo ſet downe by Antoninus; and thoſe that haue written of the ſeuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in ſo direct an order as they were at the firſt eſtabliſhed. For my part, if it were not that I deſire to be ſhort in this behalfe, I could with ſuch notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpoſe, make a large confutation of diuerſe of their opinions concerning theſe paſſages, and thereby rather aſcribe the originall of theſe waies to the Romans than either the Britiſh or Saxon princes. But ſith I haue ſpent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I ſee great cauſe (notwithſtanding my late alledged ſcruple) wherefore I ſhould hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to diſcourſe of theſe things as I would, and ſaie what I make for the better knowledge of their courſes, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing the ſubiects of his realme to be in ſundrie wiſe oppreſſed by theeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (ſo much as in him laie) to redreſſe theſe inconuenences, cauſed his whole kingdome to be ſurueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which ſhould leade ſuch as trauelled into all parts thereof, from ſea to ſea, he gaue ſundrie large priuileges vnto the ſame, whereby they became ſafe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the ſecuritie of his ſubiects, ſo he made ſharpe lawes grounded vpon iuſtice, for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that ſhould be met withall or found within the limits of thoſe paſſages. How and by what parts of this Iland theſe waies were conueied at the firſt, it is not ſo wholie left in memorie: but that ſome queſtion is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courſes. Howbeit ſuch is the ſhadow remaining hitherto of their extenſions, that if not at this preſent perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpoſſible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto poſteritie. It ſeemeth by Galfride, that the ſaid Dunwallon did limit out thoſe waies by doles and markes, which being in ſhort time altered by the auarice of ſuch irreligious perſons as dwelt neere, and incroched vpon the ſame (a fault yet inſtlie to be found almoſt in euerie place, euen in the time of our moſt gratious and ſouereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the ſoiles doo vnite their ſmall occupieng, onelie to increaſe a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect ſmall tenements vpon the high waies ſides and commons; whereunto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them alſo doo raiſe a new commoditie) and queſtion moued for their bounds before Belinus his ſonne, he to auoid all further controuerſie that might from thenceforth inſue, cauſed the ſame to be paued with hard ſtone of eightéene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint ſtones alſo to be pitched, leaſt the earth in time ſhould ſwallow vp his workemanſhip, and the higher ground ouer-grow their riſing creſts. He indued them alſo with larger priuileges than before, proteſting that if anie man whoſoeuer ſhould preſume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wiſe, neere vnto or vpon thoſe waies, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch puniſhment without all hope to eſcape (by friendſhip or mercie) as by the ſtatutes of this realme latelie prouided in thoſe caſes were due vnto the offendors. The names of theſe foure waies are the Foſſe, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Foſſe. The Foſſe goeth not directlie but ſlopewiſe ouer the greateſt part of this Iland, beginning at Dotneſſe or Totneſſe in Deuonſhire, where Brute ſometime landed, or (as Ranulphus ſaith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldeſt writers doo ſeeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonſhire & Somerſetſhire, and commeth to Briſtow, from whence it runneth manifeſtlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and ſo forth holdeth on as you go almoſt to the midde waie betweene Glocester and Cirnecester, (where the wood faileth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteſwald) ſtreight as a line vntill you come to Cirnecester it ſelfe. Some hold opinion

opinion that the waie, which liſth from Cirnceſter to Bath, ſhould be the verie Foſſe; and that betwixt Cirnceſter and Glouceſter to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirnceſter that ſhewed great likelihood by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirnceſter, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrie, Leiceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watling ſtreet: where, by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

Watling ſtreet.

The Watling ſtreet begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallo, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is diuerſlie to be called Gutheline ſtreet, though now corrupted into Watling ſtreet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the middeſt of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Verlamceſter, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell therewith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighténe foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and ſtoned in the bottome in ſuch wiſe as I haue noted afore, and peraduenture alſo on the top: but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, and leuell with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yéeres paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the priorie ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtreet, méetly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Carton, and ſo to Huntingdon, & then forward, ſtill winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugbie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo forth by weſt of Parton, which is but a mile from Torkeſeie.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a trauceller of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtreet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dolobridge, and ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrie in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watling ſtreet ſhould paſſe by Atherſton, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelie that three ſeuerall waies might met at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Maries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watling ſtreet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

Foſſe.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watling ſtreet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice alſo of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtilie ouer Caſtelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this ſtreet and his broad creſt by a great waie together, alſo to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith Leland) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bowis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden caſtell, ſituate apparantlie vpon the ſide of this ſtreet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is three ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are ſharpe ſtones of a yard in length; but the greateſt of all is eightéene foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtreet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightéene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, foure miles from Aplebie, and fiue to Browham, where the ſaid ſtreet commeth thorough Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Etemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleill ſeuentéene miles from Browham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

Erming ſtreet.

The Erming ſtreet, which ſome call the Telme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth eaſt, that is, from Menevia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that theſe two waies, I meane the Foſſe and the Erming, ſhould met about Cirnceſter, as it commeth from Glouceſter, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can ſaie no more of it, except I ſhould indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds do ſo farre diſagree one from another, as they do all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Ikenild.

The Ikenild or Rikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirnceſter, then to Worceſter, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Cheſterfield; and croſſing the Watling ſtreet ſomewhere in Yorkſhire, ſtretched forth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men do confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him do ſéeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laie néere vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Stafford and Worceſter ſhires, or in both, except my coniecture do faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtreet the Telme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the claie or clodgie ſoile they are often verie déepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherefore by

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for six daies in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the six, scarcelie two good days works are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and scowre their drains and watercourses, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the streets doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies works are not imploied vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ech surueior amendeth such by-plots & lanes as séeme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to séeke them farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no small commoditie by raising the same to excessiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trées and bushes growing by the streets sides, doo not a little keepe off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie a slough proue hard ground that yet is deepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas some streets within these fiue and twentie yeares haue béene in most places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either escape the théeue, or shift the mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iourneie. But what speake I of these things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iust redresse, because the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so sweet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cottages as are raised vpon the same.

Of the generall constitution of the *bodies of the Britons.*

Chap. 20.

Such as are bred in this Iland are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelinesse of person, the testimonie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw English capteins sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betweene Herefordshire and Essex men; or Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; these latter being distinguished by their noses and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies béene in souereigne admiration among forren princes: for such hath béene the estimation of our souldiers from time to time, since our Ile hath béene knowne vnto the Romans, that whersoeuer they haue serued in forren countries, the chéefe brunts of seruice haue béene reserued vnto them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where they haue béene ouercome, the victorers themselues confessed their victories to haue béene so dearelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to ouercome often, after such difficult maner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betweene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue béene often and verie grieuouslie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhod on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs méere iniurie with great despite and crueltie.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulnesse or wisdome.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so faeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in déed as anie crow or rauen. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimblenesse of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into méere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertilest region doth bring forth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile doth bring forth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had *Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbiæ.* But wether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to faie their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift, because of the weake abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish vncouth, fierce and warlike, which qualities increase, as they come neerer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse wisdome, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit neere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small tarriance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length

of

Non vi ſed virtute, non armis ſed ingenio vincimur Angli.

of our daies. Wherefore his reaſon ſeemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to proue that we want wit, becauſe our brains are not warmed by the tartance of the ſunne. And thus alſo doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in his hiſtorie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compaſſe to doo ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen (not without great wiſedome and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in France. The Galles in time paſt contemned the Romans (ſaith Cæſar) becauſe of the ſmalneſſe of their ſtature: howbeit, for all their greatneſſe (ſaith he) and at the firſt brunt in the warres, they ſhew themſelues to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to ſtand in great calamities. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſort, he doth (in mine opinion) increaſe our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with ſingleneſſe of mind, ſincerelie and plainlie, without anie ſuch ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practiſe in all their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wiſe and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation, *Galli ridendo fidem frangunt.*

How theſe latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to diſcuſſe. How they are dailie practiſed in manie places of the maine, & he accompted moſt wiſe and politike, that can moſt of all diſſemble; here is no place iuſtlie to determine (neither would I wiſh my countrimen to learne anie ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of France could ſaie; *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, or *viuere*, their owne hiſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. Galen, the noble phyſician, tranſferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, conſtancie; to bloud, mirth; to phlegme, courteſie: and which being mixed more or leſſe among themſelues, doo yeeld an infinit varietie: by this means therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he whoſe nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with ſtrength of bodie, and ſinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuerſallie granted to remaine ſo well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot ſee what may be an hinderance vnto I ſhould not rather conclude, that the Britons doo excell ſuch as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and ſubtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie alſo for ſome to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, becauſe we ſo little regard the ſhedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we ſee the liquor of life to go from vs (I vſe their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, becauſe we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are thoſe obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: ſith we thinke it a great peece of manhood to ſtand to our tackling, vntill the laſt drop, as men that may ſpare much becauſe we haue much: whereas they hauing leſſe are afraid to loſe that little which they haue: as Frontinus alſo noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their hiſtories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that an Italian writing of his credit; A papiſt intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his mekeneſſe, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be truſted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either diſſemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in ſuch as profeſſe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we ſo hard to ſtrangers as Horace would ſeeme to make vs, ſith we loue them ſo long as they abuſe vs not, & make accompt of them ſo far forth as they deſpiſe vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vſe our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in ſo ample manner as we our ſelues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to doo in their countries, where no ſtranger is ſuffered to haue woorke, if an home-borne be without. But to proceed with our purpoſe.

With vs, although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well, ſome doo liue an hundred yeers, verie manie vnto foure ſcore: as for three ſcore, it is taken but for our entrance into age, ſo that in Britaine no man is ſaid to wax old till he draw vnto three ſcore, at which time God ſpeed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas ſometime ſaid in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, You are welcome is the beſt ſalutation; and from thence to three ſcore, God keepe you; but after three ſcore, it is beſt to ſaie, God ſpeed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not beene ſeene in anie region ſo manie carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwiſe, ſuch as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are eaſie to be knowne and diſcerned by their freends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of ſundrie nations, ſaieng, that their bodies are *Tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ*, that within certeine houres the wife ſhall hardlie know hir husband, the mother hir ſonne, or one freend another after their liues be ended. In like ſort the comelineſſe of our liuing bodies doo continue from midle age (for the moſt) euen to the laſt gaſpe, ſpeciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children doo after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie ſo wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerſe of other countries with whom their men alſo doo much participate; and thereto be ſo often waiward and peeuiſh, that nothing in maner may content them.

I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generallie of our women, whoſe beautie commonlie exceedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlineſſe of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the ſeas. This neuertheleſſe I vtterlie miſlike in the paier ſort of them, for the wealthier doo ſildome offend herein: that being of themſelues without competent wit, they are ſo careleſſe in the education of their children (wherein their huſbands alſo are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, doo oftentimes come to confuſion, which (if anie correction or diſcipline had beene vſed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good ſeruice and induſtrie. I could make report likewiſe of the naturall vices and vertues of all thoſe that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine: to ſet forth the ſame, ſo will I giue place to other men that liſt to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the conſtitutions of our bodies: and ſo much may ſuffice.

How Britaine at the firſt grew to be *diuided into three portions.*

Cap. 21.

AFter the comming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foreſaid treatiſe, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Chriſt, although Goropius after his maner doo vtterlie denie our hiſtorie in this behalfe) he made a generall ſurueis of the whole Iland from ſide to ſide, by ſuch means to view and ſearch out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but alſo what commodities this new atchiued conqueſt might yéeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the laſt alſo a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie ſame which at this date is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his anceſtors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welſhmen doo call it ſtill Trenewith. This citie was builded (as ſome write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, ſo that he liued not aboue fiftéene yeares after he had finiſhed the ſame. But of the reſt of his other acts attempted and donne, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, he finiſhed his daies at Trenouanton aforeſaid, being in his yong and flouriſhing age, where his carcaſe was honourablie interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among ſuch writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of gréeuous wounds receiued in his warres againſt ſuch as withſtood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can ſaie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languiſhing paines, he made a diſpoſition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his ſonnes then liuing, whereof the eldeſt exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

Locrine. To the eldeſt therefore, whoſe name was Locrine, he gaue the greateſt and beſt region of all the reſt, which of him to this date is called Lhoegris. Lhoegris among the Britons, but in our language England: of ſuch Engliſh Saxons as made conqueſt of the ſame. This portion alſo is included on the ſouth with the Britiſh ſea, on the eſt with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the weſt with the Iriſh ſea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall deſcription of this Iland I haue ſpoken more at large. To Camber his ſecond ſonne he Camber. Cambria. aſſigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dée, toward the weſt (which parcell in theſe daies conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with ſundrie Ilands adiacent to the ſame, the whole being in maner cut off and ſeparated from England or Lhoegria by the ſaid ſtreams, wherby it ſéemeth alſo a peninſula or by-land, if you reſpect the ſmall hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courſes, or ſuch branches (at the leaſt) as run and fall into them. The Welſhmen or Britons call it by the ancient name ſtill vnto this day, but we Engliſhmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time paſt did vſe the word Walſh in ſuch ſort as we doo Strange: for as we call all thoſe ſtrangers that are not of our nation, ſo did they name them Walſh which were not of their countrie.

The third and laſt part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his yongeſt ſonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue ſaid before) whoſe portion ſéemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatneſſe with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the ſeuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you ſhall find them to be not much diſcrepant or differing one from another: for what ſoeuer the firſt & ſecond haue in plentie of corne, fine graſſe, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding ſtore of fiſh, rich mettall, quarries of ſtone, and abundance of wild foule: ſo that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforeſaid maner. This later parcell at the firſt, toke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. Albanact. But now a ſmall portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the ſaid denomination, the reſt being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in thoſe quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres Albania. alſo by the Solue and the Firth, yet ſome doo note the Humber; ſo that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforeſaid ſtreame, vnto the point of Cathneſſe.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himſelfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being ſolemnelie interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and toke poſſeſſion of their prouinces. But Scotland after two Locrine king alſo of Scotland. yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was ſlaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none iſſue behind him to ſucceed him in that kingdome.

After what maner the ſouereigntie *of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes* of Lhoegres or kings of England.

Chap. 22.

IT is poſſible that ſome of the Scotiſh nation, reading the former chapter, will take offenſe with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwais belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whoſe more ample ſatisfaction in this behalfe, I will here ſet downe a diſcourſe there of at large, written by diuerſe, and now finallie brought into one treatiſe, ſufficient (as I thinke) to ſatiſfie the reaſonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, ſith there is (or at the leaſt wiſe hath beene) nothing more odious among ſome, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland. The Scots alwaies deſirous to ſhake off the Engliſh ſubiection, haue often made cruell & odious attempts ſo to doo, but in vaine.

How their hiſtoriographers haue attempted to ſhape manie coloured circules to auoid ſo manifeſt a title, all men may ſee that read their bookes indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments togither, wherein chéeflie I haue vſed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof

thereof (of ſet purpoſe) to king Edward the firſt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beſide three other, whereof the firſt dedicated his treatiſe to Henrie the fourth, the ſecond to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the firſt, as their writings yet extant do abundantlie beare witneſſe. The title alſo that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: "Theſe remembrances following are found in chronicles authoriſed, remaining in diuerſe monaſteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie knowne and ſhewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to haue the ſouereigntie ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c. Hereunto you haue heard alreadie, what diuiſion Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof each of his children, ſo ſone as he was interred, toke ſeiſure and poſſeſſion. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was ſlaine, whereupon Locrinus and Camber raiſing their powers, reuenged his death: and finallie the ſaid Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, ſeized it into his owne hands (as eſcheated wholie vnto himſelfe) without yeelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the ſame. Hereby then (ſaith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire ſeigniorie ouer Albania conſiſted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer ſince hath continued, in preferring the eldeſt brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall aſcenſion from the youngeſt, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this date.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to ſaie, the ſonne of Empris, ſonne of Padan, ſonne of the ſame Locrine builded in Albania the caſtell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (ſo called of Aidan ſomtime king of Scotland, but at the firſt named Cair Minid Agnes. i. the caſtell on mount Agnes, and the caſtell of virgins) and the caſtell of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scotiſh Hector Boetius confeſſeth: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof ſeized. This Ebranke reigned in the ſaid ſtate ouer them a long time; after whoſe death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two ſiſters ſonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the ſaid Ebranke, who brotherlie at the firſt diuided the realme betweene them; ſo that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But ſhortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and therevpon denouncing warre, death miſerablie ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obteined the whole empire of all Britaine: in which ſtate he remained during his naturall life.

From him the ſame lineallie deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbodian, who had iſſue two ſonnes, Ferrer, and Porrex. This Porrex, requiring like diuiſion of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (beſt loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome bereaued at once. Whereupon their vnnaturall mother, bling hir naturall malice for the death of hir one ſonne (without regard of the loſing of both) miſerablie ſlue the other in his bed miſtruſting no ſuch treaſon.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scotiſh as other, was the next inheritour to the whole empire: but lacking power (the onelie meane in thoſe daies to obteine right) he was contented to diuide the ſame among foure of his kinſmen; ſo that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his ſonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon theſe foure kings, and at laſt ouercame them, and ſo recouered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the verie firſt of that mettall (if anie at all were before in vſe) that was worne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people ſhould aſſemble for prater; to which temples he gaue benefit of ſanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in caſes of murder and felonie, whereby a theefe that liued and made his art of fighting, ſhould for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beleeuing aſſuredlie, that the gods (for then they ſuppoſed manie) would by miracle aſſigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this date, few cauſes by late poſitiue laws among vs excepted, wherin the benefit of wager of battell is reſtreined. By which obedience to his lawes, it doth manifeſtlie appeere, that this Dunwallo was then ſeized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this eſtate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the ſonnes alſo of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauourablie diuide the land betweene them; ſo that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a ſubiect) without the conſent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline ſeized Albania into his owne hands, and therevpon cauſed the notable wales priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the ſea by north Cathneſſe in Scotland. In like ſort to and for the better maintenance of religion in thoſe daies, he conſtituted miniſters called archflamines, in ſundrie places of this Iland (who in their ſeuerall functions reſembled the biſhops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie alſo ſpeaketh but not without wreſting of the name) whoſe power extended to the vttermoſt bounds of Albania, wherby likewiſe appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the ſaid Beline, who fauourablie made partition, ſo that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by ſouth, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus ſuruiued, and thereby obteined the whole, from whom the ſame quietlie deſcended, and was by his poſteritie accordinglie inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the firſt of that name. In his time an obſcure nation (by moſt writers ſuppoſed Scithians) paſſed by ſeas from Ireland, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: againſt whome this Coell aſſembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night diſguiſed, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorouſlie ſlue him.

This Fergus was therfore, in reward of his great prowelle, made there king, wherupon they ſat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themſelues Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thouſand ſix hundred and ſeauentéene yeares after the Scotiſh accompt, which by iuſt computation and confeſſion of all their owne writers, is ſix hundred yeares lacking ten, after that

Brutus

Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the ſame land being inioied by him and his poſteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie deſcents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large preſcription. Certes this intruſion into a land ſo manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by ſo manie deſcents of kings quietlie inioied, is the beſt title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania alſo among his capteins and their ſouldiers: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the ſame partition ſhall follow.

Out of Hector Boecius lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng againſt Orkneie, betweene Dunmeſbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cognath, a capteine and his people. The lands betweene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Roſſe, being in breadth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane ſeas to the Ireland ſeas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Warroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boin Ainze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bolwguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to the Ireland ſeas, were giuen to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawdalwane lieng weſt from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnor & Clidiſdale were allotted to Lolgona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their beſt men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confeſſed to be before inhabited by Britons. The reſidue of the land now called Scotland, that is to ſaie: Meirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fiſſe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwood, Lougthian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the rement Dales, and the Sheriffdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whoſe capteine called Beringer builded the caſtell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & theſe people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, theſe Scots had opportunitie to vſe wars, whereof they ceaſed not, vntill ſuch time as it pleaſed God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, againſt whoſe name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the firſt, yet he preuailed and ceaſed not his warre, vntill theſe Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troubleſome reigne of Sicill king of Britons, which was the twelft king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill diſcord of this realme, betweene this Sicill and his brother Blede to their beſt aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Berouicum potiùs à Berubio promontorio.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sicill king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Hereus ſucceeded, againſt whome the warre of Britons ceaſed not, vntill he freelie ſubmitted himſelfe to the ſaid Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where ſhortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Ioſine ſucceeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who ſhortlie after (compelled by the warres of the ſame Sicill) declared himſelfe ſubiect, and for the better aſſurance of his faith and obeiſance to the king of Britons, deliuered his ſonne Durſtus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantaſieng the child, and hoping by his owne ſucceſſion to alter their ſubtiltie (I will not ſaie duplicitie ſaith Adams) married him in the end to Agaſia his owne daughter.

This Durſtus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed ſhe was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the ſame cauſe, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouſlie ſlue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, diſinherited (as much as in them was) the iſſues of the ſame Durſtus and Agaſia. Hereupon new warre ſprong betweene them and vs, which ceaſed not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, deſcended from Durſtus and Agaſia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was reſtored to the crowne of Albania: ſo that nature, whoſe law is immutable, cauſed this bond of loue to hold. For ſhortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Caſſibelane king of Britons, for the repulſe of Iulius Cæſar, as their owne author Boetius confeſſeth, who commanded the ſame as his ſubiect. But Iulius Cæſar, after his third arriuall, by treaſon of Androgeus preuailed againſt the Britons, and thereupon purſued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himſelfe ſaith in his commentaries) ſubdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confeſſe that he came beyond Calender wood, and caſt downe Camelon, the principall citie of Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of ſtone, which remained in ſome perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the firſt after the conqueſt, by whome it was ſubuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

Marius the ſonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of needie ſouldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the ſea, diuiding Pentland from Fiſſe: againſt whome this Marius aſſembled a power, by which he ſlue this Rodericke, and diſcomfited his people in Weſtmerland: but to thoſe that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathneſſe in Scotland, which proueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coell the ſonne of this Marius had iſſue Lucius, counted the firſt chriſtian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into biſhoprikes, and ordeined biſhops vnto ech of them. The firſt remained at London, and his power extended from the furtheſt part of Cornewall to Humber water. The ſecond remained at Yorke, and his power ſtretched from Humber to the furtheſt part of all Scotland. The third remained at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wiſke in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbiſhops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confeſſe that he of Yorke had iuriſdiction through all Scotland: either of which is ſufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in bloud a Briton (as ſome thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie

bode of Andꝛogeus ſonne of Lud, & nephue of Caſſibelane, was ſhoꝛtlie after emperour & king of Bꝛitons, in whoſe time the people to whom his anceſter Marius gaue the land of Cathneſſe in Scotland, conſpired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But herevpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and falſe harts togither, dꝛoue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermoſt bounds of all great Bꝛitaine. But notwithſtanding this gloꝛious victoꝛie, the Bꝛitons conſidering their ſeruitude to the Romans, impoſed by treaſon of Andꝛogeus, anceſtoꝛ to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defenſe and ſuertie had ſlaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thouſand: but ſuch was the conſideration of the common ſoꝛt in thoſe daies, whoſe malice no time could diminiſh, noꝛ iuſt deſert appeaſe.

Baſſianus. Antoninus Baſſianus bozne of a Bꝛiton woman, and Geta bozne by a Romane woman, were the ſonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended foꝛ the crowne. Few Bꝛitons held with Baſſianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was ſlaine, and Baſſianus remained emperour, againſt whom Carauſius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathneſſe in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his ſeiſon thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, deſcended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was ſhoꝛtlie after king of the Bꝛitons, whoſe onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Conſtantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Bꝛitaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his ſtate ouer them thirteene oꝛ foureteene yeares.

Conſtantine. Conſtantine the ſonne of this Conſtance, and Helen, was nert king of Bꝛitons, by the right of his mother, who paſſing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octauius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewiſſes (which ſome expound to be afterward called weſt Saxons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abuſing the kings innocent godneſſe, this Octauius deſtrauded this truſt, and tooke vpon him the crowne. Foꝛ which traitoꝛie albeit he was once vanquiſhed by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Conſtantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he preuailed againe, and vſurped ouer all Bꝛitaine. Conſtantine being now emperoꝛ ſent Maximus his kinſman hither (in pꝛoceſſe of time) to deſtroie the ſame Octauius, who in ſingular battell diſcomfited him. Whereupon this Maximus, as well by the conſent of great Conſtantine, as by the election of all the Bꝛitons, foꝛ that he was a Bꝛiton in bloud, was made king oꝛ rather vicegerent of Bꝛitaine. This Maximus made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Bꝛitaine, and ceaſſed not vntill he had ſlaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and dꝛiuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Bꝛitaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Bꝛitons, no man, woman, noꝛ child of the Scotiſh nation ſuffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius ſaith) was foꝛ their rebellion; and rebellion pꝛoperlie could it not be, except they had beene ſubiects. He ſuffered the Picts alſo to remaine his ſubiects, who made ſolemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Bꝛitaine. I had once an epiſtle by Leland exemplified (as he ſaith) out of a verie ancient recoꝛd which beareth title of Helena vnto hir ſonne Conſtantine, and entreth after this manner; *Domino ſemper Auguſto filio Conſtantino, mater Helena ſemper Auguſta, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conuigh it into this treatiſe whileſt I had his booke. Foꝛ thereby I might haue had great light foꝛ the eſtate of this pꝛeſent diſcourſe: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuertheleſſe, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wiſh it were reſerued. It followeth on alſo in this maner (as it is tranſlated out of the Greeke) *Veritatem ſapientis animus non recuſat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iac-turam, &c.*

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximus) with the helpe of Gouan oꝛ Gonan and Helga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the ſecond of that name to be there king. But bicauſe they were beſoꝛe baniſhed the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yeere of our Lord, foure hundꝛed and two and twentie, as they themſelues dw wꝛite.

Maximian. Maximian ſonne of Leonine Traheron, bꝛother to king Coill, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall ſucceſſion nert king of Bꝛitons: but to appeaſe the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who alſo claimed the kingdome, he maried Othilia eldeſt daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards aſſembled a great power of Bꝛitons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Pers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell ſlue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durſtus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: whereupon the few number of Scots then remaining a liue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obteined quietneſſe in Bꝛitaine, he departed with his couſine Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they ſubdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his couſine, to be afterward inhabited by Bꝛitons, by the name of Bꝛitaine the leſſe: and heteof this realme tooke name of Bꝛitaine the great, which name by conſent of foꝛren wꝛiters it kæpeth vnto this daie.

After the death of Maximian, diſſention being moued betweene the nobles of Bꝛitaine, the Scots ſwarmed togither againe, and came to the wall of Adꝛian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that foꝛ laieng of one eg, will make a great cakeling) ſolemnlie triumphing foꝛ a conqueſt beſoꝛe the victoꝛie, alledgeth that hereby the Bꝛitons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confeſſeth that they won no moꝛe land, by that ſuppoſed conqueſt, but the ſame poꝛtion betweene them and Humber, which in the old partitions beſoꝛe was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleeued, that ſuch a bꝛoken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from baniſhment within foure yeares beſoꝛe, and ſince in battell loſing both their kings, and the great number of their beſt men, to be thus able to make a conqueſt of great Bꝛitaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot ſunne of the ſouth parts, to dwell in the cold ſnow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in caſes of conqueſt behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Bꝛitaine, oꝛ any other countrie, ſhould be won without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finallie at the ſame wall of Adꝛian, whereof I ſpake beſoꝛe.

But what need I ſpeake of theſe defenſes, when the

the ſame Boecius ſcantlie truſteth his owne belicfe in this tale. For he ſaieth that Galfride, and ſundrie other authentike writers, diuerſlie varie from this part of his ſtorie, wherein his owne thought accuſeth his conſcience of vntruth: herein alſo he further forgetting how it behoueth a lier to be mindfull of his aſſertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieth himſelfe, ſaieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betweene the Britons (which then followed) hoped ſhortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the freth ſea, which hope had bene vaine, and not leſſe than void, if it had béene their owne by anie conqueſt before.

Conſtantine of Britaine, deſcended from Conan king thereof, couſine of Brutes bloud to this Parmian, and his nereſt heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie purſued the Scots with wars, and ſhortlie in battell ſlue their king Dongard, in the firſt yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and toke all the holdes thereof into his owne poſſeſſions. Vortiger ſhortlie after obteined the crowne of Britaine, againſt whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repreſſing whereof (miſtruſting the Britons to hate him for ſundrie cauſes, as one that to auoid the ſmoke doth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengeſt a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland & ouercame them, whereupon they toke the Iles, which are their common refuge. He gaue alſo much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with ſundrie other lands to this Hengeſt and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengeſt in proceſſe of time thirſted after the whole kingdome of the ſouth, he was baniſhed, and yet afterward being reſtored, he conſpired with the Scots againſt Aurilambroſe the ſonne of Conſtantine, the iuſt inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompenſed togither, for he was taken priſoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie ſtriken off at the commandement of Aurilambroſe. In the field the Scots were vanquiſhed: but Octa the ſonne of Hengeſt was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambroſe gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his ſubiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Some thinke the Hetmors to come from this man by lineall deſcent and I ſuppoſe no leſſe.

After called alſo Pendragon, brother to Aurilambroſe was next king of the Britons, againſt whome, theſe ſworne Saxons now foreſworne ſubiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power aſſembled againſt them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were diſcomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his ſubiection. Arthur the ſonne of of this Vter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, ſucceéded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whoſe noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather ſtained than commended: yet all the Scotiſh writers confeſſe, that he ſubdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then ſcattered as far as Cathneſſe in Scotland: and in all theſe wars againſt them, he had the ſeruice and obeiſance of Scots and Picts. But at the laſt ſetting their feet in the guileſull paths of their predeceſſors, they rebelled and beſieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the leſſe Britaine couſine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an hoſt came thither and diſcomfited the Scots, chaſed them into a marſh, and beſieged them there ſo long, that they were almoſt famiſhed: vntill the biſhops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were chriſtened people) beſought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the ſame countrie to dwell in vnder euerlaſting ſubiection. Vpon this he toke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were ſworne his ſubiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinſman Anguſian to be their king and gouernour, Urian king of Iland, and Pure-ſrence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbiſhop of Yorke alſo, whoſe authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the ſaid Arthur holding his roiall feaſt at Cairleon, had there all the kings that were ſubiects vnto him, among which, Anguſian the ſaid king of Scots did his due ſeruice and homage, ſo long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs ſword afore him. Malgo ſhortlie after ſucceéded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new reſiſtance made, ſubdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the ſword obteined at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true ſubiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan ſucceéded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defenſe of his ſubiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the laſt they agreéd, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon ſubdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next ſucceéded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Wherupon the ſame Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treaſon reſeiſed the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his ſubiects, in ſingular battell he ſlue the ſame Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oſwald was ſhortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as ſubiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement diſcomfited the Scots and Picts, and ſubdued all Scotland. Oſwie the brother of this Oſwald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie ſubdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeiſance to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the ſeuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his ſubiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increaſed, yet were they alwaies either at the firſt expelled, or elſe made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers do confeſſe.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his ſubiects, which died of ſundrie diſeaſes innumerablie, he departed into little Britaine. His ſonne and couſine Iuor and Iue, being expelled out of England alſo by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their poſteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betweéne the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to ſlip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, eſtabliſhing it in this wiſe.

1 The iniurie of Engliſhmen done to anie of theſe people, ſhall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 When Frenchmen be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Scots ſhall ſend their armie in defenſe of France, ſo that they be ſupported with monie and victuels

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vittels by the French.

3 When Scots be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Frenchmen ſhall come vpon their owne expenſes, to their ſupport and ſuccour.

4 None of the people ſhall take peace or truce with Engliſhmen, without the aduiſe of other, &c.

Nicholas Adams.

Manie diſputable opinions may be had of warre without the praiſing of it, as onlie admittable by inforced neceſſitie, and to be vſed for peace ſake onelie, where here the Scots ſought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league grueth no benefit to themſelues, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. What diſcommoditie riſeth by loſing the intercourſe and exchange of our commodities (being in neceſſaries more aboundant than France) the Scots feele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, deſtruction of countries, ſlaughter of both peoples, haue by reaſon of this bloudie league chanced, the hiſtories be lamentable to read, and horrible among chriſtian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increaſe according to their ſeed, for as they did hereby ſowe diſſention, ſo did they ſhortlie after reape a bloudie ſlaughter and confuſion. For Alpine their king, poſſeſſing a light mind that would be loſt with a little wind, hoped by this league ſhortlie to ſubdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but alſo vſurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Whervpon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he ſent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he tooke this Alpine king of Scots priſoner, and diſcomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found ſubiect and rebell, his head was ſtriken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Paſalpine, that is to ſaie, the head of Alpine. And this was the firſt effect of their French league.

Oſbright king of England, with Ella his ſubiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons ſhortlie after, for that the Scots had of themſelues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceaſſed not his warre againſt them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the laſt vpon their ſubmiſſion, peace was made in this wiſe.

The water of Frith ſhall be march betweene Scots and Engliſhmen in the eaſt parts, and ſhall be named the Scotiſh ſea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, ſhall be march in the weſt parts betweene the Scots and Britons. This caſtell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbriton, that is to ſay, the caſtle of Britons, and ſometimes it was deſtroied by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland ſeas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the ſtrengths and commodities thereof: and the Engliſhmen had the lands betweene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betweene the Scots and the Britons on the one ſide, and the water of Frith named the Scotiſh ſea, march betweene them and Engliſhmen on the other ſide, and Sterling common march to three people, Britons, Engliſhmen, and Scots, howbeit king Oſbright had the caſtle of Sterling, where firſt he cauſed to be coined Sterling monie. The Engliſhmen alſo builded a bridge of ſtone, for paſſage ouer the water of Frith, in the middeſt whereof they made a croſſe, vnder which were written theſe verſes:

I am free march, as paſſengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Engliſhmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and ſlue Conſtantine, whom Oſbright had before made king: whervpon Eduiſe or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, aſſembled his power againſt Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell ſlue them both; but ſuch of their people as would remaine and become chriſtians, he ſuffered to tariet the reſt he baniſhed or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and leſſe right: yet the paiment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer ſince vnto this daie haue, and yet do paie it, by reaſon of that grant, which prooueth them to be then vnder his obeiſance.

Alured or Alfred ſucceeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that perſons excommunicated ſhould be diſabled to ſue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obeied; and the ſame law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which alſo prooueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured conſtreined Gregour king of Scots alſo to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and ſerued him in all his warres, as well againſt Danes as others, not reſerning or making anie exception of the former league with France.

The ſaid Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like ſeruice and obeiſance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thouſand horſſemen, againſt one Gurmond a Dane that then infeſted the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeiſance with Alured.

Edward the firſt of that name called Chiſod ſonne of this Alured ſucceeded his father, and was the next king of England: againſt whome Sithric a Dane and the Scots conſpired; but they were ſubdued, and Conſtantine their king brought to obeiſance. He held the realme of Scotland alſo of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countrieman a Scot confeſſe: beſide Roger Houeden, and William of Malmeſberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the ſame king Edward was preſident and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelſtane in like ſort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beſide Yorke, whileſt the warres laſted, the king of Scots feined himſelfe to be a minſtrell, and harped before him onelie to eſpie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confeſſe) corrupted with monie, he ſold his faith and falſe heart together to the Danes, and aided them againſt king Athelſtane at ſundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Brunningfield in the weſt countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the firſt booke of this deſcription, where he diſcomfited the Danes, and ſlue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confeſſe themſelues to haue loſt more people than were remembred in anie age before. When Athelſtane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie ſubdued it, and being in poſſeſſion thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie wherof doth follow:

I king Athelſtane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witneſſe Mauld my wife.

By which courſe words, not onelie appeareth the plaine ſimplicitie of mens dooings in thoſe daies: but alſo a full proofe that he was then ſeized of Scotland. At the laſt alſo he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be re-

ſtored

ſtored to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there ſhortlie after died.

When Athelſtane, for his better aſſurance of that countrie there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph ſonne of Conſtantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund brother of Athelſtane ſucceeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but alſo ſerued him with ten thouſand Scots, for the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Some referre this to an Edward.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund ſucceeded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Iriſe then king of Scots, but alſo the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, brother of Athelſtane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before ſeized into the hands of Athelright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inioined Keneth their ſaid king alſo once in euerie yeare at certeine principall feaſts (whereat the king did vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in thoſe daies was done by the noble men or peeres according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed alſo ſundrie lodgings in England, to him and his ſucceſſours, whereat to lie, and refreſh themſelues in their iourneies, whenſoeuer they ſhould come vp to do their homages: and finallie a peece of ground lieng beſide the new palace of Weſtminſter, vpon which this Keneth builded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was inioied vntill the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond. In whoſe time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was reſumed into the king of Englands hand. The houſe is decaied, but the ground where it ſtood is called Scotland to this daie.

Lawfull age and wardſhip of heires.

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man ſhould ſucceed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yeares: becauſe by intendment vnder that age, he ſhould not be able in perſon to ſerue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchaſe. This law was receiued by the ſame Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obſerued to this daie: which prouideth alſo that Scotland was then vnder his obeiſance.

In the yeare of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Douenall king of Southwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of Wales, Iacob or James of Gallowaie, & Iukill of Weſtmerland did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the morrow going by water to the monaſterie of ſaint Johns to ſeruice, and returning home againe: the ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge, and ſtirring the ſame vpon the water of Dee, made the ſaid kings to row the barge, ſaieng that his ſucceſſors might well be iuſtlie to haue the prerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperioritie of ſo manie mightie princes to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the ſonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whoſe time this Keneth king of Scots cauſed Malcolme king of Scotland to be poiſoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre againſt him, which ceaſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclamed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the ſame king Edward.

Ethelred, brother of this Edward ſucceeded next ouer England, againſt whome Swaine king of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots. But ſhortlie after, this Malcolme ſorrowfullie ſubmitted himſelfe into the defenſe of Ethelred: who conſidering how that which could not be amended, muſt onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whoſe ſeruice at laſt Ethelred recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yeares.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide, ſonne of this Ethelred, was next king of England, in whoſe time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much cruelties. But at the laſt he married with Emme ſometime wife vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured ſuch amitie betweene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himſelfe all England on this ſide Humber, gaue all the reſt beyond Humber, with the ſeigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accuſtomable reſiſtance) did homage to the ſame Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the ſaid Canutus held the ſame ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like ſeruices, ſo long as they liued togither. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his ſeigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the ſame Malcolme accordinglie performed.

Edward called the Confeſſour, ſonne of Ethelred, and brother to Edmund Ironſide, was afterward king of England: he toke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme ſonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward peruſed the old lawes of the realme, and ſomewhat added to ſome of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardſhip of the lands vntill the heire ſhould accompliſh the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of ſuch heire ſhould alſo belong to the lord of whom the ſame land was holden. Alſo, that euerie woman marrieng a free man, ſhould (notwithſtanding ſhe had no children by that huſband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the ſame Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obſerued to this day, and directlie prouideth the whole to be then vnder his obeiſance.

To whome the marriage of the ward pertaineth.

By reaſon of this law, Malcolme the ſonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the cuſtodie alſo of king Edward. During whoſe minoritie, one Makebeth a Scot traitorouſlie vſurped the crowne of Scotland. Againſt whome the ſaid Edward made warre, in which

which the ſaid Mackbeth was ouercome and ſlaine. Whereupon the ſaid Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforeſaid. This Malcolme alſo by tenor of the ſaid new law of wardſhip, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide and Agatha, by the diſpoſition of the ſame king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confeſſour for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the Confeſſour.

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no iſſue of his bodie, and miſtruſting that Harald the ſon of Godwine, deſcended of the daughter of Harald Harefot the Dane, would vſurpe the crowne, if he ſhould leaue it to his couſine Edgar Eatling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his ſubiects, who before had ſworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Daniſh nation, did by his ſubſtantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demiſe the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Baſtard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, conſtituting him his heire teſtamentarie. Alſo there was proximitie in bloud betweene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was ſon of Robert ſonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the ſame Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conqueſt, albeit that partlie to extinguiſh the miſtruſt of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conqueroure, and hath béene ſo written euer ſince the time of his arriuall.

William Baſtard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Baſtard and the Conqueroure, ſuppoſed not his conqueſt perfect till he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots. Wherfore to bring the Scots to full obeiſance after his coronation, as heire teſtamentarie to Edward the Confeſſour; he entred Scotland, where after a little reſiſtance made by the inhabitants, the ſaid Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his ſuperiour alſo by meane of his late conqueſt.

William Rufus.

William ſurnamed Rufus, ſonne to this William called the Conqueroure, ſucceeded next in the throne of England, to whome the ſaid Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus ſlaine in plaine field. Whereupon the Scotiſhmen did chooſe one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus depoſed him, and created Dunkane ſonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was ſlaine by the Scots, and Dunwall reſtored, who once againe by this William Rufus was depoſed; and Edgar ſon of Malcolme, and brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

To whome the marriage of the ward pertaineth.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beauclerke the ſonne of William called the Conqueour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to the crowne of England, to whome the ſame Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke married Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had iſſue Mawd afterward empreſſe.

Alexander the ſonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the firſt, as Edgar had done before him.

Mawd.

Mawd called the empreſſe, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empreſſe gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Waldofius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their cuaſion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the firſt that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was ſince all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the ſaid Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforeſaid to Henrie Beauclerke ſon to the aforeſaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima partu,
Hîc iacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens.

In the yeere of our Lord 1136, and firſt yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the ſaid Dauid king of Scots being required to doo his homage, refuſed it: for ſo much as he had done homage to Mawd the empreſſe before time; notwithſtanding the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie 2.

Henrie called Fitz empreſſe, the ſonne of Mawd the empreſſe daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme ſonne of Henrie, ſonne of the ſaid Dauid their laſt king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the ſame king Henrie in his warres againſt Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the laſt diuiſion of their countrie by Olliuer king of England. But after theſe warres finiſhed with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediatlie ſeized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiſcation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the ſame Malcolme died without iſſue of his bodie.

Because they were taken from him before.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the ſonne of Henrie the ſecond, with a reſeruation of the dutie to king Henrie the ſecond his father. Alſo the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after reſtored to the crowne of Scotland.

This William did afterward attend vpon the ſame Henrie the ſecond, in his warres in Normandie againſt the French king (notwithſtanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fiftéenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the ſixtéenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token alſo of his perpetuall ſubiection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his ſaddle, and his ſpeare at the high altar in Yorke: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he moued cruell warre in Northumberland againſt the ſame king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God tooke the defenſe of king Henries part, and deliuered the ſame William king of Scots into the hands of a few Engliſhmen, who brought him priſoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeere of his reigne. But at the laſt, at the ſute of Dauid his brother, Richard biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and other biſhops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his treſpaſſe; to wit, to paie ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and to ſurrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie,

which he did in all things accordinglie, ſealing his charters thereof with the great ſeale of Scotland, and ſignets of his nobilitie yet to be ſeene: wherein it was alſo compriſed, that he and his ſucceſſours ſhould hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his ſucceſſours for euer. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the ſame king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him ſurrendred. And for the better aſſurance of this faith alſo, the ſtrengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Rorborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confeſſe. But Hector Boetius ſaith, that this treſpaſſe was amended by fine of twentie thouſand pounds ſterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thouſand pounds ſterling ſhould be to him paid, which is ſo farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwiſe redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scotiſh kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occaſion of the homages of the Scotiſh kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montenſis that liued in thoſe daies, and was (as I take it) confeſſor to king Henrie. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is ſent home againe, his biſhops alſo did promiſe to doo the like to the archbiſhop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themſelues to be of his prouince and iuriſdiction. By vertue alſo of this compoſition the ſaid Robert ſaith, that *Rex Angliæ dabat honores, epiſcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel ſaltem eius conſilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gaue honors, biſhoprikes, abbaſhips, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leaſtwiſe they were not giuen without his aduiſe and counſell.

At this time Alexander biſhop of Rome (ſuppoſed to haue generall iuriſdiction eccleſiaſticall through chriſtendome) eſtabliſhed the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iuriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of Auguſt, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, Gilbert ſonne of Ferguſe prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Henrie, and left Dunecan his ſonne in hoſtage for conſeruation of his peace.

Richard ſurnamed Cœur de Lion, becauſe of his ſtoutneſſe, and ſonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the ſame William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken priſoner by the duke of Oſtrich, for whoſe redemption the whole realme was tared at great ſummes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a ſubiect) was contributorie, and paied two thouſand markes ſterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England ſent to William king of Scots, to come and doo his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the ſame yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the preſence of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, and of all the people there aſſembled, and thereunto tooke his oth and was ſworne vpon the croſſe of the ſaid Hubert: alſo he granted by his charter confirmed, that he ſhould haue the mariage of Alexander his ſonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promiſing moreouer that he the ſaid king William and his ſonne Alexander, ſhould keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie ſonne of the ſaid king John, as to their chiefe lord againſt all maner of men that might liue and die.

Alſo whereas William king of Scots had put John biſhop of ſaint Andrew out of his biſhoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he ſhould moue and induce the ſame William; and if néed required by his roiall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor againſt the ſaid biſhop, and ſuffer him to haue and occupie his ſaid biſhoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, ſonne to king John, the ſame Henrie and the quéene were at Yorke at the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, for the ſolemnization of a mariage made in the feaſt of ſaint Stephan the martyr the ſame yeare, betwéene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the ſaid Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerſe popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his ſucceſſor, that they ſhould obſerue and trulie kéepe all ſuch appointments, as had béene made betwéene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland ſhould ſtill hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curſſe and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his ſonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whoſe minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to ſubdue a commotion in this realme, vſed the aid of fiue thouſand Scotiſhmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reaſon and law was reſpited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the firſt after the conqueſt, ſonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whoſe coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Weſtminſter, ſwearing (as all the reſt did) after this maner.

I. D. N. king of Scots ſhall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and ſuperior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour againſt all men, faithfullie I ſhall knowlege and ſhall doo you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforeſaid, as God me ſo helpe and theſe holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanigo, ſonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter alſo ſhortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whoſe cuſtodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confeſſor, belonged to Edward the firſt: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to ſend into Norwaie, to conueie this yong quæne into

England

England to him, whome he intended to haue married to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a perfect vnion long wished for betweene both realmes. Herevpon their nobles at that time considering the same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not vpon shifts and delaies of minoritie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and therevpon sent two noble men of Scotland into Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull liberties that they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Mawd daughter of Malcolme sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest broile of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to establish Balioll to be king thereof, the weake title betweene him, Brusle, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland cõmitted to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superioritie of the realme to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which shortlie after was by the whole assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie doth appeare.

The Baliol in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Newcastell vpon saint Steuens daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shortlie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward inuaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and tooke all the strengths thereof. Whervpon Baliol king of Scots came vnto him to Mountrosse in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwike, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subiects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their lawes, processes, all iudgements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearsall, writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same John king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Wherevpon king Edward with a great host went to Newcastell vpon Tine, passed the water of Tweed, besieged Berwike, and got it. Also he wan the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Rokesborow, and the castell of Edenborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meane season, the said king John of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towne of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatise. And there it was agreed that the said John and all the Scots should vtterlie submit themselues to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his simplenes and great offense done to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and free will yeelded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the same. Then our king went forth to see the mounteins, and vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons regular, where he tooke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were wont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & sent it to the abbeie of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire therof for the priests that should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be seene.

The Scots dreame that this was the stone whereon Jacob slept when he fled into Mesopotamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwike: and there he tooke homage singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents sealed with their seales, and then the king of England made William Warrene earle of Surrie and Southsax lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham treasuror, and William Ormesbie iustice of Scotland, and forthwith sent king John to the Tower of London, and John Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of Boban and other lords into England to diuerse places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said John king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroie their castels, townes and lands, if he were not recompensed for his costs and damages susteined in the warres; but king John and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer moued with pitie, granted them their liues; so that they would doo their homage, and make their oth solemnelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbeie of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displaied, he and all his power should draw therevnto. And that neither he or anie of his from thencefoorth should beare armes against the king of England or anie of his blood. Finallie, the king rewarding with great gifts the said king John and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Berwike furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie, where were slaine threescore thousand Scots, & William

liam Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruse to be king, except onelie John Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto bicause of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruse slue him at Dumfrise, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Herevpon the king of England assembled a great hoast, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruse, slue eight thousand Scots, & tooke the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth bicause they were forsworne.

This was done vpon the nine & twentith of Januarie, 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceablie, doing in all things as is aboue said of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruse conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruse and his partakers being alreadie accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and neuertheless held forth his warres against Bruse, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fifteene yeares, in whose minoritie the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose good will therein they obteined, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds sterling, in three yeares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds sterling yearelie. But bicause the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, their king being within age, the same release proceeded not; albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this queene and earle. But before those three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue beene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and ceassed not the warre, vntill Dauid the sonne of Robert le Bruse (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said Dauid Bruse had before by practise of the queene and the earle of March, married Jane the sister of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Dauid Bruse, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Jane (sauing the reuersion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same Dauid Bruse was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, shortlie after causelesse conceiuing cause of displeasure, this Dauid procured to dissolue this same estate tailé, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also inuaded England, whilest king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Dauid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowale, Mars, Teuidale, Tweedale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches set betweene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Soltrie hedge. Which when this Dauid went about to recouer againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleuen yeares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceablie, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his sorowfull sister, wife of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes sterling, and thereto destroie all his holds and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better assurance of his obeisance also, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of Dauid, touching his delings. Now let vs see what was done by Edward Balioll, whereof our chronicles do report, that in the yeere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the fift yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there, either by themselues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slue 1200, and then went forth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Gaskmore (or otherwise Gladmore) were slaine fiue earls, thirteene barons, a hundred and three score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirteene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great hoast, and came to Berwike vpon Tweed, and laid siege therto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araied.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hoasts, and there were discomfited of the Scots fiue and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and three hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruse by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoast vnto Neuils crosse: but the archbishop of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morrise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots wone the towne of Berwicke, but not the castell. Herevpon

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the king came thither with a great hoaſt, and anon the towne was yéelded vp without anie reſiſtance.

Edward Baliol, conſidering that God did ſo manie marueilous and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokeſborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in preſence of all his lords ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and ſo came ouer into England.

Richard the ſonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, ſonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the ſaid Jane, the wife of the ſaid king Dauid of Scotland was deceaſſed without iſſue, and being informed how the Scots deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith warre againſt them, wherein he burnt Edenbrough, ſpoiled all their countrie, tooke all their holds, & held continuallie warre againſt them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, and ceaſſed not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) reſigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his ſonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confeſſor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this eſtate ouer them foureteene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, ſonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres againſt the French king, in all which this James then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his ſuperiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithſtanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fullie accompliſhed the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reaſon and law reſpited. Finallie the ſaid James with diuerſe other lords attended vpon the corps of the ſaid Henrie vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the firſt, the ſonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the ſeigniorie of Scotland & cuſtodie of this James by right, law, and reaſon deſcended, married the ſame James king of Scots to Jane daughter of John earle of Sommerſet, at ſaint Marie ouer Iſe in Southwarke, and tooke for the value of this mariage, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henrie the firſt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windſore, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, grandfather to our ſouereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath béene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war againſt the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, ſufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne lord king Henrie the eight, excéeded not the number of ſeauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelfe to make homage; ſo was the ſame by like reaſon an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſaid king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

Of the wall ſometime builded for a *partition betweene England and the* Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

HAuing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scotiſh kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the deſcription of two walles that were (in times paſt) limits vnto both the ſaid regions, and therefore to be touched in this firſt booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the eſtate of the whole Iland; and no leſſe famous than that which Anaſtaſius Dicorus made afterward from the Cuxine vnto the Thracian ſea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in breadth, & diſtant from Conſtantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turffe and timber. The author therefore of the firſt wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus ſaith) erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, twelue foot in height, and eight in breadth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill ſort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all. The firſt beginner of the Picts wall.

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongſt other things he made another wall (but of ſtone) betweene eightie and a hundred miles from the firſt, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both ſides alſo to the ſea, of whome the Britons called it S. Murſeueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill theſe daies in freſh memorie, by reaſon of the ruines & ſquare ſtones there oft found, whoſe inſcriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting alſo, how that in this voiage he loſt 50000 men in the Scotiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderance ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguiſh their memorie from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in deed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. The finiſher of the wall.

Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince conteined two and thirtie miles, whereby the breadth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie ſo manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things ſaith of Seuerus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtring; ad finem oceani muniuit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both ſides euen to the verie Ocean. The wall goeth not ſtreict by a line, but in and out in manie places.

That this wall was of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof (which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell nére therevnto in their buildings) is triall ſufficient. Hereby in like ſort it commeth to paſſe, that where The ſtuffe of the wall.

the soile about it is least inhabited, there is most mention of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as vntill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onelie partitions betweene these two kingdoms, sith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the same, of turffe, in the time of the said prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was also called Britannicus, which neuertheless was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eftsoones repared againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquished altogither. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and vampires made in such wise, that the Scotish aduersarie had much a do to enter and scale the same in his assaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the same, to make their accesse more easie into the south parts: but as it was eftsoons repared againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane souldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Vortiger, at which season the land was in maner left void of souldiors and munition. Betwixt Thirlewall and the north Tine, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet standing, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Two other walls.

Vampire.

Beginning therefore with the course thereof, from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Bolnesse to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linstocke, and Gillesland, on the north side of the riuer Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercost. Thence three miles aboue Leuercost, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultrose becke (which diuideth Gillesland in Cumberland, from south Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall castell, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Siwenshed, Carraw (peradventure Cairuoren tower) to Walwise, and so ouer south Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton sheles, Winchester, Rutchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcastell, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcastell, and then crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Wallesend, three miles from the mouth of the said riuer, so called because the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the Pictish wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the course thereof, the curious bricks about the same neere vnto Caerleill, beside the excellent cornelines and other costlie stones alreadie intailed for seales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them ouer as not incident to my purpose.

The course of the wall from west to east.

In like maner I would gladlie also haue set downe the course of Offacs ditch, which was march betweene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but for so much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, because it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forrest, by est of Crekith, Cauch hill, Montgomerie castell, the New castell and Diserd, and hauing brought it hitherto, either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Bistlow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dee, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concerne the generall estate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound aduertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith; *Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c.* But sithence that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reiected, till some other man of better skill shall haue drawne a more absolute peece of workemanship, whereunto my vnskilfulnesse (I hope) shall proue no hinderance.

Of the maruels of *England*.

Chap. 24.

SUch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in seeking thankes of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproch, and in steed of fame purchased vnto themselues nought else but meere discredit in their better and more learned treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre do publish vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they do consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, conteining wonderfull things collected of our Iland. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beleeue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghosts like mortall men though Saxo seeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Iles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Ilands, whereof some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie neere hand, onelie to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire: they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were latelie deceased: for as a candle (said they) hurteth none whilest it burneth, but being slenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie sauour: so these Gods, whilest they liued, were either

not

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceaſſed, they ſo moue the heauens and aire, that much miſchéefe doth inſue eſtſoones vpon the ſame.

Being alſo inquiſitiue of the ſtate of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being ouertaken with a dead ſléepe, was watched by Briareus as he lai, which Saturne alſo had manie ſpirits attending vpon him in ſundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is eaſie to conceiue, with what vaine ſtuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of ſuch writers as we haue to to manie, ſo among the ſaid rable Geruaſe of Tilberie is not the leaſt famous, a man as it were euen ſold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within ſight & by ſouth of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped ſometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a ſpirit that would of cuſtome in a meane ſhine night (if he were chalenged and called thereunto) run at tilt and turneie in complet armor with ane knight or gentleman whomſoeuer, in that place: and how one Olbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himſelfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one eſquier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and anſwered his chalenge, ſo that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with ſuch rigor, that the anſwerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot ſo long, till Olbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horſſe behind him, which was of huge ſtature, blacke (as he ſaith) of colour, with his furniture of the ſame hue, and whereupon he ſeized, giuing him vnto his page, who carried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which ſpace he was ſeene of manie. But when the daie light began to ſhew it ſelfe ſomewhat cléere, the beaſt ſtamped and ſnorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane ſeaſon Olbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was ſore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaſtwiſe diſſembled to know it) cauſed his leg-harneſſe or ſtéelebotes to be pulled off, which his freends ſaw to be full of bloud ſpilled in the votage. But let who ſo liſt beléeue it, ſith it is either a fable deuiſed, or ſome diueliſh illuſion, if anie ſuch thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more than either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to ſpeake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to diſcredit themſelues by lieng. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the common ſort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

Foure wonders of England.

The firſt of theſe is a vehement and ſtrong wind, which iſſueth out of the hilles called the Peke, ſo violent and ſtrong, that at certeine times if a man doo caſt his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it iſſueth, it driueth the ſame backe againe, hoiſing it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh.

The ſecond is the miraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certeine ſtones vpon the plaine of Saliſburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to ſaie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of poſition, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrange maner of lieng of ſome of them one vpon another, which ſeemeth to be with ſo tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruine. How and when theſe ſtones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is moſt likelie, that they were raiſed there by the Britons, after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengiſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be ſeene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth alſo, that theſe were brought from thence, but by what ſhip on the ſea, and cartage by land, I think few men can ſafelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call *Carcer Aeoli*, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noiſome: ſo diuerſe that haue aduentured to go into the ſame, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither ſee anie other thing than prettie riuerets and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerſetſhire, and thence the ſaid waters run till they meet with the ſecond Ax that riſeth in Dwkie hole.

The fourth is no leſſe notable than anie of the other. For weſtward vpon certeine hilles a man ſhall ſée the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thickneſſe, and by and by to ſpread themſelues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the ſudden. The cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: ſo manie men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, & verie néere at hand, if it were néedfull to be ſought for.

Beſides theſe foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or cliſt next the firſt ſhore; whereunto if a man doo laie his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noiſes as are commonlie made in ſmiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowſes, and ſuch like: whereof the ſuperſtitious ſort doo gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cauſe whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it ſwell by force of anie land-ſloud, but by ſome vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moouable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fiſhes in it, as eéles, trowts, and perches: but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eie a péece onelie, and the ſame ſituate in the right ſide of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed alſo by authors: There is a well in the forreſt of Gnareſborow, whereof the ſaid forreſt doth take the name; which water, beſide that it is cold as Stix, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into hard ſtone, without alteration or changing of ſhape. The like alſo is ſeene there in frogs, wormes, and ſuch like liuing creatures as fall into the ſame, and find no readie iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Nide riuer as I came) I ſaw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is ſo cold, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of thoſe rocks into this pit, or groweth nére thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hand,

hand, it turneth into ſtone. It may be (ſaith he) that ſome ſand or other fine ground iſſueth out with this water from theſe hard rocks, which cleauing vnto thoſe things, giueth them in time the forme of ſtones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monaſterie ſometimes ſtood, alſo not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard ſtone. In part of the hilles eaſt ſoutheaſt of Aderleie, a mile from Kingſwood, are ſtones dailie found, perfectlie faſhioned like cockles and mightie oiſters, which ſome dreame haue lien there euer ſince the floud. In the cliffs betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the ſides of the ſame, which I take to be nothing but the ſhining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vſed. Howbeit, becauſe it is much marueiled at as a rare thing, I dw not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongſt our wonders. Maiſter Guiſe had of late, and ſtill hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Gloceſterſhire, where certeine okes dw grow, whoſe rotes are verie hard ſtone. And beſide this, the ground is ſo fertile there (as they ſaie) that if a man hew a ſtake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Siluceſter towne alſo is ſaid to conteine foureſcore acres of land within the walles, whereof ſome is corne-ground (as Leland ſaith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vaniſheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of ſundrie caues neere to Browham, on the weſt ſide of the riuer Almote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of houſhold cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increaſe the number of marueis verie much by a rehearſall of other alſo. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere ſaint Aſſaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Vendrath Vchan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and ſandie ground vnder their feet, and other elſe-where. But ſith theſe things are not ſtrange, I let them alone, and go forward with the reſt.

In the pariſh of Landſarnam in Wales, and in the ſide of a ſtonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie ſeats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge ſtone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie pariſh, and of the notable carcaſſe that is affirmed to lie vnder the ſame, there is no cauſe to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to ſee what it is, which the people haue in ſo great eſtimation & reuerence. There is alſo a pole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockſhire, where (as is ſaid) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanſeie, which hath ſuch a propertie, that it will breed no fiſh at all, & if anie be caſt into it, they die without recouerie: but this peraduenture may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it ſelfe. There is alſo a lin in Wales, which in the one ſide beareth trowts ſo red as ſamons, and in the other, which is the weſterlie ſide, verie white and delicate. I heare alſo of two welles not far from Landien, which ſtand verie neere together, and yet are of ſuch diuerſitie of nature, that the one beareth ſope, and is a marueilous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a little to be muſed at, conſidering (I ſaie) that they participate of one ſoile, and riſe ſo nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a ſtone not farre from ſaint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or ſuch like thing: and being raiſed vp, a man may ſtirre it with his thumbe; but not with his ſhoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from ſtonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into ſtone; and an other in Wales, which is ſaid to double or triple the force of anie edge tole that is quenched in the ſame. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the pariſh of Kilken) which is of marueilous nature, and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine: for although it be ſix miles from the ſea, it ebbeth and floweth twiſe in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the ſea doth vſe to flow, and in flowing likewiſe when the ſea doth vſe to ebbe; whereof ſome dw fable, that this well is ladie and miſtreſſe of the ocean. Not farre from thence alſo is a medicinable ſpring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof doth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable moſſe, wherewith the head of the ſmeller is marueilouſlie refreſhed. Other welles and water-courſes we haue likewiſe, which at ſome times burſt out into huge ſtreames, though at other ſeaſons they run but verie ſoftlie, whereby the people gather ſome alteration of eſtate to be at hand. And ſuch a one there is at Henleie, & an other at Croidon; & ſuch a one alſo in the golden dale beſide Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common ſort imagine manie things. Some of the greater ſort alſo giue ouer to run at all in ſuch times, wherof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the ſame nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable hiſtorie in an ancient chronicle that I ſaw of late. What the fooliſh people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearſall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will ſaie thus much alſo of thoſe pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile diſtant from the Theſe banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he ſhould ſeeth ſoules of ſinfull men and women in them. They adde alſo, that the ſpirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke ſauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion alſo was Cutbert Tunſtall late biſhop of Durham, a man (notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe of his birth, being begotten by one Tunſtall vpon a daughter of the houſe of the Commers, as Leland ſaith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in thoſe places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of ſome other vnctuous matter be ſet on fire, which being here and there conſumed, the earth falleth in, and ſo doth leaue a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they ſaie) and beſide that it is not cleere: the people ſuppoſe them to be an hundred fadam deepe. The biggeſt of them alſo hath an iſſue into the Theſe, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes *alias* Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the faſhion of the duckes of the biſhoprike of Durham, was put into the ſame betwixt Darlington and Theſe banke, and afterward ſeene at a bridge not farre from maſter Clereuax houſe. If it were worth the noting, I would alſo make relation of manie wooden croſſes found verie often about Halidon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oſwald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed ſometimes againſt the Britiſh infidels,

vpon

vpon a ſuperſtitious imagination, that thoſe croſſes ſhould be their defenſe and ſhield againſt their aduerſaries. Beda calleth the place where the ſaid field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictiſh wall, and the famous monaſterie of Hagulſtad. But more of this elſewhere. Neither will I ſpeake of the little hillets ſeene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnſkilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing elſe but *Tumuli* or graues of former times, as appeareth by ſuch toms & carcaſſes as be daily found in the ſame, when they be digged downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not ſo well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, becauſe it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horſes feet as hit vpon it where it groweth in their feeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentifullie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compaſſe of the parith where I dwell, and do take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbariſts do write, albeit that it hath not beene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie ſuperſtitious things thereof, but eſpeciallie our Chymiſts, who make it of farre more vertue than our ſmiths do their ferne ſeed, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prate of ſuch effects as may well be performed indeed when the ferne beareth ſeed, which is commonly *Ad calendas Græcas*, for before it will not be found. But to proceed. There is a well in Darbieſhire called Tideſwell (ſo named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whoſe water often ſeemeth to riſe and fall, as the ſea which is fortie miles from it doth vſuallie accuſtome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it keepeth an ordinarie courſe as the ſea doth. Howbeit, ſith diuerſe are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be that at ſometimes it riſeth, but not continuallie; and that it ſo doth I am fullie perſuaded to beleeue. But euen inough of the wonders of our countrie, leaſt I doo ſeeme by talking longer of them, wonderouſlie to ouerſhot my ſelfe, and forget how much doth reſt behind of the deſcription of my countrie. As for thoſe that are to be touched of Scotland, the deſcription of that part ſhall in ſome part remember them.

The Contents of the ſecond Booke.

1 Of the ancient and preſent eſtate of the church of England.
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3 Of vniuerſities.
4 Of the partition of England into ſhires and counties.
5 Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.
6 Of the food and diet of the Engliſh.
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8 Of the high court of parlement & authoritie of the ſame.
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18 Of faires and markets.
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20 Of gardens and orchards.
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Of the ancient and preſent eſtate *of the church of England.*

Chap. I.

THere are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſee of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & alſo Ireland, which in time paſt were ſeuerall, & brought into one by the archbiſhop of the ſaid ſee & aſſiſtance of the pope; who in reſpect of meed, did yeeld vnto the ambitious deſires of ſundrie archbiſhops of Canturburie, as I haue elſewhere declared. The ſecond prouince is vnder the ſee of Yorke, and of theſe; either hath hir archbiſhop reſident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters apperteining to the hierarchie and iuriſdiction of the church; but alſo great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: ſo far forth as their commiſſions and ſeuerall circuits do extend.

In old time there were three archbiſhops, and ſo manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon vpon Uſke. But as that of London was tranſlated to Canturburie by Auguſtine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of his iuriſdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotiſh archbiſhop) ſo that of Caerleon is vtterlie extinguiſhed, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in ſpirituall cauſes: after it was once before remoued to S. Da-

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uids in Wales by Dauid ſucceſſor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Baſtard, and for a ſeaſon after, before it was annexed vnto the ſée of Canturburie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it ſhall pleaſe the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to ſet it vpon their heads. They beare alſo the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue preſumed (in time paſt) to be their equals, and void of ſubiection vnto them. What this is true, it may eaſilie appéere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beſide their epiſtles & anſwers written or in print; wherein they haue ſought not onelie to match but alſo to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduerſaries will peraduenture denie this abſolutelie, as they do manie other things apparant, though not without ſhameleſſe impudencie, or at the leaſt wiſe defend it as iuſt and not ſwaruing from common equitie; bicauſe they imagine euerie archbiſhop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agréeth with the ſaieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may eaſilie appéere. Some examples alſo of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, leaſt they ſhould ſaie I ſpeake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practiſes with meane perſons I ſpeake not, neither will I begin at Dunſtane the author of all their pride and preſumption here in England. But for ſomuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman againſt earle Godwine is a rare hiſtorie, and deſerueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; proteſting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore béene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French Engliſh, who (of ſet purpoſe) haue ſo defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the teſtimonie of one or two méere Engliſhmen liuing in thoſe daies, it ſhould be impoſſible for me (or anie other) at this preſent to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumſtances. Marke therefore what I ſaie. For the truth is, that ſuch Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confeſſor, did fall by ſundrie means into ſuch fauor with thoſe princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be poſſeſſors of the beſt benefices in the land. Herevpon therefore one Robert, a ſolie ambitious préeſt, gat firſt to be biſhop of London, and after the death of Eadſius, to be archbiſhop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former ſée to William his countrieman. Alſo alſo a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

Theſe Norman clerkes, and their frends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuſe, and deſpiſe the Engliſh: and ſo much the more, as they dailie ſaw themſelues to increaſe in fauour with king Edward, who alſo called diuerſe of them to be of his ſecret councell, which did not a litle incenſe the harts of the Engliſh againſt them. A traie alſo was made at Douer, betwéene the ſeruants of earle Godwine and the French, whoſe maiſters came ouer to ſée and ſalute the king: whereof I haue ſpoken in my Chronologie, which ſo inflamed the minds of the French clergie and courtiers againſt the Engliſh nobilitie, that each part ſought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long toke hold betwéene them. For the ſaid Robert, being called to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, was no ſoner in poſſeſſion of his ſée, than he began to quarrell with earle Godwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who alſo was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and ſo the miſchiefe begun. Herevpon therefore the archbiſhop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the ſonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fiue and twentie ſaile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arriued with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnſkilfull yong gentlemen, ſhewing themſelues to like of the rumour that was ſpred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who cauſed a companie forthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was ſlaine, and thence Edward with much difficultie eſcaped to his ſhips, and ſo returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbiſhop being greatlie ſwthed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French frends, (for they had all conſpired againſt the erle) and therevnto the king being deſirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred ſuch a grudge in his mind againſt Godwine, that he baniſhed him and his ſons cleane out of the land. He ſent alſo his wife the erles daughter priſoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where ſhe laie almoſt a yeare before ſhe was releaſed. In the meane ſeaſon, the reſt of the péeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland ſurnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofrike earle of Cheſter, and other went to the king, before the departure of Godwine, indeuouring to perſuade him vnto the reuocation of his ſentence; and deſiring that his cauſe might be heard and diſcuſſed by order of law. But the king incenſed by the archbiſhop and his Normans would not heare on that ſide, ſaieng plainelie, and ſwearing by ſaint John the euangeliſt (for that was his common oth) that earle Godwine ſhould not haue his peace till he reſtored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his preſence. With which anſwer the péeres departed in choler from the court, and Godwine toward the coaſt.

Comming alſo vnto the ſhore and readie to take ſhipping, he knéeled downe in preſence of his conduct (to wit at Boſenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to ſaile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing againſt the kings perſon of England, or his roiall eſtate, that he might neuer come ſafe vnto his couſine, nor ſée his countrie any more, but periſh in this voiage. And herewith he went aboord the ſhip that was prouided for him, and ſo from the coaſt into the open ſea. But ſée what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he ſaw the ſhore full of armed ſouldiers, ſent after by the archbiſhop and his frends to kill him yer he ſhould depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incenſed the harts of the Engliſh againſt them.

Being come alſo to Flanders, he cauſed the earle, the French king, and other of his frends, among whome alſo the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obteined from him, of which the Normans had no liking, wherevpon the earle and his ſonnes changed their minds, obteined aid, and inuaded the land in ſundrie places. Finallie ioining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke néere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to

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incounter with them in the field. The king ſéeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor bittell them. But the citizens made anſwer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cauſe of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the ſpoile of the French: and there vpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but alſo receiued the earle and his chiefe frends into the citie, where they lodged them at their eaſe, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great reſort alſo was made vnto them from all places of the realme, ſo that the earles armie was wonderfullie increaſed, and the date and place choſen wherein the battell ſhould be fought. But when the armies met, the kings ſide began ſome to flée to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the reſt telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight againſt their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans alſo ſeing the ſequele, fled awaie ſo faſt as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to ſhift for himſelfe (as he beſt might) whileſt they did ſaue themſelues elſewhere.

In the meanie ſeaſon the earles power would haue ſet vpon the king, either to his ſlaughter, or apprehenſion; but he ſtaied them, ſaieng after this maner: The king is my ſonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale ſo hardlie with his child, neither a ſubiect with his ſouereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will do him no violence. And therewithall caſting aſide his battell ax he ran to the king, that ſtood altogither amazed, and falling at his fét he craued his peace, accuſed the archbiſhop, required that his cauſe might be heard in open aſſemblie of his péres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie ſhould deſerue.

The king (after he had pauſed a prettie while) ſéeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his fét, and conceiuing with himſelfe that his ſute was not vnreaſonable; ſéeing alſo his children, and the reſt of the greateſt barons of the land to knéele before him, and make the like requeſt: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was paſt, and frendlie hauing killed him and his ſonnes vpon the chéekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the quéene, and ſummoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were preſented againſt the biſhop & his Normans; ſome conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manſlaughter, high treaſon, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of ſléepe) was ſo offended, that vpon conſultation had of theſe things, he baniſhed all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he reteined for ſundrie neceſſarie cauſes, albeit they came neuer more ſo néere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this alſo the earle liued almoſt two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he ſat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our firſt broile raiſed by the cleargie, and practiſe of the archbiſhop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practiſed by the prelats of this ſée, againſt their lords and ſouereignes: but then I ſhould rather write an hiſtorie than a deſcription of this Iland.

Wherefore I refer you to thoſe reports of Anſelme and Becket, ſufficientlie penned by other, the which Anſelme alſo making a ſhew, as if he had binerie vnwilling to be placed in the ſée of Canturburie, gaue this anſwer to the letters of ſuch his frends, as did make requeſt vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia neſcio, quia ſine nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendúmque eſt nè aratrum ſanctæ eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id eſt rex & archiepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, diſtorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſſis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſi me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro diſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c.* Which is in Engliſh thus: Of ſecular affaires I haue no ſkill, becauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that riſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared leaſt the plough of holie church, which two ſtrong oxen of equall force, and both like earneſt to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbiſhop) ought to draw, ſhould thereby now ſwarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old ſhéepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old ſhéepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull to ſome, by féeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with woll: but if you match me with this bull, you ſhall ſée that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as followeth in the proceſſe of his letters. The ſaid Thomas Becket was ſo proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the ſecond, as to his lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like ſort haue proteſted, that they owght nothing to the kings of this land, but their counſell onelie, reſeruing all obedience vnto the ſée of Rome. Thomas Becket.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, ſo the yong cockerels of other ſées did imitate his demeanor, as may be ſéene by this one example alſo in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembred; vnto whome the biſhop of London would not ſo much as ſweare to be true ſubiect: wherein alſo he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by theſe letters.

Eugenius epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, dilecto in Chriſto filio Stephano illuſtri regi Anglorũ ſalutẽ, & apoſtolicã benedictionẽ. Adhæc ſuperna prouidẽtia in eccleſia pontifices ordinauit, vt Chriſtianus populus ab eis paſcua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes ſeculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipſis pontificibus tanquam Chriſti vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis ſiquidem frater noſter Robertus London epiſcopus, tanquam vir ſapiens & honeſtus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus eſt, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propenſiùs honorandus. Quia ergò, ſicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ ſuæ ſalute, ac ſuæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur aſtringi non poteſt: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu conſulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem noſtrum ſuper hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & noſtra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præſtare non poſſit, ſufficiat diſcretioni tuæ, vt ſimplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læſionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.

Thus we ſée, that kings were to rule no further than it pleaſed the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their ſubiects than ſtood ac-

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so with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quéene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

Solomone attestante, didicimus quòd mulier sapiens ædificat domum; insipiens autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut religiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intẽdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatẽ tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopũ, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim dives esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cõsilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensiùs habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus cum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionẽ ab eo suscipere, quòd læsionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suæ nõ inferat. Dat. vt supra.

Is it not strange, that a prouish order of religion (deuised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incouraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesiæ canonicis spiritũ consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè desyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum susceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commẽdabilem reddidit. Inde est quòd fraternitati vestræ mandando consulimus, vt proposito vestro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoscetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi, spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius námque industria credimus, quòd antiqua religio, & forma disciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quæ fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præsente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; *Thomas proditionis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati insidias fabricauit*, the pope vnderstood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Cisiertians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon deniall to paie such summes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horsses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselues with bell, booke and candle, to be accursed and excommunicated. Wherevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yéeld to their good graces: insomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweéne them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Cisiertian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapiter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thencefoorth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreouer full satisfaction of their damages susteined; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentith of Nouember, after the Scotish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may easilie conceiue how prond the cleargie-men haue beene in former times, as wholie presuming vpon the primasie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like brotles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit reseruing the same vnto places more conuenient, I will cease to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obteined the prerogatiue aboue Yorke (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloudshed & contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuertheless written primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a péece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke doth the like to the quéene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath beene from time to time, since the determination of this controuersie, as writers do report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to

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the

Twentie one biſhoprikes vnder ỹ ſee of Canturburie. Onelie foure ſees vnder the archbiſhop of Yorke.

the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhops, the other hath onlie foure, by reaſon that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbiſhop of their owne, whereby the greatneſſe and circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke is not a little diminiſhed. In like ſort each of theſe ſeauen and twentie ſées haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conqueſt) do beare the cheefe rule, being men eſpeciallie choſen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlineſſe ſo neere as can be poſſible. Theſe cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries ſtill remaining vnto them, as heeretofore vnder the popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no idle and vnprofitable perſons (as in times paſt they haue beene when moſt of theſe liuings were either furniſhed with ſtrangers, eſpeciallie out of Italie, boies, or ſuch idiots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, whereunto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipends) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can and do learnedlie ſet forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

Deanes.

Canonries.

These churches are called cathedrall, becauſe the biſhops dwell or lie neere vnto the ſame, as bound to keepe continuall reſidence within their iuriſdictions, for the better ouerſight and gouernance of the ſame: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to ſaie a chaire or ſeat where he reſteth, and for the moſt part abideth. At the firſt there was but one church in euerie iuriſdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with ſome oblation or other toward the maintenance of the paſtor. For as it was reputed an infamie to paſſe by anie of them without viſitation: ſo it was a no leſſe reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occaſion alſo they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwiſe they were not capable of ſuch multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the ſacraments.

But as the number of chriſtians increaſed, ſo firſt monaſteries, then finallie pariſh churches were builded in euerie iuriſdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpreeſts; the reſt being added ſince the conqueſt, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue ſome eaſe by building them neere hand. Vnto theſe deanerie churches alſo the cleargie in old time of the ſame deanrie were appointed to repaire at ſundrie ſeaſons, there to receiue wholeſome ordinances, and to conſult vpon the neceſſarie affaires of the whole iuriſdiction; if neceſſitie ſo required: and ſome image hereof is yet to be ſeene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increaſed, ſo the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminiſh: whereby they now become eſpeciallie in their nether parts rather markets and ſhops for merchandize, than ſolemn places of praier, whereunto they were firſt erected. Moreouer in the ſaid cathedrall churches vpon ſundaies and feſtiuall daies, the canons do make certeine ordinarie ſermons by courſe, whereunto great numbers of all eſtates do orderlie reſort: and vpon the working daies thoſe in the weeke, one of the ſaid canons, or ſome other in his ſtéed, doth read and expound ſome peece of holie ſcripture, whereunto the people do verie reuerentlie repaire. The biſhops themſelues in like ſort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no ſmall) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie thought otherwiſe, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander; *Epiſtola* 44. Petri Bleſenſis, where he ſaith; Becauſe the cleargie of his time were ſomewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorſum eccleſiæ fabricant peccatores, &c:*) they ſo aplie their minds to the ſetting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which do not euerie ſundaie or oftener reſort to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expound the ſcriptures with much grauitie and ſkill; and yet not without the great miſliking and contempt of ſuch as hate the word. Of their manifold tranſlations from one ſée to another I will ſaie nothing, which is not now done for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time paſt much doubted of, to wit, whether a biſhop or paſtor might be tranſlated from one ſée to another; & left vndecided, till preſcription by coſtall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

The biſhops preach diligentlie, whoſe predeceſſors heretofore haue beene occupied in temporall affairs.

They haue vnder them alſo their archdeacons, ſome one, diuerſe two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the biſhops eies: and theſe (beſide their ordinarie courts, which are holden within ſo manie or more of their ſeuerall deanries by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at the leaſt) do keepe yearelie two viſitations or ſynods (as the biſhop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth ſome children, though moſt care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquiſition and ſearch, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the miniſters, as the orderlie dealing of the pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches and conformitie vnto religion. They puniſh alſo with great ſeueritie all ſuch treſpaſſers, either in perſon or by the purſſe (where permutation of penance is thought more grieuous to the offendor) as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of the more weight, as in caſes of hereſie, pertinacie, contempt, and ſuch like, they referre them either to the biſhop of the dioceſſe, or his chancellor, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritie, by vertue of an high commiſſion directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner do ſée the offendors gentlie reformed, or elſe ſeuerlie puniſhed, if neceſſitie ſo inforce.

Archdeacons.

High commiſſioners.

Beſide this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exerciſe latelie begun, which for the moſt part is called a prophecie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudie of holie ſcriptures. Howbeit, ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe daies to heare the word of God, that they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo (for the moſt part) two of the yonger ſort of miniſters do expound each after other ſome peece of the ſcriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderlie go through with ſome one of the euangeliſts, or of the epiſtles, as it pleaſeth the whole aſſemblie to chooſe at the firſt in euerie of theſe conferences) and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betweene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who being a graduat for the moſt part, or knowne to be a preacher ſufficientlie authoriſed, & of a ſound iudgement, ſupplieth the rome of a moderator, making firſt a breefe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie ſpent at this moſt profitable meeting. When all is done, if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in-

A prophecie or conference.

Ordinarie ſermons.

Ordinarie expoſitions of the ſcriptures

couraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be ſlacke, or not ſound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reproued before all their brethren, who go aſide of purpoſe from the laitie, after the exerciſe ended, to iudge of theſe matters, and conſult of the next ſpeakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer ſpeake of courſe (except ſome baine and buſie head will now and then intrude themſelues with offenſe) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vſed in ſome places weekelie, in other once in foureténe daies, in diuerſe monethlie, and elſewhere twiſe in a yeare, ſo is it a notable ſpurre vnto all the miniſters, thereby to applie their bookes, which otherwiſe (as in times paſt) would giue themſelues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouſe, shooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in ſuch as ſhould be godlie and zealous ſtewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull diſtributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent paſtors according to their calling.

But alas! as ſathan the author of all miſchéefe hath in ſundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: ſo in this he hath ſtirred vp aduerſaries of late vnto this moſt profitable exerciſe, who not regarding the commoditie that riſeth thereby ſo well to the hearers as ſpekers; but either ſtumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the leaſt wiſe not liking to here of the reprehenſion of vice, or peraduenture taking a miſliking at the ſlender demeanours of ſuch negligent miniſters, as now and then in their courſes do occupie the romes: haue either by their owne practiſe, their ſiniſter information, or ſuggeſtions made vpon ſurmiſes vnto other procured the ſuppreſſion of theſe conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie breéders of no ſmall hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cauſe belongeth.

Miniſters & deacons.

Our elders or miniſters and deacons (for ſubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, ſometime vſed in popiſh church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of conſecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the firſt, by the clergie of England, and ſone after confirmed by the three eſtates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the firſt ſort, that is to ſaie, of ſuch as are called to the miniſterie (without reſpect whether they be married or not) are biſhops, deanes, archdeacons, & ſuch as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and theſe alſo as all the reſt, at the firſt comming vnto anie ſpirituall promotion, do yéeld vnto the prince the entire tare of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of firſt fruits.

Faculties.

With vs alſo it is permitted, that a ſufficient man may (by diſpenſation from the prince) hold two liuings, not diſtant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as hir maieſtie doth reape ſome commoditie by the facultie, ſo the vnition of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame againſt ſuch faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to maintaine them. In déed when a liuing is void, there are ſo manie ſuitors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and moſt certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are ſufficient, and who not, who are ſtaied men in conuerſation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you ſhall hardlie find one or two, ſuch as they ought to be: and yet none more earneſt to make ſute, to promiſe largelie, beare a better ſhew, or find fault with the ſtate of things than they. Neuertheleſſe, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiſelie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you reſpect the ſtate of the thing it ſelfe, and not the neceſſitie growing through want of able men, to furniſh out all the cures in England, which both our vniuerſities are neuer able to performe. For if you obſerue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford do yearelie ſend forth; and how manie new compoſitions are made in the court of firſt fruits, by the deaths of the laſt incumbents: you ſhall ſone ſée a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it ſelfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redreſſed and amended.

And to ſaie truth, one moſt commonlie of theſe ſmall liuings is of ſo little value, that it is not able to maintaine a meane ſcholar; much leſſe a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, ſixtéene, ſeuentéene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the moſt, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the ſame. I ſaie more than before, becauſe euerie ſmall trifle, noble mans requeſt, or courteſie craued by the biſhop, doth impoſe and command a twentith part, a three ſcore part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hither to hath not béene vſuallie granted, but by conſent of a ſynod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the power ſort conſidered of, which now are equallie burdened.

Tenths.

We paie alſo the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to ſuch valuation of ech of them, as hath béene latelie made: which neuertheleſſe in time paſt were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at requeſt of king or pope. Herevpon alſo hangeth a pleaſant ſtorie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie ſéeing the continuall loſſes that the king of England ſuſteined in France, vpon ſome motion of releéſe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned alſo at the ſame time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had done, came into the conuocation houſe alſo in great haſt and leſſe ſpéed, where, in a ſolemne oration he earneſtlie required them to be no leſſe fauourable to their ſpirituall father the pope, and mother the ſée of Rome, than they had ſhewed themſelues vnto his vaſſall and inferiour, meaning their ſouereigne lord in temporall iuriſdiction, &c. In deliuering alſo the cauſe of his ſuite, he ſhewed how greeuouſlie the pope was diſturbed by cutthroates, harlots, and harlots, which do now ſo abound in Rome, that his holineſſe is in dailie danger to be made a waie amongſt them. To be ſhort when this fine tale was told, one of the companie ſtood vp and ſaid vnto him; My lord we haue heard your requeſt, and as we thinke it deſerueth litle conſideration and leſſe care, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in ſuppreſſion of ſuch, as he and ſuch as you are do continuall vphold, it is not vnknowen in this houſe what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iuſt reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made ſoner, but now it is too late: neuertheleſſe I beſéech you to write vnto his holineſſe, with requeſt that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a ſinke of miſchiefe, and kéepe his court elſewhere in place of better fame. And this he ſhall be the better able alſo to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are moſt bound, he be incouraged thereto. Manie other words paſſed to and fro amongſt them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was diſmiſſed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement firſt as deuiſed by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the preſcription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine alſo our firſt fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the ſame, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt alſo of theſe two paiments, an eſpeciall office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, doo not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after poſſeſſion taken, there to compound for the paiment of his ſaid fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine ſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as doo intrude into the eccleſiaſticall function, and refuſe to paie the accuſtomed duties belonging to the ſame.

They paie likewiſe ſubſidies with the temporaltie, but in ſuch ſort, that if theſe paie after foure ſhillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after ſix ſhillings of the pound, ſo that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being diſcharged he may reſerue thirteene pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence towards his owne ſuſtentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often ſeene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: ſo that I ſaie againe they are ſeldome without the limit of a ſubſidie. Herein alſo they ſomewhat find themſelues grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themſelues, and ſo they doo through conſideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impoueriſhment cannot but touch alſo the parſon or vicar, vnto whom ſuch libertie is denied, as is dailie to be ſeene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them alſo, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by friendſhip get themſelues quite out of the booke. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by ſome of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs alſo within the compaſſe of their fifteens or tares for their owne eaſe, whereas the tare of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland ſoile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden eaſie inough to be borne vpon ſo manie ſhoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whoſe tenths and ſubſidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troubleſome vnto their aforeſaid paiments. Sometimes alſo we are threatned with a *Meliùs inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man ſhould ſeeke out where all thoſe church lands, which in time paſt did contribute vnto the old ſumme required or to be made vp, no doubt no ſmall number of the laitie of all ſtates ſhould be contributors alſo with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are alſo charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull than diuerſe other charges impoſed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our caſe groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithſtanding our immunitie from temporall ſeruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I ſee not likelie to be diminiſhed, as if the church were now become the aſſe whereon euerie market man is to ride and caſt his wallet.

The other paiments doo vnto the archbiſhop and biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitations (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuch alſo as the archdeacon receiueth at his ſynods, &c: remaine ſtill as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commonlie viſit the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the clergie doo vſuallie paie double fees, as vnto the archbiſhop. Hereby then, and by thoſe alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no leſſe commodious to the princes coffers than the ſtate of the laitie, if it doo not farre exceed the ſame, ſince their paiments are certeine, continuall, and ſeldome abated, howſoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, ſute, and ſlanderous ſpeeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwiſe hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or ſhrewdlie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, of whome ſome doo beſtow aduouſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horſekéepers, in ſtéed of other recompenſe, for their long and faithfull ſeruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their moſt aduantage.

Certes here they reſemble the pope verie much, for as he ſendeth out his idols, ſo doo they their paraſites, pages, chamberleins, ſtewards, grooms, & lackies; and yet theſe be the men that firſt exclame of the inſufficiencie of the miniſters, as hoping thereby in due time to get alſo their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times paſt biſhoprikes went almoſt after the ſame maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, ſo that he which helped a clerke vnto a ſee, was ſure to haue a preſent or purſe fine, if not an annuall penſion, beſides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger dates, whileſt quéene Marie bare the ſwaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the ſée of Wincheſter was void for a ſeaſon, during which time cardinall Pole made ſeizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the ſame, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the biſhop of Lincolne called White tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſtepped in like a mate, with full purpoſe (as he ſaid) to kéepe that ſée from ruine. He wrote alſo to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promiſing ſo as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeare after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet deſirous to reape a further benefit, firſt ſhewed himſelfe to ſtomach his ſimoniacall practiſe verie grieuouſlie, conſidering the dangerouſneſſe of the time and preſent eſtate of the church of England, which hong as yet in balance readie to yéeld anie waie, ſauing forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he ſo terrified the poore biſhop, that he was driuen vnto another iſſue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further ſumme than ſtood with his eaſe to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fléece, a new deuiſe was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be biſhop of Wincheſter, which at the laſt he obteined, but in ſuch wiſe as that the pope and his néereſt friends did loſe but a little by it. I could if néed were ſet downe a report of diuerſe other the like practiſes, but this ſhall ſuffice in ſtéed of all the reſt, leaſt in reprehending of vice I might ſhew my ſelfe to be a teacher of vngodlineſſe, or to ſcatter more vngratious ſéed in lewd ground

already choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vsuallie giuen vnto such as feed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be aduinged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and vniuersities haue béene so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeate) certeine sermons or homilies deuised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies do comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, whereof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after none out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious mindsticke persons vtterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauoring of coniuration and sorcerie.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene creed (of some in derision called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabaoth daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after none likewise we meet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the least wise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus do we spend the sabaoth daie in good and godlie exercises, all done in our vulgar tong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are song by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the creed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skilfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar tong, hath not a little offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obteined, for feare least the consenting thervnto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuertheless in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed maugre his resistance. Vratislaus duke of Bohemia, would long since haue done the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

Gregorius septimus Vratislao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quòd secundũ Sclauonicã linguã apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm posse fauere, ex hoc nempe se voluentibus liquet, non immeritò sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut praue intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quæ à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt: vnde id ne fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, authoritate beati Petri inhibemus; teque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.

I would set downe two or three more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remoued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the frontes in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogither abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogither needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant do not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, do praie togither with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fifteene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Professi*, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vtterlie remoued from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The

Apparell.

The apparell in like ſort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popiſh church: before the vniuerſities bound their graduats vnto a ſtable attire, afterward vſurped also euen by the blind ſir Johns. For if you peruſe well my chronologie inſuing, you ſhall find, that they went either in diuerſe colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their ſhoes piked, their haire criſped, their girdles armed with ſiluer; their ſhoes, ſpurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the moſt part) of ſilke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butned with gold; ſo that to meet a prieſt in thoſe daies, was to behold a peacocke that ſpreadeth his taile when he danſeth before the henne: which

Hoſpitalitie.

now (I ſaie) is well reformed. Touching hoſpitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vſed in England, ſith by reaſon that mariage is permitted to him that will chooſe that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dreſſed; their furniture of houſhold more conuenient, and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue beene, when onlie a few biſhops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Chriſtmaſſe onelie, or otherwiſe kept great houſes for the interteinment of the rich, which did often reſe and viſit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that ſome biſhops, &c: in our time do come ſhort of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predeceſſors: but to ſuch as do conſider of the curtailing of their liuings, or exceſſiue prices whervnto things are growen, and how their courſe is limited by law, and eſtate looked into on euerie ſide, the cauſe of their ſo doing is well inough perceiued. This alſo offendeth manie, that they ſhould after their deaths leaue their ſubſtances to their wiues and children: whereas they conſider not, that in old time ſuch as had no lemans nor baſtards (verie few were there God wot of this ſort) did leaue their goods and poſſeſſions to their brethren and kinſfolks, whereby (as I can ſhew by good record) manie houſes of gentilitie haue growen and beene erected. If in anie age ſome one of them did found a college, almeſhouſe, or ſchoole, if you looke vnto theſe our times, you ſhall ſee no fewer deeds of charitie done, nor better grounded vpon the right ſtub of pietie than before. If you ſaie that

Mariage.

their wiues be fond, after the deceaſſe of their huſbands, and beſtow themſelues not ſo aduiſedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth theſe curious ſurueiors make ſmall accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehenſion: I beſeech you then to looke into all ſtates of the laitie, & tell me whether ſome ducheſſes, counteſſes, barons, or knights wiues, do not fullie ſo often offend in the like as they: for Eue will be Eue though

Thred-bare gowns from whence they come.

Adam would ſaie naie. Not a few alſo find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were cauſes of our woo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue beene performed of late in Eſſex, where a miniſter taking a benefice (of leſſe than twentie pounds in the Queenes bookes ſo farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and ſixteene yeerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another left the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yeere, which is well worth fortie at the leaſt, the cauſe of our thred-bare gownes would eaſilie appeere, for ſuch patrons do ſcrape the woll from our cloakes. Wherfore I may well ſaie, that ſuch a thred-bare miniſter is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when ſuch cookes & cobling ſhifters ſhall be removed and weeded out of the miniſterie, I doubt not but our patrons will prooue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or elſe the ſingle minded biſhops ſhall ſee the liuing beſtowed vpon ſuch as do deſerue it. When the Pragmatike ſanction tooke place firſt in France, it was ſuppoſed that theſe enormities ſhould vtterlie haue ceaſed: but when the elections of biſhops came once into the hands of the canons and ſpirituall men, it grew to be farre worſe. For they alſo within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raiſed the markets, and ſought after new gaines by the gifts of the greateſt liuings in that countrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eightéene archbiſhoprikes, one hundred fortie and ſixe biſhoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuerſities, 1000700 ſteeples (if his report be ſound.) Some are of the opinion, that if ſufficient men in euerie towne might be ſent for from the vniuerſities, this miſchiefe would ſoone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I conſider whereunto the gifts of felowſhips in ſome places are growen: the profit that ariſeth at ſundrie elections of ſcholars out of grammar ſchooles, to the poſers, ſchoolemaſters, and preferrers of them to our vniuerſities, the gifts of a great number of almeſhouſes builded for the maimed and impotent ſouldiors, by princes and good men heretofore moued with a pittifull conſideration of the poore diſtreſſed: how rewards, penſions, and annuities alſo do reigne in other caſes, whereby the giuer is brought ſomtimes into extreame miſerie, & that not ſo much as the rome of a common ſouldior is not obteined oftentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am brought into ſuch a miſtruſt of the ſequele of this deuiſe, that I dare pronounce (almoſt for certeine) that if Homer were now aliue, it ſhould be ſaid to him:

Number of churches in France.

Pretie packing.

Túque licèt venias muſis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.

More I could ſaie, and more I would ſaie of theſe and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue ſaid inough alreadie for the aduertiſement of ſuch as be wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, before I finiſh this chapter, I will adde a word or two (ſo briefle as I can) of the old eſtate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected togither here and there among the writers, and whereby it ſhall eaſilie be ſeene what they were, and how neere the gouernment of ours do in theſe daies approch vnto them, for that there is an irreconciliable ods betweene them and thoſe of the papiſts. I hope there is no learned man indeed, but will acknowlege and yeeld vnto it.

Old eſtate of cathedrall churches.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie ſee or iuriſdiction one ſchole at the leaſt, whereinto ſuch as were catechiſes in chriſtian religion did reſort. And hereof as we may find great teſtimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hieruſalem; ſo no ſmall notice is left of the like in the inferior ſort, if the names of ſuch as taught in them be called to mind, & the hiſtories well read which make report of the ſame. Theſe ſchooles were vnder the iuriſdiction of the biſhops, and from thence did they & the reſt of the elders chooſe out ſuch as were the ripeſt ſcholars, and willing to ſerue in the miniſterie, whome they placed alſo in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further inſtructed in the knowledge of the word, but alſo to inure them to the deliuerie of the ſame vnto the people in ſound maner, to miniſter the ſacraments, to viſit the ſicke and brethren impriſoned, and to performe ſuch other duties as then belonged to their charges. The biſhop himſelfe and elders of the church were alſo hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in proceſſe of time found meet workmen for the lords harueſt, they were forthwith ſent abroads (after impoſition of hands, and praier generallie

made for their good proceeding) to ſome place or other then deſtitute of hir paſtor, and other taken from the ſchole alſo placed in their roomes. What number of ſuch clerks belonged now and then to ſome one ſée, the chronologie following ſhall eaſilie declare: and in like ſort what officers, widowes, and other perſons were dailie maintained in thoſe ſeaſons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the ſame with the decaies and ablations ſéene and practiſed at this preſent. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the eſtate of the cathedrall churches in thoſe times, ſo I wiſh that the like order of gouernment might once againe be reſtored vnto the ſame, which may be done with eaſe, ſith the ſcholes are alreadie builded in euerie dioceſſe, the vniuerſities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue ſo manie as ſhall come from thence to be inſtructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be loked for (beſide the plucking and ſnatching commonlie ſéene from ſuch houſes and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the miniſterie, and ſmall conſideration of their former paines taken, whereby leſſe and leſſe hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to inſue. Wherefore the greateſt part of the more excellent wits chooſe rather to imploy their ſtudies vnto phyſike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the ſtudie of the ſcriptures, for feare leaſt they ſhould in time not get their bread by the ſame. By this meanes alſo the ſtalles in their quéeres would be better filled, which now (for the moſt part) are emptie, and prebends ſhould be prebends indéed, there to liue till they were preferred to ſome eccleſiaſticall function, and then other men choſen to ſucceed them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but ſuperfluous additaments vnto former excelles, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue ſaid before.) But as I haue good leiſure to wiſh for theſe things: ſo it ſhall be a longer time before it will be brought to paſſe. Neuertheleſſe, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, ſo will I here conclude this my diſcourſe of the eſtate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our ſeuerall ſées, in ſuch order as they ſhall come vnto my preſent remembrance.

Of the number of biſhoprikes and *their ſeuerall circuits.*

Chap. 2.

HAuing alreadie ſpoken generally of the ſtate of our church, now will I touch the ſées ſeuerallie, ſaieng ſo much of ech of them as ſhall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but alſo the later writers, and ſomewhat of mine owne experience, beginning firſt with the ſée of Canturburie, as the moſt notable, whoſe archbiſhop is the primat of all this land for eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and moſt accompted of commonlie, becauſe he is nérer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.

Canturburie. The iuriſdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected firſt by Auguſtine the monke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue reſpect to hir prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth and weſt parts of this Iland, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few ſhires there are wherein the archbiſhop hath not ſome peculiars. But if you regard the ſame onelie that was and is proper vnto his ſée, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iuriſdiction of Rocheſter including the reſt: ſo that in this one countie the greateſt archbiſhoprike and the leaſt biſhoprike of all are linked in togither. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iuriſdiction ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred ſirtie one pariſh churches; & in the popiſh time in ſtéd of the 3093 pounds, eightéene ſhillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maieſtie, vnder the name of firſt frutes, there went out of this ſée to Rome, at euerie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beſide 5000 that the new elect did vſuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an Engliſh crowne or thereabout, as I haue béene informed.

Rocheſter. The ſée of Rocheſter is alſo included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Auguſtine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrik ouer the weſt-Saxons. The biſhop of this ſée hath one archdeacon, vnder whoſe gouernment in cauſes eccleſiaſticall are three deanries, or 132 pariſh churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 pariſh churches in Kent, ouer which the ſaid two archdeacons haue eſpeciall cure & charge. He was wont to paie alſo vnto the court of Rome at his admiſſion to that ſée 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of circuit belonging to his ſée. Howbeit, in my time it is ſo farre from eaſe by diminution, that it is raiſed to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we reſolue them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three ſhillings, ſix pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciſelie made than anie biſhop of that ſée doth take any great delight in. He was croſſe-bearer in times paſt vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie. And there are and haue béene few ſées in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their biſhops for the moſt part from this ſée: for as it is of it ſelfe but a ſmall thing in déed, ſo it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer poſſeſſed it, Thomas Kempe had the beſt lucke, who being but a poore mans ſonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew firſt to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this ſée, he was tranſlated from thence to Chicheſter, thirdlie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie after ſeauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became alſo cardinall, deacon, and then preſt in the court of Rome, according to this verſe, *Bis primas, ter præſes, bis cardine functus.* Certes I note this man, becauſe he bare ſome fauour to the furtherance of the goſpell, and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and toke order for the continuall maintenance of a ſermon there vpon the ſabaoth, which doth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the ſoundeſt doctrine is alwaies to be loked for, and for ſuch ſtrangers to reſort vnto as haue no habitation in anie pariſh within the citie where it ſtandeth.

Chicheſter.

London. The ſée of London was erected at the firſt by Lucius, who made it of an archeflamine and temple of Iupiter an archbiſhops ſée, and temple vnto the liuing God, and ſo it continued, vntill Auguſtine tranſlated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbiſhops of London are theſe; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus reſtitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Faſtidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus ſlaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But

for their iuſt order of ſucceſſion as yet I am not reſolued, neuertheleſſe the firſt biſhop there was ordeined by Auguſtine the monke, in the yeare of Chriſt 604, in the time of Ceolrye, after he had remoued his ſee further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what ſecret occaſion, if not the ſpeedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readineſſe to flee out of the land, if any trouble ſhould betide him. For iuriſdiction it includeth Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herefordſhire, which is neither more nor leſſe in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the eaſt Angles, before it was vnited to the weſt Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this ſee, was firſt begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whileſt he held that part of the ſaid kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had ſundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard ſtone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Mawrice biſhop of that ſee, and ſometimes chapleine to the baſtard Henrie the firſt, allowing him ſtone and ſtuffe from Bainards caſtell neere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the mould of the quire was not ſtatelie inough in the eies of ſome of his ſucceſſors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time alſo the bodies of diuerſe kings and biſhops were taken vp and beſtowed in the walles, to the end their memories ſhould be of longer continuance. The iuriſdiction of this ſee alſo vnder the biſhop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter, who haue amongſt them to the number of 363 pariſh churches, or thereabouts, beſide the peculiars belonging to the archbiſhop and chapiter of that houſe, and at euerie alienation the biſhop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight ſhillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerſe ſuppoſe to be more, than (as it now ſtandeth) the biſhop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie, of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the biſhop hath fiue eies) I ſpeake not, for although it be vnder the biſhop of London for viſitations and ſynods, yet is it otherwiſe reputed as member of the ſee of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath alſo fiue and twentie pariſhes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the reſt in Herefordſhire.

Chicheſter. The firſt beginning of the ſee of Chicheſter was in the Ile of Seales or Seolſeie, and from thence tranſlated to Chicheſter, in the time of William the baſtard, and generall remouing of ſees from ſmall villages vnto the greater townes. It conteineth Suſſex onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, wherein are fiftéene deanries, and 551 pariſh churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the ſee of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the firſt biſhop, one Cella ſucceeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yéere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seoleſeie alſo 711, by the decree of a ſynod holden in Suſſex, which borowed it from the iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the biſhops that haue béene in this ſee, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath béene of more eſtimation than William Read, ſometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the moſt profound aſtronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which ſometime I did poſſeſſe; his image is yet in the libzarie there, and manie inſtruments of aſtronomie reſerued in that houſe (a college erected ſometime by Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter, and lord chancellor of England) he builded alſo the caſtell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Stozie or Stozie his ſucceſſor did the new croſſe in the market place of Chicheſter.

The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſometime called biſhop of the weſt Saxons, and of Dorcheſter, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his ſucceſſors, by Kinigils and Oſwald of the Northumbers, in whoſe time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iuriſdiction onelie ouer Hamſhire, Surrie, Jardeſeie, Gardeſeie, and the Wight, conteining eight deaneries, two hundred ſeuentie and ſix pariſh churches, and beſide all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuiſed by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his firſt fruits are 2491 pounds nine ſhillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was ſaid to be the higher racke, but Wincheſter hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are alſo which make Lucius to be the firſt founder of an houſe of prater in Wincheſter, as Kinigils did build the ſecond, and Kinwaldus his ſonne the third; but you ſhall ſée the truth hereof in the chronologie inſuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the biſhops of this ſée be well conſidered of, and the acts of the greateſt part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our hiſtories, you ſhall find the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the cruelleſt tyrants, the richeſt monimongers, and politike counſellors in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what ſecret working of the diuine prouidence, bene placed here in Wincheſter, ſince the foundation of that ſée, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius ſent hither out of Italie) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the time of Kinigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it doth yet continue. Wincheſter.

Saliſburie was made the chéefe ſée of Shirburne by biſhop Harman (predeceſſor to Oſmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeſhire, Wilſhire, and Dorſetſhire vnder hir iuriſdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Wincheſter was diuided in two, ſo that onelie Hamſhire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhire, Summerſet, Deuon & Cornewill aſſigned vnto Shirburne till other order was taken. Biſhop Adelme did firſt ſit in that biſhoprike (704 as I ſaid) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the ſaid diuiſion. And as manie lerned biſhops did ſucceed him in that rome, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; ſo there was neuer a more noble ornament to that ſée than biſhop Juell, of whoſe great learning and iudgement the world it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, notwithſtanding that the papiſts prefer S. Oſmond (as they call him) becauſe he builded the minſter there, and made the portheſſe called *Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officij*, which old préeſts were wont to vſe. The biſhops alſo of this ſée were ſometimes called biſhops of Sunning, of their old manſion houſe neere vnto Reading (as it ſhould ſeeme) and among thoſe that liued before the ſaid Juell, one Roger builded the caſtell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the firſt, taken in thoſe daies for the ſtrongeſt hold in England, as vnto whoſe gate there were regals and gripes for ſir or ſeuen port colliſes. Finallie this ſée paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maieſtie in my time 1367 pounds twelue ſhillings eight pence, as I did find of late. Saliſburie.

Exceſter hath Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſometime two ſeuerall biſhoprikes, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Exceſter in the time of the Baſtard or ſone after. It began vpon this occaſion, Anno Gratiæ 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward Plegimond archbiſhop of Canturburie, among the Gewiſes, Exceſter.

wherein

wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onelie béene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yéeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioc: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and loke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was tared by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats or florens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is little worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yéere, because hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath. Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before Iohn the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens: but in hir maiesties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large manner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewisses, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Plegmond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had béene seuen yéeres without anie pastorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agréed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also suffered the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Kirton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdictions.

The bishoprike of Shirburne diuided into three.

Worcester. Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wicciorum* (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwikeshires. And before the bishoprike of Gloucester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance dw deceiue me.) This see was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome succéeded Osfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue béene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue béene archbishop of Canturburie in the rome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, least he should seeme altogither to reiect the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *Marty* 31, being thursdaie (as appeareth by the register of that house) after long plée holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein moch monie did offentest preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that fiue Italians succéeded ech other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Sylvester, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncle? And vncles also; Son I must call thée nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutijs, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiartie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Gloucester. Gloucester hath Glocestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, because it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth yeerlie 315 pounds, seauen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford. Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Buteu, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihod for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A wonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuertheless his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Elie.

Lichfield. Lichefield, whereunto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwikeshire, that is void of subiection to the see of Worcestershire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which late on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Kellac first, then Tunher an Englishman succéeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this see translated his chaire

to

to Cheſter, and there held it for a ſeaſon, whereby it came to paſſe that the biſhops of Lichfield were for a while called biſhops of Cheſter. But Robert his ſucceſſor not liking of this preſident, remoued his chaire from Cheſter to Couentrie, and there held it whileſt he liued, whereby the originall diuiſion of the biſhoprike of Lichfield into Lichefield, Cheſter, and Couentrie, doth eaſilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be vnited, and Cheſter remaineth a biſhoprike by it ſelfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as ſome old bookes haue) 3000, a good round ſumme, but not without a iuſt puniſhment, as one ſaith, ſith that anno 765, Eadulfe biſhop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbiſhop of Canturburie of his pall, & ſo did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the ſame vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time alſo of biſhop Langton, the prebends of this ſee laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars alſo had an houſe, of which this honeſt biſhop miſliked not a little for ſundrie cauſes; wherefore he began their cloſe, and beſtowed ſo much in building the ſame, and pauing the ſtreets, that his hungrie kinſmen did not a little grudge at his expenſes, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the friends of moſt biſhops gaped earneſtlie in thoſe daies. King John was the greateſt benefactor vnto this ſee, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quaſi mortuorum campus*, bicauſe of the great ſlaughter of chriſtians made there (as ſome write) vnder Diocleſian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue ſhillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a ſumme verie narrowlie caſt by that auditor which toke it firſt in hand.

Orford hath Orfordſhire onelie, a verie yong iuriſdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quéene Marie, one Goldwell was biſhop, who (as I remember) was a Ieſuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerſant (as the conſtant fame went) in the blacke art, than ſkilfull in the ſcriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongſt the Romane monarchs. It is ſaid that obſeruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that ſée: but I haue heard ſince that he wiſt well inough what became of thoſe commodities, for by one meane and other he found the ſweetneſſe of 354 pounds ſirtéene ſhillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was paſſing ſkilfull, as the fame then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Orford.

Elie. Elie hath Cambridgſhire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the firſt, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Herate alſo was made biſhop there, as I haue found in a regiſter, belonging ſometime to that houſe being tranſlated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the regiſters there do teſtifie at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds ſitteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whoſe ſumme ioined to thoſe of all the biſhoprikes in England, do yéeld yearelie to hir maieſties cofers 23370 pounds ſirtéene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing: whereby alſo the huge ſums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome doth in ſome meaſure appéere. Ethelwold afterward biſhop of Winchéeſter builded the firſt monaſterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the ſame houſe, whereof he himſelfe was abbat, was yer long deſtroied by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforeſaid biſhoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldneſſe he expelled the ſecular prieſts, and ſtored with monkes prouided from Abandune néere Orford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunſtane then metropolitane of England. There was ſometime a grœnous contention betwéene Thomas Lild biſhop of this ſée, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, becauſe the matter is ſo parcellie penned by ſome of the brethren of that houſe, in fauour of the biſhop; & for that I was alſo abuſed with the ſame in the entrance thereof at the firſt into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on ſo farre, that what for loue, and ſomewhat elſe, of a canon of Lichfield he was choſen biſhop of that ſée. Herevpon the pope vnderſtanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, ſtaied his conſecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane ſeaſon committed his examination to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who felt and dealt ſo fauourablie with him in golden reaſoning, that his worthineſſe was commended to the popes holineſſe, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himſelfe apposed him, and after ſecret conference vtterlie diſableth his election, till he had prooued by ſubſtantiall argument and of great weight before him alſo, that he was not ſo lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reaſoning ſo well pleaſed his holineſſe, that *Ex mera plenitudine poteſtatis*, he was made capable of the benefice and ſo returneth into England; when he came home, this biſhop being in the kings preſence told him how he had done he will not what in preferring ſo vnmét a man vnto ſo high a calling. With which ſpeach the king was ſo offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his preſence. In like ſort the ladie Wake then ducheſſe of Lancaſter, ſtanding by, and hearing the king hir couſine to gather vp the biſhop ſo roundlie, and thereto an old grudge againſt him for ſome other matter, doth preſentlie picke a quarrell againſt him about certeine lands then in his poſſeſſion, which he defended & in the end obteined againſt hir by plée and courſe of law yer long alſo afore hapned in a part of hir houſe, for which ſhe accuſed the biſhop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the ſaid fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheleſſe, being ſore grieued, that ſhe had (as he ſaid) wreſted out ſuch a verdict againſt him, and therein packed vp a queſt at hir owne choiſe: he taketh his horſſe, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his ſpeech was ſo blockiſh, & termes ſo euill fauoredlie (though maliciouſlie) placed, that the king toke yet more offenſe with him than before; inſomuch that he led him with him into the parlement houſe, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accuſed him of no ſmall miſdemeanor toward his perſon by his rude and threatening ſpeeches. But the biſhop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he ſtill auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witneſſe: wherevpon he is baniſhed from the kings preſence during his naturall life by verdict of that houſe. In the meane time the ducheſſe hearing what was done, ſhe beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betwéene their ſeruants one of hir men was ſlaine: for which he was called before the magiſtrat, as chiefe acceſſarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the ſequele

of

of his third cauſe by his ſucceſſe had in the two firſt, hideth himſelfe after he had ſold all his mouables, and committed the monie vnto his truſtie friends. And being found giltie by the inqueſt, the king ſeizeth vpon his poſſeſſions, and calleth vp the biſhop to anſwer vnto the treſpaſſe. To be ſhort, vpon ſafe conduct the biſhop commeth to the kings preſence, where he denieth that he was acceſſarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for ſentence paſſeth againſt him alſo by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craueth helpe of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by ſuch meanes to be ſolemnlie reſcued. But they fearing the kings diſpleaſure, who bare ſmall fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vſe anie ſuch meanes; but rather willed him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refuſed, ſtanding vpon his innocencie from the firſt vnto the laſt. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman ſhould ſo preuaile againſt him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his caſe might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iuſtice (ſaith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the peruſall of theſe his letters alſo, his accuſers were called thither. But for ſo much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them alſo as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dung-hilles, *Vnde timor & turba* (ſaith my note) *in Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all proceſſes, billes, and what ſoeuer inſtruments ſhould come from Rome: ſuch alſo as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either diſmembred of ſome ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage ſo incenſed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curſſes, except he did the ſooner ſtaie the furie of the lady, reconcile himſelf vnto the biſhop, and finallie, making him amends for all his loſſes ſuſteined in theſe broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheleſſe, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himſelfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the biſhop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue ſomewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington doth deliuer it, who alſo hath the ſame in manner as I deliuer it.

Norwich. The ſee of Norwich called in old time *Epiſcopatus Donnicenſis, Dononiæ*, or *Eaſtanglorum*, was erected at Felſtow or Felixſtow, where Felix of Burgundie (ſometime ſchoolemaſter to Sigebert of the eaſt-Angles, by whoſe perſuaſion alſo the ſaid Sigebert erected the vniuerſitie at Cambridge) being made biſhop of the eaſt-Angles firſt placed his ſee, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, *Anno* 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Baſtard, to Norwich. For iuriſdiction it conteineth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the firſt it included Cambridgeſhire alſo, and ſo much as laie within the kingdome of the eaſt-Angles. It began about the yeere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the eaſt-Sarons, who beſtowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius alſo confirmed, and after which he held it by the ſpace of ſeauenteene yeeres. It paid ſometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time his maieſtie hath 899 pounds, 8 ſhillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the ſame iuriſdiction alſo there were once 1563 pariſh churches, and 88 religious houſes: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of theſe I know one conuerted into a barne, whileſt the people heare ſeruice further off vpon a greene: their bell alſo when I heard a ſermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a ſteeple. But now I vnderſtand that the oke likewiſe is gone. There is neuertheleſſe a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Aſhlie towne that ſhould come to the ſame in ſuch wiſe, if they did repaire thither as they ought. Landaff

Peterborow, ſometimes a notable monaſterie, hath Northampton and Rutland ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction, a dioceſſe erected alſo by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid firſt fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, becauſe it was not recorded in his ancient regiſter of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpoſe; it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue ſeene and had an ancient farre of the lands of this monaſterie, which agreeth verie well with the hiſtorie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that houſe. In the charter alſo of donation annered to the ſame, I ſaw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, ſigned with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suſſer, Sebbie of Eſſer, with the additions of their names: the reſt of the witneſſes alſo inſued in this order: Peterborow. S. Dau

Ethelred brother to Wulfehere,
Kindburg and Kindſwith ſiſters to Wulfhere,
Deuſdedit archbiſhop,
Ithamar biſhop of Rocheſter,
Wina biſhop of London,
Iarnman biſhop of Peare,
Wilfride and Eoppa prieſts,
Saxulfe the abbat.

When all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all theſe, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the inſtrument at the ſute of Wilfride archbiſhop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie biſhops, wherein alſo theſe churches were appropriated to the ſaid monaſterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swinesheued, Luſgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident teſtimonie how long the practiſe of appropriation of benefices hath beene vſed to the hinderance of the goſpell, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocriſie. Wange S. Al

Wiſſow. Wiſſow hath Dorſetſhire ſometime belonging to Saliſburie, a ſee alſo latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who toke no ſmall care for the church of Chriſt, and therefore eaſed a number of ancient ſees of ſome part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and beſtowed thoſe portions deduced, vpon ſuch other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure ſcore and three pounds, eight ſhillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)

Lincolne. Lincolne of all other of late times was the greateſt; and albeit that out of it were taken the ſees of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it ſtill reteineth Lincolne, Leiceſter, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham ſhires, and the reſt of Hertford; ſo that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thouſand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reaſon of his diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight ſhillings, ſeauen pence farthing. It began ſince the conqueſt, about

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remoued his ſée from Dorcheſter to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for) vnto the king.) And thus much of the biſhoprikes which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I proceed with Wales.

Landaffe. Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor ſhires. And although it paid ſeuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it ſcarſelie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore biſhoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long ſince by the lord preſident in open court made anſwer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the ſéed time and the frée planting of the goſpell, the meate of the labourer ſhall not be diminiſhed and withdrawen.

S. Dauids. S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine ſhires, whoſe liuerie or firſt fruits to the ſée of Rome was one thouſand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardeſt (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie ſufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and ſeauen pounds, one ſhilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and ſo it paieth vnto hir maieſties coffers; but in time paſt I thinke it was farre better. The preſent biſhop miſliketh verie much of the cold ſituation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and ſet it in a warmer place: but it would firſt be learned what ſuertie he would put in to ſée it well perfourmed: of the reſt I ſpeake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernaruon, Angleſeie, and Merioneth ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the biſhoprikes in England it is now the leaſt for reuenues, and not worth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and ſirteene pence to hir maieſties coffers at euerie alienation (as appéereth by the tenths, which amount to much leſſe than thoſe of ſome good benefice) for it yeeldeth not yéerelie aboue thirteene pounds, three ſhillings, and ſeauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifeſt.

S. Aſaphes. S. Aſaphes hath Preſtholme and part of Denbigh and Flintſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, which being laid togither doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in reſpect of circuit the leaſt that is to be found in Wales, neuertheleſſe it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the firſt fruits of this biſhoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen ſhillings ſix pence, wherby it ſéemeth to be ſomewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor laſt remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintſhire in the compaſſe of this iuriſdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of ſiluer yearelie to the beſt harper in Wales, but did anie biſhop thinke you deſerue that in the popiſh time? Howell or Aphoweil in Engliſh is all one (as I haue heard) and ſignifie ſo much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for ſo much therof as now lieth within the compaſſe of this Iland. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbiſhoprike of Yorke, I ſaie curtailed becauſe all Scotland is cut from his iuriſdiction and obedience.

Yorke. The ſée of Yorke was reſtored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie deſolate and neglected, howbeit at the ſaid time Iuſtus archbiſhop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be firſt biſhop there, in the time of Eadwin king of Northumberland. This Paulinus ſate ſix yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whoſe expulſion that ſeat was void long time, wherby Lindeffarne grew into credit, and ſo remained vntill the daies of Oſwie of Northumberland, who ſent Wilfred the prieſt ouer into France, there to be conſecrated archbiſhop of Yorke: but whileſt he taried ouer long in thoſe parts, Oſwie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that rowme, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his rowme, and held it as he might, vntill it was ſeuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulſtade, or Lindeffarne, where Eata was placed, at which time alſo Egfride was made biſhop of Lincolne or Lindſie in that part of Mercia which he had goten from Wolfhere. Of it ſelfe it hath now iuriſdiction ouer Yorkeſhire, Nottinghamſhire (whoſe ſhire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the firſt ſurnamed the elder before the conqueſt) and the reſt of Lancaſterſhire onelie not ſubiect to the ſée of Cheſter; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his ſée 1000 ducates, beſide 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well ſpare of late, conſidering the curtailing & diminution of his ſée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yéeldeth 1609 pounds nineteene ſhillings two pence to hir maieſtie, whom God long preſerue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Cheſter. Cheſter vpon Dee, otherwiſe called Weſtcheſter, hath vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, Cheſterſhire, Darbiſhire, the moſt part of Lancaſterſhire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint & Denbigh ſhires in Wales. It was made a biſhoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and ſo hath continued ſince that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beſide od twentie pence (a ſtreit reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, and hereof the biſhops haue ſometimes béene earles palantines & ruled the roſt vnder the name of the biſhoprike and ſucceſſion of S. Cuthbert. It was a ſée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maieſties coffers by 221 pounds eightéene ſhillings ten pence farthing, and yet of leſſe countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheles the ſunneſhine thereof (as I heare) is now ſomewhat eclipſed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increaſe in hir eſtate. I heare alſo that ſome other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let ſuch maters be ſcanned by men of more diſcretion. Capgraue ſaith how that the firſt biſhop of this ſée was called biſhop of Lindſeie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a manſion houſe néere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Weſtſaxons beſtowed all the land betweene the Theſe & the Tine now called the biſhoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beſide whatſoeuer belonged to the ſée of Hagulſtade. Edgar of Scotland alſo in the time of the Baſtard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that houſe; but whether theſe donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a ſight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatſoeuer this biſhoprike be now, in externall & outward apparance, ſure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expreſſeth. Aidan a Scot or Iriſhman was the firſt biſhop of this ſée, who held himſelfe (as did manie of his ſucceſſors) at Colcheſter and in Lindeffarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. And now iudge

you

you whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill. Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches conteined in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds fourescore shillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his tale, and so peraduenture should haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speach was uttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and eftsones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue seene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis.* And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doo euidentlie declare, what store of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifullie gat he by his perquisits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, scales, pálls, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he séeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I also haue séene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion pore saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therfore I praie you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his potsœth, beside all other commodities.

Man. Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, sometime named *Episcopatus Sodorensis*, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the first bishop, and John the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time thereto as to them doth séeme conuenient. Howbeit if that sée did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later sée after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue béene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & dooings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by frendship, doo bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishoprikes, sometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerlheon tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the monke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Davids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leircester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Unwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramsbirie or Wiltun, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in Matth. Westm. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Bosa ouer the Deirancs that held his sée at Hagulstade or Lindfarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindseie (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Serulfus was ouer Lindseie before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Merelans and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to séeke his refuge and succour. Glocester & verie ancient bishoprike.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casam, an house with the countrie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late sée at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should sée it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beléeue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of euerie sée to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheless I will remember the fame of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherwith it was builded, and was séene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.

The

The names and successions of so manie archbishops and bishops of London, as are extant, and to be had, from the faith first receiued.

Archbishops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Pailadius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.

Tadwinus *alias* Theodwinus, some do write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus *alias* Theodred.
Hilarius.
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the monke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remoued his see to Canturburie, to the intent he might the soner flee, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more speedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.

Cernulphus.
Suiduiphus.
Eadstanus.
Wulfinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elstanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunstanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elfwoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elsward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Couentham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramsele, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order do I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for three things, anarice, riches, and learning.
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaumis.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
9 Eustathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Bascet.
12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauesend.
16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
17 Gilbertus Segraue.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauesend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the vestrie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.
27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remoued, imprisoned.
35 Nicholas Ridleie remoued and burned.
Edm. Boner, restored, remoued, & imprisoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall.
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue beene in that seat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes conteined in the whole psalter, and apointed the same daile to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Budham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Patteshull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stãman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull.
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmus de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magister Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Euerisdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Lisieux *alias* Leseux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolseie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohãnes Coller, founder of Paules schole.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampson.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham *alias* Howman resignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, imprisoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable see. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for that it is neere vnto checke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with suitors, and no lesse subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reproue and carpe at. I would haue done so much for euerie see in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit arising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuertheless I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abroade.

Glocester a verie ancient bishoprike.

Of Vniuersities.

Chap. 3.

Many vniuersities sometime in England.

THere haue beene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my daies not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon Vske, neere to the place where the riuer doth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Cricklade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall see more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are three noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the tongs, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, queenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be seene in ante other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

Three vniuersities in England.

When the vniuersities were builded vncerteine.

When these two scholes should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheless, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the least wise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Grantcester. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaie, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it beene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thense ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath beene often seene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Northelhire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would breed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were remoued as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat neere vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is so neere at hand. Onlie wood is the cheefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Essex, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great aboundance.

Oxford sixtie miles from London.

Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.

Oxford is supposed to conteine in longitude eighteene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrees and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrees and fiftéene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

Longitudes latitudes of both.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanship and priuat commodities, are much more stateli, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath beene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and keepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicause that goods euill gotten do seldome long indure.

Cambridge burned not long since.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell

standeth

standeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Gurguintus, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman giuen to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbeie of Oseneie neere vnto the same, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will heere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the clergie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere vnto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherfore these pies did so molest & vexe hir. Oh madam (saith he) the wilest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that craue releefe. And is it so in deed quoth she? Now *De pardieux*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring these soules to rest. Herevpon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that synagog 1130, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the same, in the habit of a vowesse, and yet to be seene, except the weather haue worne out the memorials. But to proceed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Iulie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue beene called to anie degree in the yeare precedent, doo there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous maner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commencement; and such resort is made yearelie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the friends of those which doo proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those gests. When and by whome the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seuenth, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yet long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and steeple, which since that time haue neuer beene repared. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbes, but now there are scarselie sixteene. There haue beene also 1200 burgesses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbes, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their prouision of victels.

The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanship, commeth next the mould of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seuenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betweene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in friendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill; or my power so great, that I might worthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to liue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of forren countries we see dailie to happen, where the students are inforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we liue in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came neere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monasticall institutions that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houses, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich friends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capacitie of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the first, onelie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich doo so incroch vpon them. And so farre hath this inconuenience spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholer, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue beene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doo intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or statutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too euident: and their attempt would soone take place, if their superiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholers to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is vsed; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort receiued (who in time past thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they set bring the vniuersities into much slander. For standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

Oxford fifth miles from London.

Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.

Longitude & latitude of both.

Cambridge burned not long since.

ting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

Readers in priuat houses.

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the tongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselues abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

Publike readers maintained by the prince.

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke tongs. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arythmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselues do allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incouraged to be diligent in their functions.

Studie of the quadriuials and perspectiues neglected.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to ech of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue atteined to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowleledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher vnto the estate of

Batchelers of art.

batchelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the tongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yeares) to

Maisters of art.

be called maisters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he profesle but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to chose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once maisters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded maisters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batchleler of diuinitie, but not before he hath bene maister of art by the space of seauen yeares, according to their statutes. Batcheler of diuinitie.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. Doctor.

I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, sith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eightene or peraduenture twentie yeares, in which time if a student hath not obteined sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & yeares of age, the most part of students do commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet doing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice insted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpright life, as bishop For sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit. This For builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the tongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he do, then his first degree is bacheler of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, do for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea do in their owne or elsewhere. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whense verie few without speciall grace do returne good men, what soeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chiefelie the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of forreine simples do oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknowen than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be seene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people. So much also may be inferred of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euerie house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauior and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsuall names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are

now

now and then called preſidents in reſpect of ſuch biſhops as are their viſitors & founders. In each of theſe alſo they haue one or moe threſurers whom they call Burſarios or Burſers beſide other officers, whoſe charge is to ſée vnto the welfare and maintenance of theſe houſes. Ouer each vniuerſitie alſo there is a ſeuerall chancelor, whoſe offices are perpetuall, howbeit their ſubſtitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are alſo the proctors, taſkers, maiſters of the ſtreates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and eſtate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuerſities in each of which I haue receiued ſuch degrée as they haue vouchſafed rather of their fauour than my deſert to yéeld and beſtow vpon me, and vnto whoſe ſtudents I wiſh one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am reſolutelie perſuaded, and the caſe now ſtandeth in theſe our dáies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did ſignifie the vacation therof to the biſhop, and the biſhop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuerſities, with requeſt that the vicechancellor with his aſſiſents might prouide ſome ſuch able man to ſucceed in the place, as ſhould by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then ſhould the church be prouided of good paſtors, by whome God ſhould be glorified, the vniuerſities better ſtored, the ſimoniacall practiſes of a number of patrons vtterlie aboliſhed and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie eſtate.

London. To theſe two alſo we may in like ſort ad the third, which is at London (ſeruing onelie for ſuch as ſtudie the lawes of the realme) where there are ſundrie famous houſes, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the reſt of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of ſuch as aplie their minds to our common lawes. Out of theſe alſo come manie ſcholers of great fame, whereof the moſt part haue heretofore béene brought vp in one of the aforeſaid vniuerſities, and prooue ſuch commonlie as in proceſſe of time, riſe vp (onelie through their profound ſkill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue alſo degrées of learning among themſelues, and rules of diſcipline, vnder which they liue moſt ciuilie in their houſes, albeit that the yonger ſort of them abroad in the ſtreats are ſcarſe able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont alſo greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the ſtudents and the burgeſſes: but as it is well left in theſe two places, ſo in forreine counteies it cannot yet be ſuppreſſed. Beſides theſe vniuerſities, alſo there are great number of Grammer ſcholes thorough out the realme, and thoſe verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore ſcholers, ſo that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quéenes dominion, that hain not one Grammar ſchole at the leaſt, with a ſufficient liuing for a maiſter and vſher appointed to the ſame. Grammar ſchooles.

There are in like maner diuerſe collegiat churches as Windſor, Wincheſter, Eaton, Weſtminſter (in which I was ſometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father maiſter Nowell now deane of Paules) and in thoſe a great number of poore ſcholers, dailie maintéened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue béene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Gréeke tongs, and rules of verſifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine apoſers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in each vniuerſitie, where they are receiued the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to ſhew their faces in the ſchooles, as I haue ſaid alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuerſities, and likewiſe of colleges in the ſame, whoſe names I will alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perith from among the wiſe and learned. windſor. wincheſter. Eaton. weſt minſter.

Of the colleges in Cambridge with *their founders.*

Yeares of the foundations.		*Colleges.*		*Founders.*
1546	1	Trinitie college.	by	King Henrie 8.
1441	2	The kings college.		K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3	S. Iohns.		L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4	Chriſtes college.		K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforeſaid.
1446	5	The queenes college.		Ladie Margaret wife to king Hentie 6.
1496	6	Ieſus college.		Iohn Alcocke biſhop of Elie.
1342	7	Bennet college.		*(Chriſti.* The brethren of a popiſh guild called *Corporis*
1343	8	Pembroke hall.		Maria de Valentia, counteſſe of Pembroke.
1256	9	Peter college.		Hugh Balſham biſhop of Elie.
1348	10	Gundeuill and		Edmund Gundeuill parſon of Terrington, and
1557		Caius college.		Iohn Caius doctor of phyſicke.
1354	11	Trinitie hall.		William Bateman biſhop of Norwich.
1326	12	Clare hall.		Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13	Catharine hall.		Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1519	14	Magdalen college.		Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie
1585	15	Emanuell college.		Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.

Of colleges in Oxford.

Yeares.		*Colleges.*		*Founders.*
1539	1	Chriſtes church.	by	King Henrie 8.
1459	2	Magdalen college.		William Wainflet firſt fellow of Merton college then ſcholer at Wincheſter, and afterward biſhop there. *He founded alſo a good part of Eaton college, and a free ſchole at Wainflet where he was borne.*
1375	3	New college.		William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter.
1276	4	Merton college.		Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter.
1437	5	All ſoules college.		Henrie Chicheleie archbiſhop of Canturburie.
1516	6	Corpus Chriſti college.		Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter.
1430	7	Lincolne college.		Richard Fleming biſhop of Lincolne.
1323	8	Auriell college.		Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.
1340	9	The queenes college.		R. Egleſfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.
1263	10	Balioll college.		Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.
1557	11	S. Iohns.		Sir Thomas White knight.
1556	12	Trinitie college.		Sir Thomas Pope knight.
1316	13	Exceſter college.		Walter Stapleton biſhop of Exceſter.
1513	14	Braſen noſe.		William Smith biſhop of Lincolne.
873	15	Vniverſitie college.		William archdeacon of Dureſme.
	16	Gloceſter college.		Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.
	17	S. Marie college.		
	18	Ieſus college now in hand.		Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.

There are alſo in Oxford certeine hoſtels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be ſeen in the other. I mine opinion the liuers in theſe are verie like to thoſe that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names alſo are theſe ſo farre as I now remember.

Brodegates.	S. Marie hall.
Hart hall.	White hall.
Magdalen hall.	New In.
Alburne hall.	Edmond hall.
Poſtminſter hall.	

The ſtudents alſo that remaine in them, are called hoſtelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to paſſe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbiſhop of Canturburie being brought vp in ſuch an houſe at Cambridge, was of the ignorant ſort of Londoners called an hoſteler, ſuppoſing that he had ſerued with ſome inholder in the ſtable, and therfore in deſpite diuerſe hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the goſpell, whereas in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient houſe: in the end a faithfull witneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, in whoſe quarrell he refuſed not to ſhed his blood and yeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduerſaries.

Beſides theſe there is mention and record of diuerſe other hals or hoſtels, that haue béene there in times paſt, as Bœfe hall, Putton hall, &c: whoſe ruines yet appéere: ſo that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the ſhew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be ſéene, it ſhould be an eaſie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniverſitie. Therin are alſo manie dwelling houſes of ſtone yet ſtanding, that haue béene hals for ſtudents of verie antike workemanſhip, beſide the old wals of ſundrie other, whoſe plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, ſince colleges were erected.

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

In London alſo the houſes of ſtudents at the Common law are theſe.

Sergeants In.	Furniuals In.
Graies In.	Cliffords In.
The Temple.	Clements In.
Lincolnes In.	Lions In.
Dauids In.	Barnards In.
Staple In.	New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniverſities, whoſe lands ſome greedie gripers do gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded ſundrie reaſons, whereby they ſuppoſed to haue preuailed in their purpoſes. But who are thoſe that haue attempted this ſute, other than ſuch as either hate learning, pietie, and wiſedome; or elſe haue ſpent all their owne, and know not otherwiſe than by incroching vpon other men how to maintaine themſelues? When ſuch a motion was made by ſome vnto king Henrie the eight, he could anſwer them in this maner; Ah ſirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleſhed you and ſet your téeth on edge, to aſke alſo thoſe colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe ſinne by defacing the monaſteries, you haue a deſire alſo to ouerthrow all godneſſe by ſubuerſion of colleges. I tell you ſirs that I iudge no land in England better beſtowed than that which is giuen to our vniverſities, for by their maintenance our realme ſhall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your ſelues with that you haue alreadie, or elſe ſeeke honeſt meanes whereby to increaſe your liuelods, for I loue not learning ſo ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one houſe by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewiſe the ſame ſute was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for ſaith the duke of Somerſet among other ſpeeches tending to that end, who alſo made anſwer thereunto in the kings preſence by his aſſignation; If lerning decaie, which of wiſe men maketh ciuill, of blockiſh and raſh perſons wiſe and godlie counſellors, of obſtinat rebels obedient ſubiects, and of euill men good and godlie chriſtians, what ſhall we looke for elſe but barbariſme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it ſhall be hard to ſaie, whoſe ſtaffe ſhall ſtand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the ſtate of biſhops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie ſhall be aſſailed, by ſuch as liue to ſpend all, and thinke that what ſo euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath ſweat and laboured for it. In queene Maries daies the weather was to warme for anie ſuch courſe to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious

Now abbeies be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college poſſeſſions.

gratious quéene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a ſort in talke the third time, but without ſucceſſe as moued alſo out of ſeaſon, and ſo I hope it ſhall continue for euer. For what comfort ſhould it be for anie good man to ſée his countrie brought into the eſtate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes againſt learning, and would not ſuffer anie ſkilfull man to come into their councell houſe, by meanes whereof thoſe people became ſauage, tyrants, and mercileſſe helhounds, till they reſtored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

Of the partition of England into *ſhires and counties.*

Chap. 4.

IN reading of ancient writers, as Cæſar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of ſundrie regions to haue béene ſometime in this Iland, as the Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Pariſi, Ordouici *alias* Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritaui, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Caſij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Kentiſhmen, and ſuch like. But ſith the ſeuerall places where moſt of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of theſe daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo doing I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with ſuch as are of leſſe value, and things nothing ſo likelie to be true, as thoſe which other men haue remembred and ſet downe before me. Neither will I ſpeake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whoſe number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Auguſtane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

Alfred brought England into ſhires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the firſt Saxons by families.

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to begin with ſuch a ground as from whence ſome better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the eſtate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who firſt diuided England into ſhires, which before his daies, and ſince the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the ſame in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doo witneſſe.

Into how manie ſhires the ſaid Alfred did firſt make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, ſith we find by no good author, that aboue fiftéene haue béene added by anie of his ſucceſſours, ſince the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhires, or ſhares; he diuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maiſter Lambert following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaieng almoſt after this maner in his deſcription of Kent; The Danes (ſaith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the ſea coaſts of this Iland in great numbers, ſometimes walking and ſpoiling with ſword and fire, whereſoeuer they might arriue, and ſomtime taking great booties with them to their ſhips, without doing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yéeres togither, cauſed our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion and hardineſſe to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the like pillage, as practiſing to follow the Danes in theſe their theefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their miſchéefe withall, they feigned themſelues to be Daniſh pirats, and would ſometime come a land in one port, and ſometime in another, driuing dailie great ſpoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their ſhips before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouſlie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) eſpieng this outrage, and thinking it no leſſe the part of a politike prince, to rot out the noiſome ſubiect, than to hold out the foren aduerſarie: by the aduiſe of his nobilitie, and the example of Moſes (who followed the counſell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or ſections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, ſignifieng to cut) he termed ſhires, or as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or portions, of which ſome one hath fortie miles in length (as Eſſer) and almoſt ſo manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike ſix and thirtie in length, &c: and ſome of them alſo conteine ten, twelue, thirtéene, ſixtéene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or leſſe, as ſome hundreds doo ſixtéene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or ſixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to ſerue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the ſame. Earle and alderman. Theſe ſhires alſo he brake into leſſer parts, whereof ſome were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to aſſemble togither; other hundreds, for that they enioied iuriſdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, bicauſe there were in each of them to the number of ten perſons, whereof euerie one from time to time was ſuertie for others good abearing. He prouided alſo that euerie man ſhould procure himſelfe to be receiued into ſome tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of ſo ſmall and baſe a credit, that no man would become pledge or ſuertie for him, he ſhould forthwith be committed to priſon, leaſt otherwiſe he might happen to doo more harme abroad. Hitherto maiſter Lambert. By whoſe words we may gather verie much of the ſtate of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent) ſo that in theſe daies it is hard to ſet downe anie great certeintie of things as they ſtood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this preſent.

Engliſhmen noiſome to their owne countrie.

Shire and ſhare all one.

What a lath is

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, doo ſaie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old Engliſh a lath, as they coniecture. From which ſpéech in like ſort ſome deriue the word Laikow, as if it ſhould be truelie written Laith ſtow, a place wherein to laie vp or laie on things, of whatſoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot abſolutelie be ſatiſfied, although peraduenture ſome likelihood in their iudgements may ſéeme to be therein. Other vpon ſome further conſideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or ſhire conteining an appointed number of townes, whoſe inhabitants alwaies aſſembled to know and vnderſtand of matters touching their portions, in to ſome

one.

one appointed place or other within their limits, eſpeciallie whileſt the cauſes were ſuch as required not the aid or aſſiſtance of the whole countie. Of theſe lathes alſo (as they ſaie) ſome ſhires had more, ſome leſſe, as they were of greatneſſe. And M. Lambert ſéemeth to be of the opinion, that the léets of our time (wherein theſe pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Frœ burgh) do yéeld ſome ſhadow of that politike inſtitution of Alfred. But ſith my ſkill is ſo ſmall in theſe caſes that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not ſet downe anie thing more than I read, leaſt I ſhould roue at random in our obſcure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke ſhall be of hundreds.

Léets.

Hundred or wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in ſome, and by this diuiſion not a name appertinent to a ſet number of townes (for then all hundreds ſhould be of equall quantitie) but a limited iuriſdiction, within the compaſſe whereof were an hundred perſons called pledges (as I ſaid) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewiſe of euerie denarie or tithing was in thoſe daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in moſt places a borſholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the Weſt countrie he be ſtill called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the ſaid Alfred cauſed ech man of frée condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be aſcribed into ſome hundred by placing himſelfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue ſuch as ſhould ſweare or ſaie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honeſt behauior and ciuill conuerſation if it ſhould happen at anie time, that his credit ſhould come in queſtion. In like ſort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie ſmall matter did fall out worthie to be diſcuſſed, the tithing man or borſholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high conſtable of which euerie hundred hath one at the leaſt) ſhould decide the ſame in their léets, whereas the great cauſes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greateſt of all to the ſhire daies, where the earles or aldermen did ſet themſelues, & make finall ends of the ſame, according vnto iuſtice. For this purpoſe likewiſe in euerie hundred were twelue men choſen of good age and diſcretion, and thoſe ſworne to giue their ſentences without reſpect of perſon, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in thoſe daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in vſe, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the ſignification of the ſame declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the ſoldiers which were to ſerue in that hundred did méet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of ſeruice by an ordinarie cuſtome, then generallie knowen amongſt them. It is ſuppoſed alſo that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and ſnatching, bicauſe the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or ſundrie daies & made quicke diſpatch of their lords haruеſt at once and in great haſt. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them in this maner.

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio.

Borſholder.

Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fortie ſhires in England thirteene in Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie ſhires, and likewiſe thirteene in Wales, and theſe latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welſhmen equall in all reſpects vnto the Engliſh, and brought to paſſe that both nations ſhould indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times paſt were ordred by diuerſe, and thoſe far diſcrepant and diſagreeing one from another: as by the ſeuerall view of the ſame is yet eaſie to be diſcerned. The names of the ſhires in England are theſe, whereof the firſt ten lie betweéne the Britiſh ſea and the Thames, as Polydor alſo doth ſet them downe.

Kent.	Wiltſhire.
Suſſex.	Dorſetſhire.
Surreie.	Summerſet.
Hampſhire.	Deuon.
Barkeſhire.	Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northſide of the Thames, and betweéne the ſame and the riuer Trent, which paſſeth through the middeſt of England (as Polydor ſaith) ſixteéne other ſhires, whereof ſix lie toward the eaſt, the reſt toward the weſt, more into the middeſt of the countrie.

Eſſex, ſometime all foreſt ſaue one hundred.	Huntington ſher in are foure hundreds.
Middleſex.	Buckingham.
Hartfordſhire.	Oxford.
Suffolke.	Northampton.
Norffolke.	Rutland.
Cambrigeſhire in which are 12 hundreds.	Leiceſterſhire.
	Notinghamſhire.
	Warwike.
Bedford.	Lincolne.

We haue ſix alſo that haue their place weſtward towards Wales, whoſe names inſue.

Gloceſter.	Shropſhire.
Hereford.	Stafford.
Worceſter.	Cheſterſhire.

And theſe are the thirtie two ſhires which lie by ſouth of the Trent. Beyond the ſame riuer we haue in like ſort other eight, as

Darbie.	it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeſhire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.
Yorke.	
Lancaſter.	
Cumberland.	
Weſtmerland.	
Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentares, & when	
	Durham.
	Northumberland.

So that in the portion ſometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie ſhires. In Wales furthermore are thirteéne, whereof ſeuen are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon.	hundreds or commots.
Penmorooke, or Penbroke.	Glamorgan.
Caermardine, wherein are 9	Monmouth.
	Brecknocke.
	Radnor.

In Northwales likewiſe are ſix, that is to ſaie

Angleſeie.	Denbigh.
Carnaruon.	Flint.
Merioneth.	Montgomerie.

Which being added to thoſe of England yéeld ſixtie and three ſhires or counties, ſo that vnder the quéenes Maieſtie are ſo manie counties, whereby it is eaſilie diſcerned, that hir power farre excéedeth that of Oſa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had ſo much of Britaine vnder his ſubiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine ſhires, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before.

Lieutenants.

Shiriffes.

Vnderſhiriffes.

Bailiffes.

Od parcels of ſhires.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuiſion of ſhires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid togither in one parcell, whereof I haue great marueil. But ſith the occaſion hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or ſome like occaſion, it is better héere lie to ſet downe how ſome of theſe parts lie than to ſpend the time in ſéeking a iuſt cauſe of this their od diuiſion,

diuiſion. Firſt therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamſhire betweene Amondeſham, & Beconſfield, there is a peece of Hartfordſhire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie moſt. In Barkeſhire alſo betweene Ruſcombe and Dokingham is a peece of Willhire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one ſide lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonſhire directlie ouer againſt Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamſhire, I find a parcell of Oxfordſhire not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

With Oxfordſhire diuerſe do participate, in ſo much that a peece of Glocesterſhire, lieth halfe in Warwikeſhire & halfe in Oxfordſhire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Glocesterſhire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a peece of Worcesterſhire, directlie betweene it & Glocesterſhire. Glocester hath the third peece vpon the north ſide of the Wilrush neere Falbrocke, as Barkeſhire hath one parcell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verie edge of Glocesterſhire: likewiſe an other in Oxfordſhire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer againſt Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeſhire, by a little ſtrake of Oxfordſhire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Willhire were to be ſeene in Barkeſhire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like ſith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlie gone thorough with them all, yet theſe may ſuffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof moſt readers (as I perſuade my ſelfe) are ignorant.

Lieutenants. But to proceed with our purpoſe. Euer ech of theſe ſhires in time of neceſſitie is a ſeuerall lieutenant choſen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the time being in manie caſes which do concerne his office: otherwiſe it is gouerned by a ſhiriffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whoſe office is to gather vp and bring his accounts vnto the exchequer, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæſtor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer is reſident and dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame countie, and called alſo a vicount, *Quaſi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in reſpect of the earle (or as they called him in time paſt the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be ſeldome ſeene in England, that the earle hath anie great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughts to do in the ſhire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his perſonall reſidence, if he happen to dwell and be reſident in the ſame.

Shiriffes.

In the election alſo of theſe magiſtrates, diuerſe able perſons aſwell for wealth as wiſedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choiſe, whoſe names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith pricketh ſome ſuch one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who hereupon is ſhiriffe of that ſhire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be choſen. The ſhiriffe alſo hath his vnder ſhiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the ſhire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon ſufficient caution vnto the high ſhiriffe for his true execution of iuſtice, preſeruation from impeachment, and yéelding of accompt when he ſhall be thereunto called. There are likewiſe vnder him certeine bailiffes, whoſe office is to ſerue and returne ſuch writs and proceſſes as are directed vnto them from the high ſhiriffe: to make ſeiſure of the goods and cattels, and arreſt the bodies of ſuch as do offend, preſenting either their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſtwiſe taking ſufficient bond, or other aſſurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the ſhiriffe by order of law ought to preſent them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred alſo are one or more high conſtables accordíng to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high ſhiriffe vnder his ſeale, or from ante other officers of the prince, either for the prouiſion of victuals or for other cauſes, or priuat puruciance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, do forthwith charge the petie conſtables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the ſame.

Vnderſhiriffes.

Bailiffes.

High conſtables.

Petie conſtables.

In each countie likewiſe are ſundrie law daies holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue alſo an other called the ſhiriffes turne, which they hold twiſe in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelis on the firſt of Maie, vntill the firſt of euerie moneth) and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft ariſe amongſt the inferior ſort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the iuſtices and gentlemen of the countrie, twiſe in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie ſeuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iuſtices there reſiant aſſociat them) & miniſter the lawes of the realme, with great ſolemnitie & iuſtice. Howbeit in doing of theſe things, they reteine ſtill the old order of the land in vſe before the conqueſt. For they commit the full examination of all cauſes there to be heard, to the conſideration of twelue ſober, graue, and wiſe men, choſen out of the ſame countie; and foure of them of neceſſitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inqueſt) & of theſe inqueſts there are more or leſſe impanneled at euerie aſſiſe, as the number of caſes there to be handled doth craue and require, albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuerſe matters to conſider of. And when they haue (to their vttermoſt power) conſulted and debated of ſuch things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iuſtice, with their verdict in writing, according whereunto the iudge doth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what ſoeuer is brought before him. It is alſo verie often ſeene, that ſuch as are nominated to be of theſe inqueſts, do after their charge receiued ſeldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agréed vpon their verdict, and yéelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof ſometimes it commeth to paſſe that diuerſe of the inqueſt haue béene welneere famiſhed, or at leaſt taken ſuch a ſickeneſſe thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practiſe, when the one ſide feareth the ſequele, and therefore conueieth ſome one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yéeld vnto the reſt, but of ſet purpoſe put them to this trouble.

Motelagh. Shiriffes turne.

Gaile deliuerie or great aſſiſes.

Inqueſts.

Atteins.

Certes it is a common practiſe (if the vnder ſhiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or ſtronger ſide to procure and packe ſuch a queſt, as he himſelfe ſhall like of, whereby he is ſure of the iſſue before the charge be giuen: and beſide this if the matter do iuſtlie procéed againſt him, it is a world to ſée now and then how the honeſt yeomen that haue *Bona fide* diſcharged their conſciences ſhall be ſued of an atteint, & bound to appéere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they ſhall be caried from place to

place,

place, countie to countie, yea and ſometime in carts, which hath and doth cauſe a great number of them to abſteine from the aſſiſes, & yeeld to paie their iſſues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus diſturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes alſo they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their purſſes wherewith to beare their coſtes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reaſon nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of ſeruice at anie time halfe ſo painefull as at this preſent: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and atturneies hath ſo exceedinglie increaſed, that ſome ſhifts muſt needs be found and matters ſought out, whereby they may be ſet on worke) a man ſhould not haue heard at one aſſiſe of more than two or three *Niſi prius*, but verie ſeldome of an atteint; whereas now an hundred & more of the firſt and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and ſome of them for a cauſe ariſing of ſix pence or twelue pence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue beene in time paſt, and readier to reuenge their quarels of ſmall importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpoſe, from whence I haue now digreſſed.

Beſide theſe officers afore mentioned, there are ſundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whoſe dutie is to inquire of ſuch as come to their death by violence, to attach & preſent the plées of the crowne, to make inquirie of treaſure found, &c. There are diuerſe alſo of the beſt learned of the law, beſide ſundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not ſuffice (and whoſe reuenues do amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by eſpeciall commiſſion from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir ſubiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of theſe the leaſt ſkilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwiſe called of Dier and Determiner, ſo that the firſt haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine ſuch matters as are brought vnto their preſence. Theſe alſo do direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the ſafe keeping of ſuch offendors as they ſhall iudge worthie to commit vnto their cuſtodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great aſſiſes, to the end their cauſes may be further examined before the reſidue of the countie, & theſe officers were firſt deuiſed about the eighteene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue beene informed.

Iuſtices of peax & quorum.

They meeting alſo & togither with the ſhiriffes, do hold their aforeſaid ſeſſions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter ſeſſions, and herein they inquire of ſundrie treſpaſſes, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerſe other things, determining vpon them as iuſtice doth require. There are alſo a third kind of ſeſſions holden by the high conſtables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie ſeſſions, wherein the weights and meaſures are peruſed by the clarke of the market for the countie, who ſitteth with them. At theſe meetings alſo victuellers, and in like ſort ſeruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their exceſſes, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter ſeſſions or higher courts of aſſiſe, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not ſince their ſecond apprehenſion applied themſelues to labour, or elſe to be ſet perpetuallie to worke in an houſe erected in euerie ſhire for that purpoſe, of which puniſhment they ſtand in greateſt feare.

Quarter ſeſſions.

Petie ſeſſions.

I might here deliuer a diſcourſe of ſundrie rare cuſtomes and courts, ſurnamed barons, yet maintained and holden in England: but for ſomuch as ſome of the firſt are beaſtlie, and therefore by the lords of the ſoiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the moſt part deuiſed in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in meere contempt and ſlaunſh abuſe of their tenants, vnder pretenſe of ſome puniſhment due for their exceſſes, I paſſe ouer to bring them vnto light, as alſo the remembrance of ſundrie courts baron likewiſe holden in ſtrange maner; yet none more abſurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therefore may well be called a lawleſſe court, as moſt are that were deuiſed vpon ſuch occaſions. This court is kept vpon wedneſdaie inſuing after Michaelmaſſe daie after midnight, ſo that it is begun and ended before the riſing of the ſunne. When the tenants alſo are altogither in an alehouſe, the ſteward ſecretlie ſtealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where ſitting on a mole hill he calleth them with a verie ſoft voice, writing their appearance vpon a peece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is incloſed in the lanterne: ſo ſone as the tenants alſo do miſſe the ſteward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there anſwer all at once, Here here, whereby they eſcape their amercements: which they ſhould not do if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had miſſed him in the alehouſe. And this is the verie forme of the court deuiſed at the firſt (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie againſt their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their diſobedience ſhewed. I could beſide this ſpeake alſo of ſome other, but ſith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatiſe, I thinke it ſufficient for me to haue ſaid ſo much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe generallie of the ſaid counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in ſo perfect order as the cauſe requireth, becauſe that of all the reſt there is nothing wherewith I am leſſe acquainted than with our tempozall regiment, which (to ſaie truth) ſmallie concerneth my calling. What elſe is to be added after the ſeuerall ſhires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuiſion of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reſerue vnto that excellent treatiſe of my freend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whoſe worke written in Latine ſhall in ſhort time (I hope) be publiſhed, to the no ſmall benefit of ſuch as will read and peruſe the ſame.

Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.

Chap. 5.

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure ſorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgeſſes, yeomen, which are artificers, or labozers. Of gentlemen the firſt and cheefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marqueſſes, earls, viſcounts, and barons: and theſe are called gentlemen of the greater ſort, or (as our common vſage of ſpeech is) lords and noblemen; and next vnto them be knights, eſquiers, and laſt of all they that are ſimplie called gentlemen; ſo that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearſall.

The

Prince. Duke. Marquell Earle. Viſcont. Baron.

Prince. The title of prince doth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldeſt ſonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldeſt ſonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monſieur. So that the prince is ſo termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, ſith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings yonger ſonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher eſtate, as to be either viſconts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie aſſigned to the king and prince, and now alſo by cuſtome conueied to dukes, archbiſhops, and (as ſome ſaie) to marqueſſes and their wiues.

Duke. The title of duke commeth alſo of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, becauſe of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times paſt a name of office due to the emperour, conſull, or cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although periſhed in England, whoſe ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time paſt, or as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would florith and proſper well inough.

Marqueſſe. In old time he onelie was called marqueſſe, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that alſo is changed in common vſe, and reputed for a name of great honor nert vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and ſometimes ſmall cities, as the prince is pleaſed to beſtow it.

Earle. The name of earle likewiſe was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites ſacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites ſtabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, ſcholarum, commerciorum*, and ſuch like. But at the firſt they were called Comites, which were ioined in commiſſion with the proconſull, legate, or iudges for counſell and aids ſake in each of thoſe ſeuerall charges. As Cicero epiſtola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he ſaith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipſa reſpublica duntaxat finibus his præſtabis, quos ante præſcripſi, &c.* After this I read alſo that euerie preſident in his charge was called *Comes*, but our Engliſh Saxons vſed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I gelle, ſith the name of duke was not in vſe before the conqueſt. Goropius ſaith, that *Comes* and

Viſcont. Graue is all one, to wit the viſcont, called either *Procomes*, or *Vicecomes*: and in time paſt gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie ſuch ſeruice or office, it is alſo become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degree before the baron. His releefe alſo by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the moſt for euerie fee.

Baron. The baron, whoſe degree anſwered to the dignitie of a ſenator in Rome, is ſuch a free lord as hath a lordſhip or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerſe knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did ſerue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in *Baronia*, that is, for performance of ſuch ſeruice. Theſe Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quaſi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may eaſilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldeſt hiſtories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written ſince the conqueſt, we read of barons, and thoſe are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or Freihers in the Germane tong as ſome men do coniecture, or (as one ſaith) the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Neuertheleſſe by diligent inquiſition it is imagined, if not abſolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; ſo that the kings children are properlie called *Barones*, from whome alſo it was firſt tranſlated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greateſt honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* ſignifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be ſeene, although with ſome corruption: for to this daie, euen the common ſort do call their male children barnes here in England, eſpeciallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accuſtomablie in vſe. And it is alſo growne into a prouerbe in the ſouth, when anie man ſuſteineth a great hinderance, to ſaie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue tong (as ſome affirme) it ſignifieth *Filij ſolis*, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *ſerui regum*? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henſeforth the originall of the word *Baro* ſhall not be anie more to ſeeke: and the firſt time that euer I red thereof in anie Engliſh hiſtorie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnceſter, by that name, 1030, as I haue elſe-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies ſignifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the exchekir is of cuſtome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts nert vnto the lord treaſuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales*. Herevnto I may adſo much of the word lord, which is an addition going not ſeldome and in like ſort with ſundrie offices, and to continue ſo long as he or they do execute the ſame, and no longer.

Biſhops. Vnto this place I alſo referre our biſhops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the ſame rome in the parlement houſe with the barons, albeit for honour ſake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whoſe countenances in time paſt were much more glorious than at this preſent it is, becauſe thoſe luſtie prelats ſought after earthlie eſtimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the loſt ſheepe of Chriſt, of which they had ſmall regard, as men being otherwiſe occupied and void of leiſure to attend vpon the ſame. Howbeit in theſe daies their eſtate remaineth no leſſe reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they eſteemed with high and low. They reteine alſo the ancient name (lord) ſtill, although it be not a little impugned by ſuch as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no ſuperiours. For notwithſtanding it be true, that in reſpect of function, the office of the elderſhip is equallie diſtributed betweene the biſhop and the miniſter, yet for ciuill gouernements ſake, the firſt haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the reſt maie thereby be with more eaſe reteined within a limited compaſſe of vniformitie, than otherwiſe they would be, if ech one were ſuffered to walke in his owne course. This alſo is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their eſtate, crieng to haue the word lord abolliſhed, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the preſent condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to ſaie trulie, few of them do agree vpon forme of diſcipline and gouernement of the church ſuccedent: wherein they reſemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie doth ſpeake in the ſlaughter of their ſenat. Neither is it poſſible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one

1. Sam. b 15.
1. Reg. 7.

towne or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will neuer yéeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates dw daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neuertheles their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicause of their authoritie and seuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the lose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuertheless with what degrées of honour and worship they haue béene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others dw erpresse; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shronke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they dw thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their sées (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall tongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be exactlie séene in the Græke and Hebrue, much more then to be vterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue bene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no further accompt of their priesthod, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to to dw anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to seruc at all.

De Asia, cap. 12

No Græke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene le.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good seruice done by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie doth agrée to none of lower degrée than barons, yet by law and vse these be not estéemed barons.

Duke, marquesse, earle, viscont.

Barons.

The baronie or degrée of lords doth answer to the degrée of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viscounts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degrée & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he kéepeth this degrée: but if the decaie be excessiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti à senatu*: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they kéepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

Of the second degrée of gentlemen.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to restore the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & prædia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

Prædia.

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by saltpits, milles, water-courses (and whatsoeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrées of honor vnder the first three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valuasores*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuasores*, if from anie of his three péeres, then were they *Minores valuasores*: but if anie of these *valuasors* dw substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valuasores*, and their deputies also *valuasini*, without regard vnto which degrée the valuasor doth apperteine: but the word *valuasor* is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

Valuasores.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhod: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse alreadie shewed (& then are they called *Milites*;) or out of the warres for some great seruice done, or for the singular vertues which dw appeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order séemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or aboundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all

Knights.

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that

that had *Equestrem censum*, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometimes diuerse ancient gentlemen, bargesses, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuertheles refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their seruice should be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherefore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncerteine: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie meet for their defense and seruice. This neuertheles is certeine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquited of that title. We name him knight in English that the French call Cheualier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king or his substitute with his sword naked vpon the backe or shoulder, the prince crieng, *Soyez cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riseth vp the king saith *Exaudiances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose among[st] creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how soeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as the liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the cõmon law she hath no such prerogatiue. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth a priuilege to vse no honor through courtesie yelded to hir ser, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not seene elsewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowmed persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and pretious stones, to weare dailie on the left leg ouer the hose a little, gowne, robe, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of riche and fashion exquisite: because he meant it should be as to so high and princelie an order appertained. Of this companie also he and his successors kings and queenes of England, be the soueraignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

Round table.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and thereunto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so doing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their solemne rites and vsages: but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errours and fables inserted into the same by the leiuy religious sort, that except a man should professe to lie with them for company, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to restore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer, at Kilingworth) but such were the excessiue charges appertaining thereunto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie insued there vpon, besides the breeding of sundrie quarels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto, from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decaie, till Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

Roger Mortimer.

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The queenes maiestie then liuing, being departed from his presence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following some after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, vnespied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir. His grooms & gentlemen also passed by it, disdaining to stoope and take vp such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to state and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (saieth a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the queenes maiestie. What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he said to such as stood about him; You my maisters do make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a begining hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performances of his deuise, and had set downe such orders as he himselfe inuented concerning the same, he proclamed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsore, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and

The occasion of the deuise.

Peraduenture but a blue ribben.

forthwith inuested an appointed number into the afore said fellowship, whose names insue, himselfe being the soueraigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himselfe also he placed

Edward prince of Wales.	S. Thomas Holland.
Henrie duke of Lancaster.	Sir Iohn Geale.
N. earle of Warw.	Sir Rich. Fitzsimon.
N. Lord de Boudie.	Sir Miles Stapleton.
N. earle of Stafford.	Sir Thomas Wale.
N. earle of Sarum.	Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
N. Lord Mortimer.	Sir Neale Lording.
Sir Iohn Lisle.	Sir Iohn Chandos.
Sir Bartholomew Burwash.	S. Iames Dawdleie.
N. sonne of sir Iohn Beauchamp.	Sir Otho Holland.
Sir N. de Mahun.	Sir Henrie Emc.
S. Hugh Courtneie.	Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
	Sir Walter Pannell *alias* Paganell.

Election. What order of election, and what statutes were presented vnto the elected at this first institution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderstand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added thereunto before the fir and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the first: wherefore of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said order as it is at this present, which I will set downe briefelie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a roome found void for his admission) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be nominated to the same, to this effect. Right trustie and welbeloued we greete you well, asserteining you, that in consideration aswell of your approued trustie and fidelitie, as also of your courageous and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits shewne by experience in sundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, assembled at the election holden this date within our manour of N. haue elected and chosen you amongst other to be one of the companions of the said Order, as your deserts do condigneli require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto our presence, there to receiue such things as to the said order apperteineth. Dated vnder our signet at our maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it should seeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforesaid companie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the same.

Edward duke of Somerset vncle to the king.	L. Russell lord priuie seale.
The marq. of Northhampton.	L. S. Iohn lord great master.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.	Sir Iohn Gage.
Earle of Shrewesburie.	S. Anthonie Wingfield.
	Sir William Paget.

Admission. Being elected, preparation is made for his installing at Windsore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner be set vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in bredth, besides the fringe. Secondlie his sword of what soeuer length him seemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the creast, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such conuenient stuffe and bignesse, as it shall please him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall, and creast with mantels and beasts supportant, to be grauen in the metrall.

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, inuironned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Inns where he doth lodge, as a testimonie of his presence and estate from time to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windsore, the other to vse at his pleasure, with the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, tasselets, and knops of blue silke and gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcote or gowne of red or crimosine veluet, with a hood of the same, lined with white sarcenet or damaske.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garnished with precious stones or otherwise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to set vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided against his installation.

When anie knight is to be installed, he hath with his former letters, a garter sent vnto him, and when he commeth to be installed, he is brought into the chapter house, where incontinentlie his commission is read before the soueraigne, or his deputie, and the assemblie present: from hence he is lead by two knights of the said order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or else the king at armes, to whome it secondarilie apperteineth to beare it. This mantell shall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his stall, and not before: which done, he shall returne vnto the chapter house, where the soueraigne, or his deputie, shall deliuer him his collar, and so he shall haue the full possession of his habit. As for his stall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one called vnto this knighthood (the soueraigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) shall haue the same seat, which became void by the death of his predecessor, howsoeuer it fall out: whereby a knight onlie oftentimes doth sit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his roome, except it please the soueraigne, once in his life onelie to make a generall alteration of those seats, and to set each one according to his degree.

Installation.

Mantell.

Stall.

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuiser of this order left it, that is to saie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain, blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and hood, lined with white satine or damaske, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and hood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleasure, beside fiue timber of the finest mineuer.

A timber containeth fortie skins, pelts, or felles.

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of silke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of silke.

A viscount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber

ber of mineuer, 90 garters of silke.

A baron siue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer gresle, 80 garters of silke.

A banneret siue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 70 garters of silke.

A knight siue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 60 garters of silke.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, ninetéene timber gresle, three timber and a halfe of the best, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order siue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The register of the order siue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are six and twentie in number, and whose patrone in time of superstition was supposed to be S. George, of whome they were also called S. Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by some other name, for the title of saint George argueth a wrong patrone.

Installation. Furthermore at his installation he is solemnelie sworne, the manor whereof I haue thought good also to anner, in this maner. You being chosen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, shall promise and sweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maiestie, and to obserue and keepe all the points of the statutes of the said order, and euerie article in them conteined, the same being agréeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse other godlie procédings, so far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premisses.

Estatutes. As touching the estatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo arise aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall souereigne of that order hath to determine and resolue the same. Neither are anie chosen thereunto vnder the degrée of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of bloud and of sound estimation.

Mantell.

Stall.

Gentleman of bloud. And for the better vnderstanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to descend of three descents of noblenesse, that is to saie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

Degrées of reproch. There are also foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the first is heresie lawfullie proued, the second high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall excesse of expenses, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof.

Apparell. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforesaid apparell, it is their custome to weare the same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter house of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the souereigne, or his deputie in the same in maner of procession from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the aforesaid place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be ended, and the auoid done. The next daie they resort vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their said apparell vnto euening praier, and likewise all the super time, vntill the auoid be finished. In the solemnitie likewise of these feasts, the thirteene chanons there, and six and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof those for the chanons are of Purrcie with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said armes.

A timber containeth fortie skins, pelts, or feiles.

Sicke or absent. If anie knight of this order be absent from this solemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be present either through bodilie sickenesse, or his absence out of the land: he doth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable stall for the kings maiestie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of estat, and cushions, and scutchon of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stall of which side soeuer it be distant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at Windsore, there to remaine, the first euening praier on the euen of S. George, or three of the clocke, and likewise the next daie during the time of the diuine seruice, vntill the morning praier, and the rest of the seruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whod, collar or surcote. Or if he be so sicke that he doo keepe his bed, he doth vse to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine seruice aforesaid.

Offering. At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (sauing the deputie of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the sword with the hilts forwards, which being done the first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme and crest, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the statutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords, doth deliuer at his offering a péece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he so procéedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like solemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation being made, euerie knight according to their stals, with an herald before him procéedeth to the offering.

Buriall. What solemnitie is vsed at the burial of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will shew generallie what is done at the disgrading of one of these knights, if through anie grieuous offense he be separated from this companie. Whereas otherwise the signe of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finish vp his daies. Therefore when anie such thing is done, promulgation is made therof after this maner insuing.

Disgrading. Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the most noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and detestable crime of high treason, for he hath most traitorouslie conspired against our most high and mightie prince souereigne of the said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath sworne and taken. For which causes therefore he hath deserued to be deposed from this noble order, and fellowship of the Garter. For it may not be suffered that such a traitor and disloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed stomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes should be mingled with those of noble chiualrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince and supreme of this most honorable order, by the aduise and counsell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deserued shall be from henceforth be taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himselfe cleane cut off from the societie of this renowmed order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the same, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like trespasse, or fall in-

to ſuch notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there reſorteth vnto the partie to be diſgraded certeine officers with diuerſe of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner.

And hitherto of this moſt honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toiſon Dor or golden fléece, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſir and thirtie knights thereof: and likewiſe that of ſaint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hiſtoriographers of their owne countries, without reprehenſion or checke, eſpecially by *Vincentius Lupan lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them Cheualliers ſans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the leaſt, and honour thereof ſo great, that it is not lawfull for them to ſell, giue, or laie the ſame to morgage (would to God they might once breake their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not ſuffer ſome of the beſt of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I truſt I haue not giuen anie cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefelie to ſet forth thoſe things that apperteine vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonlie, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, which is ſo much to ſaie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrarie to the word, which promiſeth like meaſure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

*Some think that this was the anſwer of the queene, when the king aſked what men would thinke of hir, in loſing the garter after ſuch a maner.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, ſo that being before but a bacheler knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to diſplaie his armes in a banner as barrons do. Howbeit theſe knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings ſtandard being vnfolded.

Bannerets.

Eſquire (which we call commonlie ſquire) is a French word, and ſo much in Latine as *Scutiger vel armiger*, and ſuch are all thoſe which beare armes, or armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be deſcended. They were at the firſt cofferels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being inſtructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſh them from common ſouldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were togither in the field.

Eſquire.

Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and blood, or at the leaſt their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generoſos*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and ſurname: ſo the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were alſo called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that houſe and race.

Gentlemen.

Moreouer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, ſo gentlemen whoſe anceſtors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much leſſe of the Britiſh iſſue) do take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Whoſoeuer ſtudieth the lawes of the realme, who ſo abideth in the vniuerſitie giuing his mind to his booke, or profeſſeth phyſicke and the liberall ſciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, or good counſell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he ſhall for monie haue a cote and armes beſtowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the ſame do of cuſtome pretend antiquitie and ſeruice, and manie gaie things) and thereunto being made ſo good cheape be called maſter, which is the title that men giue to eſquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed of, for that the prince doth loſe nothing by it, the gentleman being ſo much ſubiect to tares and publike paiments as is the yeoman or huſbandman, which he likewiſe doth beare the gladlier for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called alſo to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle) what ſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraie & arme himſelfe accordinglie, and ſhew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the perſon which he repreſenteth. No man hath hurt by it but himſelfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buſkens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe ſaith, now and then beare a bigger ſaile than his boat is able to ſuſteine.

Lawiers ſtudents in vniuerſities. Phyſicians. Capteins.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great ſtrife ſometimes amongſt the Romans, I meane when thoſe which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie ſéene and ſhewed, than the old ſmell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardiſe & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iuſtice and equitie, ſo it forceth not what language the malicious do giue out, againſt ſuch as are exalted for their wiſdomes. This neuertheleſſe is generallie to be reprehended in all eſtates of gentilitie, and which in ſhort time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vſuall ſending of noblemens & meane gentlemens ſonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but méere atheiſme, infidelitie, vicious converſation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to paſſe that they returne far worſſe men than they went out. A gentleman at this preſent is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earneſt proteſtant, but comming home he could ſaie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no loſſe or hindrance of a further purpoſe is ſuſteined by holding of the ſame; and forgiueneſſe onelie to be ſhewed when full reuenge is made. Another no leſſe forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a fole that maketh accompt of anie religion, but more fole that will loſe ante part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for conſtant leaning to ante: but if he yéeld to loſe his life for his poſſeſſion, he is ſtark mad, and worthie to be taken for moſt fole of all the reſt. This gaie bootie gate theſe gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may ſée what fruit is afterward to be loked for, where ſuch bloſſoms do appéere. I care not (ſaith a third) what you talke to me of God, ſo as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my ſide. Such men as this laſt, are eaſilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe alſo in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whoſe face and countenance ſhall be ſuch as ſheweth the maſter not to be blind in his choiſe. But leaſt I ſhould offend too much, I paſſe ouer to ſaie ante more of theſe Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifeſt to the world, and yet not called into queſtion.

Citizens and burgeſſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are free within the cities, and are of ſome likelie ſubſtance to beare office in the ſame. But theſe citizens or burgeſſes are to ſerue

Citizens and burgeſſes.

the

the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common aſſemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little ſwaie (which aſſemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgeſſes to haue voices in it, and giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch things as paſſe or ſtaie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Merchants. In this place alſo are our merchants to be inſtalled, as amongſt the citizens (although they often change eſtate with gentlemen, as gentlemen do with them, by a mutuall conuerſion of the one into the other) whole number is ſo increaſed in theſe our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cauſe of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwiſe when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great tranſportation of them into other countries, I ſpeake not, ſith the matter will eaſilie bewraie it ſelfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the ſtate of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wiſhed that the huge heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreined, as alſo of our lawiers, ſo ſhould the reſt liue more eaſilie vpon their owne, and few honeſt chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I do not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and ſo are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie ſale of things, vpon pretenſe of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottoms were ſuffered to come in, we had ſugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatiſe is well worth halfe a crowne, raiſons or corints for a penie that now are holden at ſix pence, and ſometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raiſons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and ſixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may ſée the ſequele of things not alwaies but verie ſeldome to be ſuch as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the moſt part broade clothes and carſies of all colours, likewiſe cottons, freeſes, rugs, tin, woll, our beſt beere, baies, buſſian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, raſh, lead, fells, &c: which being ſhipped at ſundrie ports of our coaſts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times paſt their cheeſe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danſke, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iſeland onelie: now in theſe daies, as men not contented with theſe iournies, they haue ſought out the eaſt and weſt Indies, and made now and then ſuſpicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewiſe into Cathaia, Moſcouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they ſaie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I ſée not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for ſo I do accompt of it) was ſufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble eſtatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occaſion the generall execution thereof is ſtaied or not called on, in good ſooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and ſeuerall vocation ſtriueth with other, which of them ſhould haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne ceſterne.

Citizens and burgeſſes.

Yeomen. Yeomen are thoſe, which by our law are called *Legales homines*, free men borne Engliſh, and may diſpend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenue, to the ſumme of fortie ſhillings ſterling, or ſix pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the ſame which the French men call varlets, but as that phraſe is vſed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be ſo. The truth is that the word is derived from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which ſignifieth (as I haue read) a ſettled or ſtaid man, ſuch I meane as being maried and of ſome yeares, betaketh himſelfe to ſtaie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himſelfe and his familie, whereof the ſingle ſort haue no regard, but are likelie to be ſtill fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of ſtabilitie in determination and reſolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This ſort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more eſtimation than labourers & the common ſort of artificers, & theſe commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houſes, and trauell to get riches. They are alſo for the moſt part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani, & opponuntur militibus*, and therfore Perſius calleth himſelfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leaſt wiſe artificers, & with graſing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of ſeruants (not idle ſeruants as the gentlemen do, but ſuch as get both their owne and part of their maſters liuing) do come to great welth, in ſomuch that manie of them are able and do buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often ſetting their ſonnes to the ſchooles, to the vniuerſities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwiſe leauing them ſufficient lands whereupon they may liue without labour, do make them by thoſe meanes to become gentlemen: theſe were they that in times paſt made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called maſter as gentlemen are, or ſir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they borne ſound to haue done verie good ſeruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their ſotmen) as the French kings did amongſt their horſſemen: the prince thereby ſhewing where his chiefe ſtrength did conſiſt.

Engliſhmen on foot and Frenchmen on horſſebacke beſt.

Capite cenſi or Proletarij. The fourth and laſt ſort of people in England are daie labourers, poore huſbandmen, and ſome retailers (which haue no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, ſhomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, maſons, &c. As for ſlaues and bondmen we haue none, naie ſuch is the priuilege of our countrie by the eſpeciall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, ſo ſone as they ſet foot on land they become ſo free of condition as their maſters, whereby all note of ſeruile bondage is vtterlie remoued from them, wherein we reſemble (not the Germans who had ſlaues alſo, though ſuch as in reſpect of the ſlaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Tapzobanes, who ſuppoſed it a great iniurie to nature to make or ſuffer them to be bond, whome ſhe in hir wonted courſe doth produce and bring forth free. This fourth and laſt ſort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make vp their inqueſts of ſuch maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, ſidemen, aleconners, now and then conſtables, and manie times inioie the name

No ſlaues nor bondmen in England.

of hedbozoughes. Unto this ſozt alſo may our great ſwarmes of idle ſeruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a pzouerbe; Yong ſeruing men old beggers, bicauſe ſeruice is none heritage. Theſe men are pzofitable to none, foz if their condition be well peruſed, they are enimies to their maſters, to their frænds, and to themſelues: foz by them oftentimes their maſters are incouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their frænds bzought vnto pouertie by their rents inhanced, and they themſelues bzought to confuſion by their owne pzodigalitie and errozs, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their exceſſes, doo ſearch in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and ſtables, which way to ſupplie their wants. Yow diuerſe of them alſo coueting to beare an high ſaile doo inſinuate themſelues with yong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the caſe is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but alſo their liuelihoods and reuenues ſo waſted and conſumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they ſhall be able to recouer themſelues. It were verie good therefoze that the ſuperfluous heapes of them were in part diminiſhed. And ſith neceſſitie inforceth to haue ſome, yet let wiſdome moderate their numbers, ſo ſhall their maſters be rid of vnneceſſarie charge, and the common wealth of manie théeues. No nation cheriſheth ſuch ſkoze of them as we doo here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themſelues to idleneſſe, that otherwiſe would be bzought to labour, and liue in ozder like ſubiects. Of their whozedomes I will not ſpeake anie thing at all, moze than of their ſwearing, yet is it found that ſome of them doo make the firſt a chæfe piller of their building, conſuming not onlie the goods but alſo the health & welfare of manie honeſt gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by ſuch vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I wanded in this point, oz how farre may I ſaile in ſuch a large ſea: I will therefoze now ſtaie to ſpeake anie moze of thoſe kind of men. In returning therefoze to my matter, this furthermoze among other things I haue to ſaie of our huſbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in their trades as at this preſent. But as the wozkemanſhip of the later ſozt was neuer moze fine and curious to the eie, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtantiall foz continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common ſozt of our artificers moze than haſt, and a barbarous oz ſlauiſh deſire to turne the penie, and by ridding their wozke to make ſpédie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and diſpatch manie things they care not how ſo they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often ſoze defrauded, and findeth to his coſt, that haſt maketh waſt, accozding to the pzouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no néed: how manie néedfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great coſt, &c: and yet may with farre moze eaſe and leſſe coſt be pzouided from other countries if we could vſe the meanes. I will not ſpeake of iron, glaſſe, and ſuch like, which ſpoile much wood, and yet are bzought from other countries better chépe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie alſo in manie other. But to leaue theſe things and pzocéed with our purpoſe, and herein (as occaſion ſerueth) generallie by waie of concluſion to ſpeake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by thzée ſozts of perſons.

1 The pzince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, oz (if the crowne fall to the woman) the quéene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie all things are adminiſtred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two ſozts, as the baronie oz eſtate of lozds (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and alſo thoſe that be no lozds, as knights, eſquiers, & ſimple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of theſe alſo are the great deputies and high pzeſidents choſen, of which one ſerueth in Ireland, as another did ſometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lozd pzeſident doth gouerne in Wales, and the other the nozth parts of this Iland, which later with certeine councellozs and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But foꝛſomuch as I haue touched their conditions elſewhere, it ſhall be inough to haue remembzed them at this time.

3 The third and laſt ſozt is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their ſequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue ſaid ſomewhat euen now. Whereto I ad that they be not called maſters and gentlemen, but godmen, as godman Smith, godman Cot, godman Cozneil, godman Malcall, godman Cockſwet, &c: & in matters of law theſe and the like are called thus, Giles Jewd yeoman, Edward Mountfozd yeoman, James Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common ſozts. Cato calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ*, of whom alſo you may read moze in the booke of common wealth which ſir Thomas Smith ſometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen alſo ſome are by the pzince choſen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which ſaid offices diuerſe concerne the whole realme; ſome be moze pziuat and peculiar to the kings houſe. And they haue their places and degrées, pzeſcribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner inſuing.

Theſe foure the lozd Chancellor, the lozd Treaſuroz (who is *Supremus aerarij Anglici quæſtor* oz *Tribunus ærarius maximus*) the lozd Pzeſident of the councell, and the lozd Pziuie ſeale, being perſons of the degrée of a baron oz aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in the parlement and in all aſſemblies oz councell aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, Videlicet the kings bzother, vncle, oz nephue.

And theſe ſix, the lozd great Chamberleine of England: the lozd high Conſtable of England: the lozd Marſhall of England: the lozd Admirall of England: the lozd great maſter oz Steward of the kings houſe: and the lozd Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all aſſemblies of councell, after the lozd pziuie ſeale, accozding to their degrées and eſtats: ſo that if he be a baron, then he is to ſit aboue all barons: oz an earle aboue all earles.

And ſo likewiſe the kings ſecretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, he ſhall ſit and be placed accozding thereunto.

The rehearſall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or firſt calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this preſent.

The Marquiſe of Wincheſter.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shzewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Wozceſter.

No duke in England. Earles.

The

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suſſex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leiceſter.
The earle of Eſſex.
The earle of Lincolne.

Viſconts. The viſcont Montague.
The viſcont Bindon.

Barons. The lord of Abergeuennie.
The lord Awdeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the ſouth.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Staffford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windſore.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willoughbie.
The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chicheſter.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunſdon.
The lord ſaint John of Bletſo.
The lord of Buckhirſt.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

Biſhops in their anciencie, as they *ſat in parlement, in the fift of the* Queenes maieſties reigne that now is.

Cleargie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie.	
The archbiſhop of Yorke.	
London.	Bath and Welles.
Durham.	Couentrie and Lichfield.
Wincheſter.	Norwich.
Chicheſter.	Peterborough.
Landaffe.	Carleill.
Hereford.	Cheſter.
Elie.	S. Aſaph.
Worceſter.	Gloceſter.
Bangor.	
Lincolne.	
Saliſburie.	
S. Dauids.	
Rocheſter.	

And this for their placing in the parlement houſe. Howbeit, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſiteth in his prouinciall aſſemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbiſhop of Yorke, and next vnto him the biſhop of Wincheſter, on the left hand the biſhop of London: but if it fall out that the archbiſhop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his ſée, then the archbiſhop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the biſhop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Wincheſter to his left, the reſt ſitting alwaies as afore, that is to ſaie, as they are elders by conſecration, which I thought good alſo to note out of an ancient preſident.

Of the food and diet of *the Engliſh.*

Chap. 6.

THe ſituation of our region, lieng nére vnto the north, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches to be of ſomewhat greater force: therefore our bodies do craue a little more ample nouriſhment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall, whoſe digeſtiue force is not altogither ſo vehement, becauſe their internall heat is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the aire, that from time to time (ſpecially in winter) doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifullie garniſhed than thoſe of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen ſince the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predeceſſors fed largelie vpon fleſh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, becauſe they applied their chéefe ſtudies vnto paſturage and féeding. After this maner alſo did our Welſh Britons order themſelues in their diet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the Engliſh they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at this daie there is verie little difference betwéene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewiſe they haue giuen themſelues (of late yeares to ſpeake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for ſome reſpect nature doth make them equall with vs: ſo otherwiſe they far exceéd vs in ouer much and diſtemperate gormandize, and ſo ingroſſe their bodies that diuerſe of them do oft become vnapt to anie other purpoſe than to ſpend their times in large tabling and bellie chéere. Againſt this pampering of their carcaſſes doth Hector Boetius in his deſcription of the countrie verie ſharpelie inueigh in the firſt chapter of that treatiſe. Hentie Wardlaw alſo biſhop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into exceſſiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with James the firſt (who had béene long time priſoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,

and

and at his returne caried diuerſe Engliſh gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) doth vehementlie exclame againſt the ſame in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three eſtats, and ſo bringeth his purpoſe to paſſe in the end by force of his learned perſuaſions, that a law was preſentlie made there for the reſtreint of ſuperfluous diet, amongeſt other things baked meats (diſhes neuer before this mans daies ſeene in Scotland) were generallie ſo prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the ſame vnder the degree of a gentleman, and thoſe onelie but on high and feſtiuall daies, but alas it was ſone forgotten.

In old time theſe north Britons did giue themſelues vniuerſallie to great abſtinence, and in time of warres their ſouldiers would often feed but once or twiſe at the moſt in two or three daies (eſpecially if they held themſelues in ſecret, or could haue no iſſue out of their bogges and mariſſes, through the preſence of the enimie) and in this diſtreſſe they vſed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof ſo much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rotes, or if theſe ſhifts ſerued not thorough want of ſuch proviſion at hand, then vſed they to creepe into the water or ſaid moriſh plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their ſtomachs by violence, which otherwiſe would haue wrought and beene readie to oppreſſe them for hunger and want of ſuſtinance. In thoſe daies likewiſe it was taken for a great offenſe ouer all, to eat either goſe, hare, or henne, bicauſe of a certeine ſuperſtitious opinion which they had conceiued of thoſe three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I ſaie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open ſhipwracke was made of this religious obſeruation, ſo that in proceſſe of time, ſo well the north and ſouth Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make ſuch difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thenceforth alſo vnto our daies, and euen in this ſeaſon wherein we liue, there is no reſtreint of anie meat, either for religions ſake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what ſoeuer he is able to purchaſe, except it be vpon thoſe daies whereon eating of fleſh is eſpeciallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increaſed, & that aboundance of fiſh which the ſea yeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beſide this there is great conſideration had in making of this law for the preſeruation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of ſea faring men, both which would otherwiſe greatlie decaie, if ſome meanes were not found whereby they might be increaſed. But how ſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheeſe, which were neuer ſo deere as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe ſtaies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour ſort, whileſt ſuch as are more wealthie, do feed vpon the fleſh of all kinds of cattell accuſtomed to be eaten, all ſorts of fiſh taken vpon our coaſts and in our freſh riuers, and ſuch diuerſitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of diſhes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whoſe cookes are for the moſt part muſicall headed Frenchmen and ſtrangers) do moſt exceed, ſith there is no daie in maner that paſſeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or ſo manie of theſe as the ſeaſon yeeldeth: but alſo ſome portion of the red or fallow deere, beſide great varietie of fiſh and wild foule, and thereto ſundrie other delicates wherein the ſweet hand of the ſeafaring Portingale is not wanting: ſo that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taſt of euerie diſh that ſtandeth before him (which few vſe to do, but each one feedeth vpon that meat him beſt liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie diſh notwithſtanding being reſerued vnto the greateſt perſonage that ſitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp ſtill by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it deſcendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may taſt thereof) is rather to yeeld vnto a conſpiracie with a great deale of meat for the ſpeedie ſuppreſſion of naturall health, then the vſe of a neceſſarie meane to ſatiſfie himſelfe with a competent repaſt, to ſuſteine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not ſeene in their geſts, no more is it in their owne perſons, for ſith they haue dailie much reſort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of ſeruants, it is veris requiſit & expedient for them to be ſomewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewiſe of their dailie proviſion is brought in before them (commonlie in ſiluer veſſell if they be of the degree of barons, biſhops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, wherof when they haue taken what it pleaſeth them, the reſt is reſerued, and afterward ſent downe to their ſeruing men and waiters, who feed thereon in like ſort with conuenient moderation, their reuerſion alſo being beſtowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the ſame. This is ſpoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit, beſide which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and houſehold ſeruants (for all are not permitted by cuſtome to wait vpon their maſter) and with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes do feed as are not of calling to aſſociat the noble man himſelfe (ſo that beſides thoſe afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three ſcore perſons fed in thoſe hals, to the great reliefe of ſuch poore ſuitors and ſtrangers alſo as oft be partakers thereof and otherwiſe like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vſuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of ſiluer in noble mens houſes, alſo in fine Venice glaſſes of all formes, and for want of theſe elſewhere in pots of earth of ſundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garniſhed with ſiluer) or at the leaſt wiſe in pewter, all which notwithſtanding are ſeldome ſet on the table, but each one as neceſſitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of ſuch drinke as him liſteth to haue: ſo that when he hath taſted of it he deliuered the cup againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, reſtoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the ſame. By this deuiſe (a thing brought vp at the firſt by Mneſteus of Athens, in conſeruation of the honour of Oreſtes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egiſtus and Clitemneſtra) much idle tipling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots ſhould continuallie ſtand at the elbow or neere the trencher, diuerſe would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke ſeldome and onelie when neceſſitie vrgeth, and ſo auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the ſeruitours with filling of their bols. Neuertheleſſe in the noble mens hals, this order is not vſed, neither in anie mans houſe commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or eſquire of great

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great reuenues. It is a woꝛld to ſée in theſe our dates, wherin gold and ſiluer moſt aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing thoſe mettals (bicauſe of the plentie) do now generallie chooſe rather the Venice glaſſes both foꝛ our wine and béere, than anie of thoſe mettals oꝛ ſtone wherein before time we haue béene accuſtomed to dꝛinke, but ſuch is the nature of man generallie that it moſt coueteth things difficult to be atteined; & ſuch is the eſtimation of this ſtuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice ſituat on the Adꝛiatike ſea) from whence the verie beſt are dailie to be had, and ſuch as foꝛ beautie do well néere match the chriſtall oꝛ the ancient Murrhina vaſa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is ſéene in the gentilitie, ſo in the wealthie communaltie the like deſire of glaſſe is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchaſe is yet much moꝛe increaſed to the benefit of the merchant. The poꝛeſt alſo will haue glaſſe if they may, but ſith the Venecian is ſomewhat too déere foꝛ them, they content themſelues with ſuch as are made at home of ferne and burned ſtone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to ſhards at the laſt, ſo that our great expenſes in glaſſes (beſide that they bꝛéed much ſtrife toward ſuch as haue the charge of them) are woꝛſt of all beſtowed in mine opinion, bicauſe their péeces do turne vnto no pꝛofit. If the philoſophers ſtone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with foꝛtie of molten glaſſe, it would induce ſuch a mettallicall toughneſſe thereunto, that a fall ſhould nothing hurt it in ſuch maner, yet it might peraduenture bunch oꝛ batter it, neuertheleſſe that inconuenience were quickelie to be ꝛedreſſed by the hammer. But whither am I ſlipped?

Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants kéepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, fiue, oꝛ ſix diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſoꝛt, oꝛ peraduenture with one, oꝛ two, oꝛ thrée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtrangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their ſeruants haue their oꝛdinaris diet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boꝛdes, & not appointed to be bꝛought thither the ſecond time, which neuertheleſſe is often ſéene generallie in veniſon, lambe, oꝛ ſome eſpeciall diſh, whereon the merchant man himſelfe liketh to feed when it is cold, oꝛ peraduenture foꝛ ſundꝛie cauſes incident to the féeder is better ſo, than if it were warme oꝛ hot. To be ſhoꝛt, at ſuch time as the merchants do make their oꝛdinarie oꝛ voluntarie feaſts, it is a woꝛld to ſée what great pꝛouiſion is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beſide that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will ſeldome regard anie thing that the butcher vſuallie killeth, but reiect the ſame as not woꝛthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliſſes of all colours mixed with a varietie in the repꝛeſentation of ſundꝛie flowres, herbs, trées, foꝛmes of beaſts, fiſh, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wꝛought with no ſmall curioſitie, tarts of diuerſe hewes and ſundꝛie denominations, conſerues of old fruits foꝛren and home-bꝛed, ſuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, ſugerbꝛead, gingerbꝛead, flozentines, wild foule, veniſon of all ſoꝛts, and ſundꝛie outlandiſh confections, altogither ſeaſoned with ſuger (which Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuiſe not common noꝛ greatlie vſed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, Indie & Sicilie) do generallie beare the ſwaie, beſides infinit deuiſes of our owne not poſſible foꝛ me to remember. Of the potato and ſuch venerous roots as are bꝛought out of Spaine, Poꝛtingale, and the Indies to furniſh vp our bankets, I ſpeake not, wherin our Hures of no leſſe foꝛce, and to be had about Croſbie Rauenſwath, do now begin to haue place.

But among all theſe, the kind of meat which is obteined with moſt difficultie and coſt, is commonlie taken foꝛ the moſt delicat, and therevpon each gueſt will ſoneſt deſire to feed. And as all eſtats do exceed herin, I meane foꝛ ſtrangeneſſe and number of coſtlie diſhes, ſo theſe foꝛget not to vſe the like exceſſe in wine, in ſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where moꝛe ſtoꝛe of all ſoꝛts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but pcarelie to the pꝛopoꝛtion of 20000 oꝛ 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithſtanding the dailie reſtreints of the ſame bꝛought ouer vnto vs) whereof at great méetings there is not ſome ſtoꝛe to be had. Neither do I meane this of ſmall wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about ſixtie ſix ſoꝛts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but alſo of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spaniſh, Canarian, &c: whereof Meruage, Cate pument, Raſpis, Muſcadell, Romnie, Baſtard Tire, Oleie, Capꝛike, Clareie & Malmeſeie are not leaſt of all accompted of, bicauſe of their ſtrength and valure. Foꝛ as I haue ſaid in meat, ſo the ſtronger the wine is, the moꝛe it is deſired, by means whereof in old time, the beſt was called Theologicum, bicauſe it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whoſe houſes manie of the laitie would often ſend foꝛ bottels filled with the ſame, being ſure that they would neither dꝛinke noꝛ be ſerued of the woꝛſt, oꝛ ſuch as was anie waies mingled oꝛ bꝛued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his ſoule ſhould haue gone ſtreightwaie to the diuell, if he ſhould haue ſerued them with other than the beſt. Furthermoꝛe when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yéeldeth, ſundꝛie ſoꝛts of artificiall ſtuffe, as ypocras & woꝛmewood wine muſt in like maner ſucceed in their turnes, beſide ſtale ale and ſtrong béere, which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt bꝛunt in dꝛinking, and are of ſo manie ſoꝛts and ages as it pleaſeth the bꝛuer to make them.

Béere.

The béere that is vſed at noble mens tables in their fixed and ſtanding houſes, is commonlie of a yeare old, oꝛ peraduenture of two yeares tunning oꝛ moꝛe, but this is not generall. It is alſo bꝛued in March and therefoꝛe called March béere, but foꝛ the houſehold it is vſuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the ſame ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſoꝛe, and his bꝛead new as is poſſible ſo that it be not hot.

Artificer.

The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt accompt of ſuch meat as they may ſoneſt come by, and haue it quickſieſt readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade do meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food alſo conſiſteth pꝛincipallie in béefe and ſuch meat as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſaie, mutton, veale, lambe, poꝛke, &c: whereof he findeth great ſtoꝛe in the markets adioining, beſide ſouſe, bꝛawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of ſundꝛie ſoꝛts, cheeſe, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne pꝛouiſion, which is at the beſt hand, and commonlie leaſt charge. In feaſting alſo this latter ſoꝛt, I meane the huſbandmen do exceed after their maner: eſpeciallie at bꝛidales, purifications of women, and ſuch od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is conſumed & ſpent, ech one bꝛinging ſuch a diſh, oꝛ ſo manie with him as his wife & he do conſult vpon, but alwaies with this conſideration, that the léeſer fréend ſhall haue the better pꝛouiſion. This alſo is commonlie ſéene at theſe bankets, that the good man of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bꝛead, dꝛink, ſauce, houſe-

roome

rome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwiſe, for albeit that ſome of them doo ſuffer their lawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerſe of them by making good cheere doo hinder themſelues and other men: yet the wiſer ſort can handle the matter well inough in theſe iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deſerueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the huſbandman are ſufficientlie liberall, & verie freendlie at their tables, and when they meet, they are ſo merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and ſubtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour ſort ſomewhat to be blamed, that being thus aſſembled, their talke is now and then ſuch as ſauoureth of ſcurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themſelues not to be merie & welcome, if their fooliſh veines in this behalfe be neuer ſo little reſtreined. This is moreouer to be added in theſe meetings, that if they happen to ſtumble vpon a peece of veniſon, and a cup of wine or verie ſtrong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide againſt their appointed daies) they thinke their cheere ſo great, and themſelues to haue fared ſo well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often ſticke to make compariſon, because that of a ſubiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined ſo well as my lord maior.

I might here talke ſomewhat of the great ſilence that is vſed at the tables of the honorable and wiſer ſort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deſerueth no cõmendation, for it belongeth to geſts neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewiſe of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie ſeene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himſelfe from the note of ſurfetting and dronkennelle (for which cauſe ſalt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit eſteemed, and yet theſe three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearſall thereof I ſhould commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, ſo I could not cleare the meaner ſort of huſbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there ſome od yeoman) with whome he is thought to be the merieſt that talketh of moſt ribaldrie, or the wiſeſt man that ſpeaketh faſteſt among them, & now and then ſurfetting and dronkennelle, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in thoſe errours of ſet mind and purpoſe. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, ſmall drinke, and ſome of them hauing ſcarſe inough of that, are ſoneſt ouertaken when they come vnto ſuch bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no ſmall diſgrace if they happen to be cupſhotten, ſo that it is a greeſe vnto them though now ſans remedie ſith the thing is done and paſt. If the freends alſo of the wealthier ſort come to their houſes from farre, they are commonlie ſo welcome till they depart as vpon the firſt daie of their comming, whereas in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little rome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie beſtowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an You are hartelie welcome is thought to begreat interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this ſaieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis eſt q; ſecundus,
Tertius eſt vanus, ſed fetet quatriduanus.

The bread throughout the land is made of ſuch graine as the ſoile yeeldeth, neuertheleſſe the gentilitie commonlie prouide themſelues ſufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whileſt their houſehold and poore neighbours in ſome ſhires are inforced to content themſelues with rie, or barlie, pea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peaſon, or otes, or of altogither and ſome acornes among, of which ſcourge the poreſt doo ſoneſt taſt, ſith they are leaſt able to prouide themſelues of better. I will not ſaie that this extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I ſhould I could eaſilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almoſt in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet ſuch a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iuſt cauſe (except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himſelfe with horſecorne, I meane, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares, and lintels: and therfore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer ſo well verified as now, that hunger ſetteth his firſt foot into the horſſe manger. If the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and ſome catterpillers there are that can ſaie ſo much alreadie.

Bread.

A famine at hand is firſt ſeene in the horſſe manger when the poore doo fall to horſſecorne.

Of bread made of wheat we haue ſundrie ſorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the firſt and moſt excellent is the manchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, wherof Budeus alſo ſpeaketh, in his firſt booke De aſſe, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie ſuch proportion, that of the flower of one buſhell with another they make fortie caſt of manchet, of which euerie loſe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and ſir ounces out, as I haue beene informed. The ſecond is the cheat or wheaten bread, ſo named becauſe the colour therof reſembleth the graie or yellowith wheat, being cleane and well drelled, and out of this is the courſeſt of the bran (vſuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread alſo, but it reteineth more of the groſſe, and leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheat: and this being more ſleightlie wrought vp, is vſed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or ſhould be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed ſize (according to ſuch price as the corne doth beare) and by a ſtatute prouided by king John in that behalfe. The raueled cheat therfore is generallie ſo made that out of one buſhell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be ſifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that riſe from the manchet) they make thirtie caſt, euerie loſe weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and ſirteene ounces out: and beſide this they ſo handle the matter that to euerie buſhell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, waſhing alſo in ſome houſes there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleaſing to the eie, than otherwiſe it would be. The next ſort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two ſorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, ſo that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminiſhed, this Celſus called *Autopirus panis, lib.* 2. and putteth it in the ſecond place of nouriſhment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the worſt and weakeſt of all the other ſorts, but alſo appointed in old time for ſeruants, ſlaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon.

Primarius panis.

Cheat bread.

Rauelled bread.

The ſize of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.

Browne bread.

Panis Cibarius.

vpon. Herevnto likewise, because it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handsomelie into loaues) some adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drinelle or drie roughnes therof is somwhat qualified, & then it is named miscelin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerse doo sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name.

Summer wheat and winter barlie verie rare in England.

In champeigne countries much rie and barlie bread is eaten, but especiallie where wheat is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betweene the summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barlei: yet here and there I find of both sorts, speciallie in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and also of summer rie, but in so small quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke.

Our drinke, whose force and continuance is partlie touched alreadie, is made of barlie, water, and hops, sodden and mingled togither, by the industrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barlie doo come vnto their hands, it sustaineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof, I will here set downe in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am scarse a good maltster) chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to describe the same, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue shot so farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themselues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beseech thee) that lead thee from the description of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a seruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furnished, into a muskie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thee be contented.

Malt.

Making of malt.

Our malt is made all the yeare long in some great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought most meet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow doth bud, is commonlie worst of all, neuertheless each one indeuoureth to make it of the best barlie, which is steeped in a cesterne, in greater or lesse quantitie, by the space of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie soked. This being doone, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be readie to shote at the rot end, which maltsters call Corning. When it beginneth therefore to shot in this maner, they saie it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floore (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouersight or hurt of the stuffe it selfe the malt would be spoiled, and turne small commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone or beene turned so long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried (yet must it be done with soft fire) the sweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the corne, and in processe of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind or huske.

The best malt is tried by the hardnelle & colour, for if it loke fresh with a yellow haw, & thereto will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in sunder in the middest, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe togither, but of all the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, besides that the drinke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vsed thereto, because of the smoake. Such also as vse both indifferentlie doo barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remoue all moisture that should procure the fume, and this malt is in the second place, with the same likewise, that which is made with dried firze, brome, &c: whereas if they also be occupied greene, they are in maner so preiudiciall to the corne, as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof some grinde the same somewhat groselie, and in seething well the liquor that shall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, where with I am not acquainted. Neuertheless, sith I haue taken occasion to speake of bruing, I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, because it is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.

Bruing of beere.

Hauing therefore ground eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is saued, she addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheat meale, and so much of otes small ground, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie discerne the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, she maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it softlie into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill hir second liquor be almost readie to boile. This done she letteth hir mash run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the least wise the greatest part of the moisture, which she perceiueth by the staie and soft issue thereof, and by this time hir second liquor in the furnace is ready to seeth, which is put also to the malt as the first wort also againe into the furnace wherevnto she addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth togither by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tartnelle. But before she putteth hir first wort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, she taketh out a vessell full, of eight or nine gallons, which she shutteth vp close, and suffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this she reserueth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall appeare hereafter, calling it Wrackwort or Charwort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it perteth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time also hir second wort is let runne, and the first being taken out of the furnace and placed to cole, she returneth the middle wort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mashes the second time, whilest the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquors) and

Charwort.

this

this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to cole by the first) she letteth it runne, and then seetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as she seeth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and reserueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time doth serue therefore. Finallie when she setteth hir drinke togither, she addeth to hir brackwort or charwort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of balberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir wort with an handfull of wheat flowre, she proceedeth in such vsuall order as common bruing requireth. Some in steed of arras & bales adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is met for poore men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare *Computatis computandis* able to performe) may indure no deeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of beere or more, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgo doo not obserue the time, and therefore speed thereafter in their successe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it feedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our bruers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fennie and moorish is the worst, and the clerest spring water next vnto it. In this businesse therfore the skilfull workeman doth redeeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickmens drinke) is neuer seene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well sodden in the bruing, and stale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malueseie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted thereunto, that they will not ceasse from morow vntill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselues, and either fall quite vnder the bord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eies as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such slights also haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so doth he carrie off a drie drunken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are ground and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Syller, Kent, Worcester, and other shires, where these sorts of fruits doo abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but reserued vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Grecians did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselues did delite in. There is a kind of swith swash made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie wiues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be lose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much fro the true metheglin, as chalke from cheese. Trulie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the honie is wrong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but litle labour and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & somewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my freend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath beene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome thereof Athenæus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twise at the most *lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.*) Now these odd repasts thanked be God are verie well left, and each one in maner (except here and there some young hungrie stomath that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Normans misliking the gormandise of Canutus, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often feeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spred their clothes fiue or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies doo appeare, although

Cider. Perrie.

Metheglin.

Mead.

Hydromel.

Lesse time spent in eating than heretofore.

Canutus a glutton, but the Normans at the last exceeded him in that vice.

although it be a great expenſe of time, and woꝛthie of repꝛehenſion. Foꝛ the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, eſpeciallie at great mætings doo ſit commonlie till two oꝛ thꝛee of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with manie is an hard matter, to riſe from the table to go to euening pꝛaier, and returne from thence to come time inough to ſupper. Foꝛ my part I am perſuaded that the purpoſe of the Noꝛmans at the firſt was to reduce the ancient Roman oꝛder oꝛ Daniſh cuſtome in fæding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indæd the Romans had ſuch a cuſtome, and likewiſe the Grecians, as may appeere by the woꝛds of Socrates, who ſaid vnto the Atheniens, *Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum*, although a little ſomething was allowed in the moꝛning to yong childꝛen which we now call a bꝛeakefaſt. Plato called the Sicilians monſters, foꝛ that they vſed to eat twiſe in the daie. Among the Perſians onelie the king dined when the ſunne was at the higheſt, and ſhadow of the ſtile at the ſhoꝛteſt: the reſt (as it is repoꝛted) went alwaies but once to meat when their ſtomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite ſerue refuſe not to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and likewiſe the ancient Caſpians. Yet Arhianus noteth it as a rare thing li. 4. cap. 16. that the Tyꝛhenians had taken vp an ill cuſtome to fæd twiſe in a daie. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generallie to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne in all places, bicauſe they would haue their whole familie to go to meat togither, and wherevnto they would appoint their gueſts to come at a certeine length of the ſhadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is moꝛe to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch ſaith) did fæd befoꝛe that time, he incurred a note of repꝛehenſion as if he had bæne gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympoſ. 6. Their ſlaues in like ſoꝛt were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, foꝛ then were they ſure ſome after to go to meat. In the ſcripture we read of manie ſuppers & few dinners, onelie foꝛ that dining was not greatlie vſed in Chriſts time, but taken as a thing latelie ſpꝛong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occaſioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pꝛetie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius foꝛ that he gaue himſelfe to dꝛinke befoꝛe the *ninth houre of the daie: foꝛ thinking thꝛee houres to be too little foꝛ the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too ſone. Afterwards when gurmandiſe increaſed yet moꝛe amongſt the Romans, and from them was diſperſed vnto all nations vnder their ſubiection, it came to paſſe that ſix houres onlie were appointed to woꝛke and conſult in, and the other ſix of the daie to fæd and dꝛinke in, as the verſe ſaith:

Sex horæ tantum rebus tribuantur agendis,
Viuere poſt illas, littera Zetha monet.

Whereunto Maximus Planudes (except my memoꝛie faile me) addeth this ſcholie after his maner, ſaieng that from moꝛning vnto none (which is ſix of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one doth trauell about his neceſſarie affaires, that being doone, he betaketh himſelfe to the refreſhing of his bodie, which is noted and ſet doowne by the Gꝛeeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane hoꝛologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is deſcribed; foꝛ thoſe which point 7, 8, 9 and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yeeld ξηθι, which in Engliſh ſignifieth ſo much as liue, as if they ſhould meane, eat that thou maiſt liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole tꝛoupe of the learned & wiſer ſoꝛt, theſe verſes following doo moꝛe euidentlie declare:

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera conſinet horas,
Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies laſſis, ſeptima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima eſt Euphemæ meorum,
Temperat Ambroſias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus athereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.

Lib. 4. epig. 8.

Long ſitting repꝛehended.

That is at thꝛee of the clocke at afternoone.

Thus we ſee how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to fæd but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good cuſtome. I might here remember alſo their maner in pulling off their ſhoes when they ſat doowne to meat, whereof Martial ſaith:

Depoſui ſoleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarumq; liber, &c.

And Tullie alſo remembꝛeth where he ſaith *Seruum à pedibus ad te miſi*, which office grew of the ſaid cuſtome, as *Seruus ad limina* did of kæping the doꝛe, though in moſt houſes both theſe were commonlie one mans office, alſo *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But bicauſe the good wꝛiters of our time haue obſerued theſe thꝛales and ſuch like with their cauſes and deſcriptions, in their infinite and ſeuerall treatiſes, I ſhall not need to diſcourſe anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and ſtudents, doo oꝛdinarilie go to dinner at eleuen befoꝛe none, and to ſuper at fiue, oꝛ betweene fiue and ſix at afternoone. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldome befoꝛe twelue at none, and ſix at night eſpeciallie in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high none as they call it, and ſup at ſeuen oꝛ eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at ten. As foꝛ the pꝛoꝛeſt ſoꝛt they generallie dine and ſup when they may, ſo that to talke of their oꝛder of repaſt, it were but a needleſſe matter. I might here take occaſion alſo to ſet doowne the varietie vſed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almoſt euerie nation had a ſeuerall faſhion, ſome beginning of cuſtome (as we doo in ſummer time) with ſalets at ſuper, and ſome ending with lettice, ſome making their entrie with egs, and ſhutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all ſoꝛts. Diuerſe (as the old Romans) began with a few cꝛops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fiſh called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (oꝛ as we doo yet alſo) with butter and egs vpon fiſh daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the moſt groſſe food, and end with the moſt delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the beſt foꝛ his menſall ſeruants maketh his entrance at the beſt, ſo that he is ſure therby to leaue the woꝛſt. We vſe alſo our wines by degrees, ſo that the hoteſt commeth laſt to the table, but to ſtand vpon ſuch toies would ſpend much time, and turne to ſmall pꝛofit, wherfoꝛe I will deale with other things moꝛe neceſſarie foꝛ this turne.

Of their apparell and attire.

Chap. 7.

AN Engliſhman, indeuoꝛing ſometime to wꝛite of our attire, made ſundꝛie platfoꝛmes foꝛ his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them to find out one ſtedfaſt ground whereon to build the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the end (like an oꝛatour long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what

a difficult peece of woꝛke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie dꝛue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while togither, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this wꝛiter (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious pꝛiest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no foꝛme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailoꝛs, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to dꝛaw fond cuſtomers to moꝛe expense of monie. Foꝛ my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enoꝛmitie, than describe anie certeintie of our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to moꝛrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yet long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Poꝛisco gowns, the Barbarian sleeues, the mandilion woꝛne to Collie weston ward, and the shoꝛt French bꝛeches make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a woꝛld to see the cost linesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the bꝛauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the ficklenesse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is moꝛe constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie suites of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left therin to feed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailoꝛ please them in making it fit foꝛ their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what repꝛochfull language doth the poꝛe woꝛkeman beare awaie? and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is bꝛought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we dꝛop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, oꝛ suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue oꝛ vnder the eares round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut shoꝛt like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing bꝛush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) oꝛ now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailoꝛs. And therfoꝛe if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it bꝛoad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wesell becked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner loke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose, if Coꝛnelis of Chelmeresford saie true: manie old men do weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, stones, oꝛ pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the woꝛkemanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adoꝛne their persons, as by their niceneſſe in apparell, foꝛ which I saie most nations do not vntustlie deride vs, as also foꝛ that we do seeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus oꝛ Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much moꝛe than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women doo likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they do now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheleſſe are transfoꝛmed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet foꝛ none but light housewiues onelie, is now become an habit foꝛ chast and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant coppeses on the bꝛest full of iags & cuts, and sleeues of sundꝛie colours? their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdsete, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather defoꝛmed than commended? I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men oꝛ women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transfoꝛmed into monsters: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonnesse, foꝛ

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque ſecundis)

not otherwise bestowed than in all excesse, as if we will not otherwise how to consume and waſt them. I pꝛaie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomoꝛha, whose eꝛꝛoꝛs were pꝛide, excesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poꝛe, and certeine other points which the pꝛophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to floꝛish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppꝛessed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poꝛe tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abꝛoad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of bꝛowne blue oꝛ puke, with some pꝛetie furniture of veluet oꝛ furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, oꝛ blacke veluet, oꝛ other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawdish colours as are woꝛne in these daies, and neuer bꝛought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants doo least alter their attire, and therefoꝛe are most to be commended: foꝛ albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in foꝛme and colour it repꝛesenteth a great peece of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the yonger soꝛt of their wiues both in attire and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and seene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a soꝛt of hewes deuised foꝛ the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as goseturd greene, pease poꝛrige tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking

Iudꝛew Ward.

Strange cuts.

Much cost vpon the bodie, and little vpon the soule

Beards.

Excesse in women.

Attire of merchants.

thinking it ſufficient to haue ſaid thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be ſpoken of anie conſtancie thereof.

Of the high court of parlement, and *authoritie of the ſame.*

Chap. 8.

IN ſpeaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent ſaid ſomewhat of this high and moſt honorable court. Wherefore it ſhall not need to remember ought heere that is there touched: I will onelie ſpeake of other things therefore concerning the eſtate of aſſemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof ſhall be in ſome part better knowne vnto ſuch as ſhall come after vs. This houſe hath the moſt high and abſolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time béene depoſed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all ſorts puniſhed, and corrupted religion either diſannulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houſes or parts, the higher or vpper houſe conſiſting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and biſhop: the lower called the nether houſe of knights, ſquires, gentlemen, and burgeſſes of the commons, with whome alſo the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they ſit in diuerſe places, and theſe haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the reſt in confirmation of all ſuch acts as are to paſſe in the ſame. For without the conſent of the three eſtates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and latetie, ſildome anie thing is ſaid to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his conſent and allowance. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer the people of Rome did in their *Centuriatis* or *Tribunitijs comitijs*, the ſame is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement houſe, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular perſon is intended to be preſent, if not by himſelfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cauſe alſo any thing ther enacted is not to be miſliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the ſpace of fortie dais, before this aſſemblie be begun, the prince ſendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, ſummoning them to appeare at the ſaid court. The like he doth to the ſhiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chooſe two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduiſe in the name of the ſhire, likewiſe to euerie citie and towne, that they may chooſe their burgeſſes, which commonlie are men beſt ſkilled in the ſtate of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of ſuch benefits as they want, or to ſhew which wate to reforme ſuch enormities as thorough the practiſes of ill members are practiſed and crept in among them: the firſt being choſen by the gentlemen of the ſhire, the other by the citizens and burgeſſes of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furniſhed. The firſt daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper houſe, as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall, do attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in perſon, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after prayers made, and cauſes ſhewed, wherefore ſome not preſent are inforced to be abſent, each man taketh his place according to his degrée. The houſe it ſelfe is curiouſlie furniſhed with tapiſſerie, and the king being ſet in his throne, the ſpirituall lords take vp the ſide of the houſe which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, ſo well dukes and earles, as viſcounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middeſt and a petie diſtance from the prince, lie certeine ſackes ſtuffed with woll or haire, whereon the iudges of the realme, the maſter of the rols, and ſecretaries of eſtate do ſit. Howbeit theſe iudges haue no voice in the houſe, but onelie ſhew what their opinion is of ſuch & ſuch matters as come in queſtion among the lords, if they be commanded ſo to do: as the ſecretaries are to anſwer ſuch letters or things paſſed in the councell, whereof they haue the cuſtodie & knowledge. Finallie, the conſent of this houſe is giuen by each man ſeuerallie, firſt for himſelfe being preſent, then ſeuerallie for ſo manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, ſaieng onlie, Content or Not content, without anie further debating. Of the number aſſembled in the lower houſe, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars ſhall follow here at hand. Theſe therefore being called ouer by name do chooſe a ſpeaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they preſent vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuſe or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name doth anſwer vnto his oration, made at his firſt entrance & preſentation into the houſe, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choiſe vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requeſts vnto that honorable aſſemblie, firſt that the houſe may (as in times paſt) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: ſecondlie, that the congregates may frankelie ſhew their minds vpon ſuch matters as are to come in queſtion: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower houſe do giue anie cauſe of offenſe during the continuance of this aſſemblie, that the ſame may inflict ſuch puniſhment vpon the partie culpable, as to the ſaid aſſemblie ſhall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt ſhould ariſe among them of the lower houſe, that he in their name might haue free acceſſe and recourſe vnto his maieſtie & lords of the higher houſe, to be further inſtructed and reſolued in the ſame: fiftlie and laſt, he craueth pardon for himſelfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houſes, he forget or miſtake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in ſuch things as he did faile in without offenſe: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor doth anſwer as apperteineth, and this is done on the firſt daie, or peraduenture the ſecond, if it could not be conueniently performed in the firſt.

Beſide the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper houſe called the clerke of the parlement, whoſe office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in conſultation in either houſe, is firſt put in writing in paper, which being read, he that liſteth riſeth vp and ſpeaketh either with it or againſt it, and ſo one after another ſo long as they ſhall thinke good; that done they go to another, and ſo to the third, &c: the inſtrument ſtill wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cauſe moueth for the amendment of the ſame if the ſubſtance be reputed neceſſarie. In the vpper houſe the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingroſſed, that is to ſaie, put in parchment, which done, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part do conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of theſe words, Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke writeth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and ſo when they ſée time they ſend ſuch billes approued to the commons by ſome of them that ſit on the woll ſackes, who comming into the houſe, & demanding licence to ſpeake, do vſe this kind of words or the like to the ſpeaker, as ſir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

Places of the peeres.

Of the lower houſe.

Speaker.

Petitions of the Speaker.

Clerke of the parlement.

The parlement houſe diuideth the eſtate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.

Time of ſummons.

Of the vpper houſe.

and ſet them downe, whoſe onelie direction I vſe, and almoſt word for word in this chapter, requitting him with the like borowage as he hath vſed toward me in his diſcourſe of the ſundrie degrées of eſtates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) ſhall be no diſcredit to his trauell. Maiſter ſpeaker, my lords of the vpper houſe haue paſſed amongſt them, and thinke good that there ſhould be enacted by parlement ſuch an act, and ſuch an act (reading their titles in ſuch ſort as he receiued them) they praie you therefore to conſider & ſhew your aduiſe vpon them. Which done they go their waie, and the doore being ſhut after them, the ſpeaker declareth what meſſage was ſent vnto them, and if they be then void of conſultation vpon anie other bill, he preſentlie demandeth what their pleaſures are, firſt of one, then of another, &c: which are ſolemnelie read, or their contents breéflie ſhewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the nether houſe.

The ſpeaker ſitteth in a chaire erected ſomewhat higher than the reſt, that he may ſée and be ſéene of all men, and before him on a lower ſeat ſitteth his clerke, who readeth ſuch bils as be firſt propounded in the lower houſe, or ſent downe from the lords: for in that point each houſe hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke méet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thrise and on diuerſe daies read and diſputed vpon before they come to the queſtion, which is, whether they ſhall be enacted or not; and in diſcourſe vpon them, verie good order is vſed in the lower houſe, wherein he that will ſpeake giueth notice thereof by ſtanding vp bare headed. If manie ſtand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he ſpeaketh firſt that was firſt ſéene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the ſpeaker, without reherſall of his name whoſe ſpeches he meaneth to confute, ſo that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation theſe diſcourſes are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that daie, ſo one man can not ſpeake twiſe to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may ſpeake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, ſeditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vſed in this aſſemblie, yet if anie happen to eſcape and be vttered, the partie is puniſhed according to the cenſure of the aſſemblie and cuſtome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they ſit not except vpon ſome vrgent occaſion, neither hath the ſpeaker anie voice in that houſe, wherewith to moue or diſſuade the furtherance or ſtaie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breéflie to declare the contents. If anie bill paſſe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus ſubſcribed, Les commons ont aſſentus: ſo if the lords agrée vpon anie bill ſent vnto them from the commons, it is ſubſcribed after this maner, Les ſeigniours ont aſſentus. If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betwéene the vpper and nether houſes, by certeine appointed for that purpoſe vpon the points in queſtion, whereupon if no finall agreement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is dalhed and reiected, or (as the ſaieng is) cleane caſt out of the doores. None of the nether houſe can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne perſon, and after the bill twiſe read, then ingroſſed and the third time read againe & diſcourſed vpon, the ſpeaker aſketh if they will go to the queſtion, whervnto if they agrée he holdeth vp the bill & ſaith; So manie as will haue this bill go forward ſaie Yea: herupon ſo manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or leſſe on either ſide, ſo is the bill to ſtaie or elſe go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices ſéeme to be equall, ſo manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the reſt ſit ſtill, and being told by the poll the greater part do carrie away the matter. If ſomething be allowed and in ſome part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committées to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and paſſeth or ſtaieth as the voices yéeld therto. This is the order of the paſſage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houſes haue agréed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his aſſent. Vpon the laſt daie therfore of the parlement or ſeſſion, the prince commeth in perſon againe into the houſe, in his robes as at the firſt. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, firſt in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the ſpeaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewiſe for their paines, with promiſe of recompenſe as opportunitie & occaſion ſhall ſerue therefore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act paſſed in that ſeſſion, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with theſe words, Le roy veult. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them Le roy aduiſera. And ſo thoſe acts are dalhed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except ſuch as concerne ſome priuat perſons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the ſeale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vſe. And this is the ſumme of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member or lands of anie Engliſhman, where no law is ordeined for the ſame before hand, is auailable or can take place amongſt vs. And ſo much in maner out of the third chapiter of the ſecond booke of the common-wealth of England written by ſir Thomas Smith: vnto which I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which ſend knights, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement houſe, and doth inſue as followeth.

The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, ſending knights, citizens, burgeſſes, and barons to the *parlement of England*.

Bedford.

Knights.
The borough of Bedford. 2

Buckingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Buckingham. 2
The borough of Wickombe. 2
The borough of Aileſburie. 2

Barkeſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of New Windlore. 2
The borough of Reading. 2
The borough of Wallingford. 2
The borough of Abington. 2

Cornewall.

Knights. 2
The borough of Launceſton *alias* Newport. 2
The borough of Leſkerd. 2
The borough of Loſtwithiell. 2
The borough of Dunheuet. 2
The borough of Truro. 2
The borough of Bodmin. 2
The borough of Yeliton. 2
The borough of Saltaſh. 2
The borough of Camelford. 2
The borough of Portighſam *alias* Portlow. 2
The borough of Graunpount. 2
The borough of Eaſtlow. 2
The borough of Pzurie. 2
The borough of Tregonie. 2
The borough of Trebenna *alias* Boſſinnie. 2
The borough of S. Jes. 2

The

The borough of Fowaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of ſaint Maries. 2

Cumberland.

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerleill. 2

Cambridge.

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

Cheſter.

Knights. 2
The citie of Cheſter. 2

Darbie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Darbie. 2

Deuon.

Knights. 2
The citie of Exceſter. 2
The borough of Totnes. 2
The borough of Plimmouth. 2
The borough of Bardneſtable. 2
The borough of Plimton. 2
The borough of Tauiſtocke. 2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Yerdines. 2

Dorſetſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Poole. 2
The borough of Dorcheſter. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of Melcombe. 2
The borough of Waiemouth. 2
The borough of Burepoꝛt. 2
The borough of Shafteſburie. 2
The borough of Warham. 2

Eſſex.

Knights. 2
The borough of Colcheſter. 2
The borough of Malden. 2

Yorkeſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Yorke. 2
The borough of Kingſton vpon Hull. 2
The borough of Knareſborough. 2
The borough of Skardborough. 2
The borough of Ripon. 2
The borough of Hudon. 2
The borough of Borough bridge. 2
The borough of Thuſke. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Beuerleie. 2

Gloceſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Gloceſter. 2
The borough of Cirenceſter. 2

Huntingtonſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of ſaint Albons. 2

Hereford ſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Hereford. 2
The borough of Lempſter. 2

Kent.

Knights. 2
The citie of Canturburie. 2
The citie of Rocheſter. 2
The borough of Maidſtone. 2
The borough of Quinborough. 2

Lincolne.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The borough of Boſtone. 2
The borough of great Grimeſbie. 2
The borough of Stamford. 2
The borough of Grantham. 2

Leiceſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Leiceſter. 2

Lancaſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Lancaſter. 2
The borough of Preſton in Andernes. 2
The borough of Liuerpoole. 2
The borough of Newton. 2
The borough of Wigan. 2
The borough of Clithero. 2

Middleſex.

Knights. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Weſtminſter. 2

Monmouth.

Knights. 2
The borough of Monmouth. 2

Northhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Peterborough. 2
The borough of Northhampton. 2
The borough of Barkleie. 2
The borough of Higham Ferres. 2

Notingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Notingham. 2
The borough of Eſtreatford. 2

Norffolke.

Knights. 2
The citie of Norwich. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of great Iernemouth. 2
The borough of Thetford. 2
The borough of caſtell Rifling. 2

Northumberland.

Knights. 2
The borough of New caſtell vpon Tine. 2
The borough of Morpeth. 2
The borough of Barwike. 2

Oxford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Oxford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodſtocke. 2

Rutland.

Knights. 2

Surreie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stratford. 2
The borough of New caſtell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bruges *alias* Bridgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

Southhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2

The borough of Southhampton. 2
The borough of Portesmouth. 2
The borough of Peterfield. 2
The borough of Stockebridge. 2
The borough of Christ church. 2

Suffolke.

Knights. 2
The borough of Ipeswich. 2
The borough of Dunwich. 2
The borough of Oxford. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Sudburie. 2
The borough of Eya. 2

Summerset.

Knights. 2
The citie of Bristow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The borough of Taunton. 2
The borough of Bridgewater. 2
The borough of Pinched. 2

Sussex.

Knights. 2
The cities of Chichester. 2
The borough of Horsham. 2
The borough of Midhurst. 2
The borough of Lewes. 2
The borough of Shoreham. 2
The borough of Brember. 2
The borough of Stening. 2
The borough of Eastgrenested. 2
The borough of Arundell. 2

Westmerland.

Knights. 2
The borough of Appulbie. 2

Wilton.

Knights. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The borough of Wilton. 2
The borough of Dounton. 2
The borough of Hindon. 2
The borough of Yetesburie. 2
The borough of Westburie. 2
The borough of Caine. 2
The borough of Deuises. 2
The borough of Chipenham. 2
The borough of Malmesburie. 2
The borough of Cricklade. 2
The borough of Budwin. 2
The borough of Ludgesale. 2
The borough of Old Sarum. 2
The borough of Wilton Basset. 2
The borough of Marlebrough. 2

Worcester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Worcester. 2
The borough of Withée. 2

Warwike.

Knights. 2
The citie of Couentrie. 2
The borough of Warwike. 2

Barons of the ports.

Hastings. 2
Winchelsete. 2
Rie. 2
Rumneie. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomerie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Mountgomerie. 1

Flint.

Knights. 1
The borough of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knights. 1
The borough of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knights. 1
The borough of Hauerfordwest. 1

Carneruan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Carneruan. 1

Angleseie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knights. 1
The borough of new Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knights. 1
The borough of Pembroke. 1

Cairdigan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cairdigan. 1

Brecknoch.

Knights. 1
The borough of Brecknoch. 1

Radnor.

Knights. 1
The borough of Radnor. 1

Glamorgan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The summe of the foresaid number of the common house *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.
439.

Of the lawes of England since his *first inhabitation.*

Chap. 9.

Samothes.

THat Samothes or Dis gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fifteenth of Nimrote) the testimonie of Berosus is proofe sufficient. For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his dates of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them.

Albion.

Brute.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had bene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these dates is able to determine.

Mulmutius.

Certes

The praiſe of Dunwallon.

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his ſubiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made ſo ridiculous an end: in like ſort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whoſe waies were more feared at the firſt, than thoſe of Dunwallon (king Henrie the firſt excepted) and yet in the end he proued ſuch a prince, as after his death there was in maner no ſubiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes and conſtitutions, for the gouernment of his ſubiects. His people alſo, coueting to continue his name vnto poſteritie, intituled thoſe his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, ſo long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obteined the ſuperioritie of the kingdom, the maieſtie of thoſe lawes fell for a time into ſuch decaie, that although *Non penitus cecidit, ſi non potuit cecidiſſe videri*, as Leland ſaith, and the decrees themſelues had vtterlie periſhed in deed at the verie firſt hunt, had they not beene preſerued in Wales, where they remained amongſt the reliks of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the firſt, who obteining the ſouereignitie of that portion, indeuoured verie earneſtlie to extinguiſh thoſe of Mulmutius, and to eſtabliſh his owne.

But as the Saxons at their firſt arriuall did what they could to aboliſh the Britiſh lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yelded a little to relent, & not ſo much to abhorre and miſlike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the ſame, eſpeciallie at ſuch time as the ſaid Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Britiſh nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the Britiſh ladies, as the Britiſh barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an eſpeciall ſtatute and decree, wherof in another treatiſe I haue made mention at large. Herof alſo it came to paſſe in the end, that they were contented to make a choiſe, and inſert no ſmall numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by thoſe of Athelbert the great, ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the weſt Saxons, and diuerſe other yet extant to be ſeene. Such alſo was the lateward eſtimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they cauſed thoſe of Mulmutius (which Gildas ſometime tranſlated into Latine) to be firſt expounded vnto them, and in this peruſall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the ſame, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is moſt of all to be commended, who not onelie choſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſaid Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they ſhould lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon tong, wherein they continued long after his deceaſe.

As for the Normans, who for a ſeaſon neither regarded the Britiſh, nor cared for the Saxon ſtatutes, they alſo at the firſt vtterlie miſliked of them, till at the laſt, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no ſtranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make ſuch equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without ſome care & trouble: they fell in with ſuch a deſire to ſee by what rule the ſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vſed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes, whereof the moſt part are in vſe to this daie as I ſaid, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to diſtinguiſh them from others, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

Martia.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland ſurnameth Proba; and after him John Bale alſo, who in his Centuries doth inſtlie confeſſe himſelfe to haue beene holpen by the ſaid Leland, as I my ſelfe do likewiſe for manie things conteined in this treatiſe. She was wife vnto Guteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands deceaſſe in the nonage of hir ſonne, and ſeeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, ſhe deuiſed ſundrie and thoſe verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir ſubiects when ſhe was dead and gone, did name the Martian ſtatutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I do not read, howbeit (as I ſaid before of the lawes of Mulmutius) ſo the ſame Alfred cauſed thoſe of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerſe commend alſo for hir great knowledge in the Greeke tong) to be turned into his owne language, whereupon it came to paſſe that they were dailie executed among his ſubiects, afterward allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vſe in theſe our daies, notwithſtanding that we can not diſſeuer them alſo verie readilie from the other.

The ſeuenth alteration of lawes was practiſed by the Saxons, for I ouerpaſſe the vſe of the ciuill ordinances vſed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the ſeuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of theſe later, which yet remaine in ſound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the moſt part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beſide theſe alſo I read of the Dane law, ſo that the people of middle England were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Saxons by the ſecond, as Eſſex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and part of Herfordſhire were by the third, of all the reſt the moſt inequall and intollerable. And as in theſe daies what ſoeuer the prince in publike aſſemblie commanded vpon the neceſſitie of his ſubiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: ſo none of them had appointed anie certeine place, whereunto his people might repaire at ſixed times for iuſtice, but cauſed them to reſort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper perſon they would often determine their cauſes, and ſo make ſhorteſt worke, or elſe commit the ſame to the hearing of other, and ſo diſpatch them awaie. Neither had they any houſe appointed to aſſemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Weſtminſter. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodſtock and Wannetting, Athelſtane in Exceſter, Grecklade, Feuerſham, & Thunderſleie, Canutus at Wincheſter, &c: other in other places, whereof this may ſuffice.

Martian law. Saxon law. Dane law.

Among other things alſo vſed in the time of the Saxons, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Mydalian law, which they brought hither with

with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie proceeding by dales and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these dales; but a short dispatch e triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuertheless, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of Mr Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and view in that behalfe. But what stand I here vpon?

Ordalian law. Fire.

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two wales, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire the partie accused should go a certeine number of pales, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare foted vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoeuer did heare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged giltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

Water.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wiesling or strugling for life, he was forthwith acquited as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to shew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king John, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restreined) did extinguish it altogither as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to sale, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera, &c.* he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: *Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Hac benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo.* In English: Bless thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, puretie, humilitie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the blessing of the fire: *Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Moysen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur pervenire, per Christum, &c.* Lord God father almightie, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights. Bless O Lord this light, that is alreadie sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the *Pater noster, &c.*: then these words: *Salutum facturum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c.* That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifestetur, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In English: Bless we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie removed, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Jesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

The office of the masse.

Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quòd meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

In illo tempore, cum egressus esset Jesus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone,

The cup in vse.

bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Ieſus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In thoſe daies when Jeſus went forth toward his iournete, and one méeting him in the waie running, and kneéling vnto him, aſked him ſaieng: Good maſter what ſhall I do that I may poſſeſſe eternall life? Jeſus ſaid vnto him, Whie calleſt thou me good? &c. Then followeth the ſecret, and ſo forth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partie dooth communicate, the prieſt ſhall vſe theſe words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit, vt non præſumas vllo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut conſenſiſti, &c.* I adiure thée by the father, the ſonne, and the holie Ghoſt, by the true chriſtendome which thou haſt receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptiſme wherewith the prieſt hath regenerated thée, that thou preſume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou haſt done or conſented vnto this, whereof thou art accuſed, &c. Here let the prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaieng; *Corpus hoc, & ſanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationem hodie.* This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be vnto thée a triall this daie. The praier: *Perceptis Domine Deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti à propriis nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret, &c.* Hauing receiued O Lord God theſe holie myſteries, we humblie beſéech thée that the participation of this ſacrament may rid vs of our guiltineſſe, and in this thy ſeruant ſet forth the truth. Then ſhall follow *Kyrieleſon*, the Letanie, and certeine Pſalmes, and after all them *Oremus*: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conſpectum Moſis & minimè comburi permiſiſti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illæſos eduxiſti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti: oſtende nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutem eiuſdem ſpiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & præſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c.* In Engliſh thus: O God, which in ſhewing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed; O God which ſufferedſt the buſh to burne in the ſight of Moſes, and yet not to conſume; O God which deliueredſt the thrée children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whileſt diuerſe were conſumed; O God which by fire didſt wrap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the ſhining of thy brightneſſe at the comming of the holie ghoſt in likeneſſe of fire, diddeſt ſeparate the faithfull from ſuch as beléeued not: ſhew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire diſcerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whoſe cauſe is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in ſafetie, &c. O God from whom no ſecrets are hidden, let thy goodneſſe anſwer to our faith, and grant that whoſoeuer in this purgation, ſhall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reueled as an offendor, &c.* After this the prieſt ſhall ſprinkle the iron with holie water, ſaieng: The bleſſing of God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God. And forthwith let him that is accuſed beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and ſealed vp for the ſpace of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw fleſh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and ſound, let him giue thanks to God. And thus much of the firſt Ordalia, whereunto that of the water hath ſo preciſe relation, that in ſetting forth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.

The cup yet in vſe.

Water.

Hitherto alſo (as I thinke) ſufficientlie of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Now it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue béene made and receiued ſince the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and thereunto do produce three ſcore and foure ſeuerall courts. But for aſmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little ſkill to proceed in the ſame accordinglie, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall diſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-ſaie.

Ciuill lawe.

We haue therefore in England ſundrie lawes, and firſt of all the ciuill, vſed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerſe other courts, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rigor of iuſtice is often ſo mitigated by conſcience, that diuerſe things are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, which otherwiſe would appeare to be méere iniurie and extremitie.

Canon lawe.

We haue alſo a great part of the Canon law dailie practiſed among vs, eſpeciallie in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and ſuch like, as are vſuallie to be ſéene in the conſiſtories of our biſhops and higher courts of the two archbiſhops, where the exerciſe of the ſame is verie hotlie followed. The third ſort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & thoſe alwaies ſo variable, & ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerſe iudgements do paſſe vpon one maner of caſe, whereby the ſaieng of the poet,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,

Lawiers of England not alwaies conſtant in iudgment.

may verie well be applied vnto ſuch, as being vrged with theſe words; In ſuch a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for ſound law; do anſwer nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, ſo that they ſaie farre otherwiſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Cuſtomaris law, and Preſcription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an aſſiſe, or wager of battell, of which the laſt is little vſed in our daies, as no appeale doth hold in the firſt and laſt rehearſed. But to returne to my purpoſe.

Parlement law.

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the moſt part holden at Weſtminſter néere London, is the higheſt of all other, & conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſorts of people, that is to ſaie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not ſummoned, but vpon vrgent occaſion when the prince doth ſée his time, and that by ſeuerall writs, dated commonlie full ſix weékes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher houſe by the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occaſion ſo require in Weſtminſter church, is a member) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the end to be confirmed by

by the prince, who commonlie reſorteth thither of cuſtome, vpon the firſt and laſt daies of this court, there to vnderſtand what is doone, and giue his roiall conſent to ſuch ſtatutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betweene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the ſaid three eſtates, and then craueth the princes conſent and finall confirmation to the ſame. The king hauing heard the ſumme and principall points of each eſtatute briefflie recited vnto him, anſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he liketh (Il nous plaiſt) but to the reſt Il ne plaiſt, whereby the latter are made void and fruſtrate. That alſo which his maieſtie liketh of, is hereby authoriſed, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like aſſemblie. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the cleargie, conſiſteth of ninetie knights. For each ſhire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation, choſen out of the bodie of the ſame for that onelie purpoſe, ſauing that for Wales one onlie is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewiſe fourtie and ſix citizens, 289 burgeſſes, and fourteene barons, ſo that the whole aſſemblie of the laitie of the lower houſe, conſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the iuſt number be ſupplied. Of the lawes here made likewiſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common law, and ſome againe are found to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part taken ſtrictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

Number of congregates in the parlement.

Common law.

The Common law ſtandeth vpon ſundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which doo conteine ſuch caſes as by great ſtudie and ſolemne argument of the iudges ſound practiſe confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the courſe of moſt ancient lawes made farre before the conqueſt, and thereto the deepeſt reach and foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called pleas or action, whereof there are two ſorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writs or breefes, whereof there are ſome originall and ſome iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare proceed (if the caſe doo ſo require) by plaint or declaration, barre or anſwer, replication, reioinder, and ſo by rebut, ſurrebut to iſſue and triall if occaſion ſo fall out, the one ſide affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if anie negligence or treſpaſſe hath beene committed, either in proceſſe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndoo the ſame, but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Cuſtomarie law.

Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certeine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuat countrie, intended firſt to begin vpon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where elſe in England. It was at the firſt deuiſed by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæſar in his cõmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth ſtill in England) ſhould haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongſt them. By this meanes alſo it came to paſſe, that whereas before time for the ſpace of ſixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the ſpace of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax ſo feeble, and ſuch diſcord fell out amongſt themſelues, that they were not able to maintaine warres with the Romans, nor raiſe anie iuſt armie againſt them. For as a riuer runing with one ſtreame is ſwift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: ſo the lands and goods of the anceſtors being diſperſed amongſt their iſſue males, of one ſtrong there were raiſed ſundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall ſtrength to reſiſt the aduerſarie, became infeebled and brought almoſt to nothing. *Vis vnita* (ſaith the philoſopher) *fortior eſt eadem diſperſa*, and one good purſſe is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will ſeeke to maintaine his priuate eſtate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the yongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of manie countries of this region: alſo the woman to haue the third of hir huſbands poſſeſſions, the huſband that marieth an heire to haue ſuch lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he ſuruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath beene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c: of ſuch like to be learned elſewhere, and ſometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

Preſcription.

Preſcription is a certeine cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than cuſtomarie law, as where onelie a parith or ſome priuat perſon doth preſcribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans ſoile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwiſe than the common courſe and order of the law requireth, whereof let this ſuffice at this time, in ſtead of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to doo with anie preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades, and incident to diuerſe perſons?

Terme.

There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuerſies are determined, that happen within the Quæenes dominions. Theſe are commonlie holden at London, except vpon ſome great occaſion they be tranſferred to other places. At what times alſo they are kept both for ſpirituall and temporall dealing, the table inſuing ſhall eaſilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by ſuitors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expreſſe. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the ſtart, and after them the cleargie: ſo now all the wealth of the land doth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome ſome one hauing practiſed little aboue thirteene or fourteene yeares is able to buie a purchaſe of ſo manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiſer & warie hereafter. It is not long, ſince a ſergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arreſted vpon an ertent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another ſtanding by did greatlie maruell that he could not ſpare the gaines of one terme for the ſatiſfaction of that dutie. The time hath beene that our lawiers did ſit in Powles vpon ſtooles againſt the pillers and walles to get clients, but now ſome of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the leſt. And one being demanded why he made ſo much of

his

his trauell, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a suite of late of some valure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whose names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the date and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he stated for that date. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, whereupon they promised peremptorilie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue three or foure words, almost so soone vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did seeme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men can haue for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessiue taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherfore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except they be dull and senseless.

Deceipt.

Want of our lawiers steppe not at small fees.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in those parts, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there somest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen do exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore Dauid of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) because he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make such importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe six or seuen writs with him in his purse, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrell be scarselie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, least in reuealing the superfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abused and vtterlie vndone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other spend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Esser, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow, aliàs Mason came in place, vnto whome in comparison they two were but children: for this last in lesse than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreame miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherwith to sustaine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfie that greedie rauenour, which still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer sheepe shorne in Wales, so neere clipped of his fleece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his land, because his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in steed of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my freend Iohn Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

Poore men contentious.

Promoters seeke matters to set lawiers on worke withall.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses employed vpon the same, should be no small cause of the state and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out they proue great occasions and the state of much contention. The reasons of these are soone to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeue doth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie doth driue those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer suite; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too short than too long by one returne a peece: so if there were smaller romes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawses before they did rashlie enter into plee. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

Hilarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Ianuarie (if it be not sundaie) otherwise the next daie after, and is finished the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

{ Octabis Hilarij. } { Crastino Purific. }
{ Quind. Hilarij. } { Octabis Purific. }

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentéene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath fiue returnes.

{ Quind. Pasch. } { Mense } { Quinque Paschæ. }
{ Tres Paschæ. } { Paschæ. } { Crast. Ascention. }

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

{ Crast. Trinitatis. } { Quind. Trinitatis. }
{ Octabis Trinitatis. } { Tres Trinitatis. }

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not sundaie) and ending the eight and twentith

twentith of Nouember, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael.	Craſt. anima.
Quind. Michael.	Craſt. Martini.
Tres Michael.	Octa. Martini.
Menſe Michael.	Quind. Martini.

Note alſo that the eſcheker, which is *Fiſcus* or *erarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vſuall termes as they are kept for the adminiſtration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accuſtomablie holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other eccleſiaſticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for ſomuch time as their execution indureth (which in compariſon is ſcarſelie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to anſwer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being ſorie in the meane ſeaſon, that the vſe of the popiſh calendar is ſo much reteined in the ſame, and not rather the vſuall daies of the moneth placed in their romes, ſith moſt of them are fixed and palter not their place of ſtanding. Howbeit ſome of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie ſo eaſilie, pretending facilitie and cuſtome of vſage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to kéepe a commemoration of thoſe dead men whoſe names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith.	All Soules.	S. Andrew.
S. Edward.	S. Martin.	Conception
S. Luke.	Edmund.	of the virgin
Simon & Iu.	Katharine.	Marie.

¶ It is to be remembred that the firſt daie following euerie of theſe feaſts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the ſame firſt daie in the afternoone is the admiraltie court for ciuill and ſeafaring cauſes kept in Southwarke, where iuſtice is miniſtred & execution done continuallie according to the ſame.

The ſecond daie following euerie one of the ſaid feaſts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the conſiſtorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the ſelfe daie in the afternoone, in the ſame place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie ſuch feaſt in the forenoone, the conſiſtorie court of the biſhop of London is kept in Paules church in the ſaid conſiſtorie, and the ſame third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quéenes highneſſe commiſſioners vpon appeales is likewiſe kept in the ſame place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie.	S. Scolaſtic.	S. Chad.
S. Wolſtan.	S. Valentine	Perpet. & Fel.
Conuerſion	Aſhwedneſ.	S. Gregorie.
of S. Paule.	S. Matthie.	Annũciation
S. Blaſe.		of our Ladie.

Note that the foure firſt daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the courſe of the yeare, and ſometime kept and ſometime omitted. For if it ſo happen that one of thoſe feaſts fall on wedneſdaie, commonlie called Aſhwedneſdaie after the daie of S. Blaſe (ſo that the ſame lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie cannot be kept becauſe the lawdaie of the other feaſt doth light on the ſame) then the ſecond lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie ſhall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie be the next daie after the feaſt of S. Blaſe, then ſhall all and euerie court daies be obſerued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Aſhwedneſdaie be put the ſeuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the courſe of Eaſter cauſeth it.

Eaſter terme.

The fiftéenth daie after Eaſter.

S. Alphege.	Gordian.	
S. Marke.	S. Dunſtan.	
Inuention of	Aſcenſion daie.	
the croſſe.		

¶ In this terme the firſt ſitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftéenth daie after Eaſter, and ſo forth after the feaſts here noted, which next follow by courſe of the yeare after Eaſter, and the like ſpace being kept betwéene other feaſts.

The reſt of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Aſcenſion, which is the laſt day of this terme. And if it happen that the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, do come before anie of the feaſts aforeſaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewiſe if anie of thoſe daies come before the fiftéenth of Eaſter, thoſe daies are omitted alſo.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie ſundaie.	S. Butolph.	S. Swithune.	
Corpus Chriſti.	S. Iohn.	S. Margaret.	
Boniface biſh.	S. Paule.	S. Anne.	
S. Barnabie.	Tranſlat. Thomas.		

Here note alſo that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitſuntide, and the firſt ſitting is kept alwaies on the firſt lawdaie after the feaſt of the holie Trinitie, and the ſecond ſeſſion is kept the firſt lawdaie after the idolatrous and papiſticall feaſt daie called Corpus Chriſti, except Corpus Chriſti daie fall on ſome day aforenamed: which chanceth ſometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the ſecond ſeſſion account foure daies or thereabout, and then loke which is the next feaſt day, and the firſt lawdaie after the ſaid feaſt ſhall be the third ſeſſion. The other law daies follow in order, but ſo manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare ſhall be thought méet.

It is alſo generallie to be obſerued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not ſundaie or holie daie: and that if the feaſt daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the firſt or ſecond daie following be ſundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the ſaid holie daie or feaſt.

Of prouiſion made for the poore.

Chap. 10.

THere is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great ſtore of poore people, and thoſe neceſſarilie to be relieued by the welthier ſort, which otherwiſe would ſtarue and come to vtter confuſion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into three ſorts, ſo that ſome are poore by impotencie, as the fatherleſſe child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diſeaſed perſon that is iudged to be incurable: the ſecond are poore by caſualtie, as the wounded ſouldier, the decaied houſeholder, and the ſicke perſon viſited with grieuous and painefull diſeaſes: the third conſiſteth of thriftleſſe poore, as the riotour that hath conſumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were ſéeking worke and finding none) and finallie the roge and ſtrumpet which are not poſſible to be diuided in ſunder, but runne too and fro ouer all the realme, chéefelie kéeping the champaine ſoiles in ſummer to auoid the ſcorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eſchew the bluſtering winds.

Three ſorts of poore.

For

For the first two sorts, that is to saie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by casualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word doth bind vs to make some dailie prouision: there is order taken throughout euerie parish in the realme, that weekelie collection shall be made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie also is giuen vnto the iustices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for such as make default, to see that the intent of the statute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same, so that these two sorts are sufficientlie prouided for: and such as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will doo that is godlie and well disposed) may well forbeare to rome and range about. But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so in steed of courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharpe execution, and whip of iustice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yeeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the parishes. I found not long since a note of these latter sort, the effect whereof insueth. Idle beggers are such either through other mens occasion, or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one waie for example) when some couetous man, such I meane as haue the cast or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to peister the land, espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, doth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the same vnto his priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded, doo either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moscouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no rome to be left for them at home, doo so behaue themselues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the second sort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to staie vpon are wilfull, and therevpon doo either proue idle beggers, or else continue starke theeues till the gallowes doo eat them vp, which is a lamentable case. Certes in some mans iudgements these things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermost, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceased to practise disturbance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with my purpose.

A thing often seene.

At whose hands shall the bloud of these men be required.

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means, are in the beginning iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie, and with such impediments as they haue to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such is their owne vngratious lewdnesse, and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies: and also laieng of rattsbane, spurrewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull and odious sores, and moue the harts of the goers by such places where they lie, to yerne at their miserie, and therevpon bestow large almesse vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and chose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none: and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs chieflie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

Unto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or labourers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer losse. But in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but licke the sweat from the true labourers browes, & beareue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked & detestable maner.

It is not yet full three score yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge, for they are now supposed of one sort and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 persons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name Canting, but other pedlers French, a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke, a iust reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman also of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rable. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth three & twentie sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Three sorts of poore.

Thomas Harman.

The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds.

1 Ruffilers.
2 Vprightmen.
3 Hookers or Anglers.
4 Roges.
5 Wild

5 Wild roges.
6 Paiggers or prauſers.
7 Palliards.
8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freſhwater mariners, or whiplacks.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Jarkemen or patricoes.

¶ Of women kind.

1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.
2 Baudie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Dores.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching coes.

The puniſhment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie ſharpe, and yet it can not reſtreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end muſt néeds be martiall law, to be exerciſed vpon them, as vpon théeues, robbers, deſpiſers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and ſtealings of yong children, burning, breaking and diſfiguring their limbs to make them pitifull in the ſight of the people, I néed not to rehearſe: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to priſon, and tried in the next aſſiſes (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or ſeſſions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inqueſt of office, or the teſtimonie of two honeſt and credible witneſſes vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be gréeuouſlie whipped and burned through the griſtle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compaſſe of an inch about, as a manifeſtation of his wicked life, and due puniſhment receiued for the ſame. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except ſome honeſt perſon worth fiue pounds in the quéenes boks in goods, or twentie ſhillings in lands, or ſome rich houſholder to be allowed by the iuſtices, will be bound in recogniſance to reteine him in his ſeruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the ſecond time, and proued to haue forſaken his ſaid ſeruice, he ſhall then be whipped againe, bored likewiſe through the other eare and ſet to ſeruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to ſuffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or ſanctuarie, as by the ſtatute doth appeare. Among roges and idle perſons finallie, we find to be compriſed all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coſiners, and ſuch as gad about the countrie, vſing vnlawfull games, practiſers of phiſiognomie and palmeſtrie, tellers of fortunes, fenſers, players, minſtrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretenſed ſcholers, ſhipmen, priſoners gathering for fées, and others ſo oft as they be taken without ſufficient licence. From among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iuſt cauſe: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to maſter their ſauage beaſts, béene occaſion of the death and deuouration of manie children in ſundrie countries by which they haue paſſed, whoſe parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cauſe there is & haue béene manie ſharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one alſo that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the quéenes maieſtie for euerie time that he doth ſo ſuccour them, as it ſhall pleaſe the iuſtices of peace to aſſigne, ſo that the taxation exceed not twentie ſhillings, as I haue béene informed. And thus much of the poze, & ſuch prouiſion as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

Of ſundrie kinds of puniſhments *appointed for malefactors.*

Chap. 11.

IN caſes of felonie, manſlaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & ſuch capitall crimes as are not reputed for treaſon or hurt of the eſtate, our ſentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other puniſhments vſed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vſe, and yet ſo few gréeuous crimes committed with vs as elſe where in the world. To vſe torment alſo or queſtion by paine and torture in theſe common caſes with vs is greatlie abhorred, ſith we are found alwaie to be ſuch as deſpiſe death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, chooſing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yéeld our bodies vnto ſuch ſeruile halings and tearings as are vſed in other countries. And this is one cauſe wherefore our condemned perſons dw go ſo chéerefullie to their deths, for our nation is frée, ſtout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as ſir Thomas Smith ſaith *lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wiſe digeſt to be vſed as villanes and ſlaues, in ſuffering continuallie beating, ſeruitude, and ſeruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of fellonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie priſoner committed to their cuſtodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greateſt and moſt gréeuous puniſhment vſed in England, for ſuch as offend againſt the ſtate, is drawing from the priſon to the place of execution vpon an hardle or ſled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided nére hand and within their owne ſight, euen for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes, if the treſpaſſe be not the more hainous, they are ſuffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when ſoeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treaſon by their péeres, that is to ſaie, equals (for an inqueſt of yeomen paſſeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the loſſe of their heads onelie, notwithſtanding that the ſentence dw run after the former order. In triall of caſes concerning treaſon, fellonie, or anie other gréeuous crime not confeſſed, the partie accuſed doth yéeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inqueſt (as I haue ſaid) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vſe) and being condemned of fellonie, manſlaughter, &c: he is eſſoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, done either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines nére the place where the fact was committed (or elſe vpon compaſſion taken firſt ſtrangled with a rope) and ſo continueth till his bones conſume to nothing. We haue vſe neither of the wheéle nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manſlaughter is perpetrated, beſide hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie ſtriken off before or nére vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to ſay, an euill and wicked one,

one

a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word fellonie are manie grieuous crimes conteined, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seuenth. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seuenth. Embesilling of goods committed by the maister to the seruant, aboue the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophesieng vpon armes, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bils An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the first. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the first. Diminution of coine, all offenses within case of præmunire, embesselling of records, goods taken from dead men by their seruants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the sea, or dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of deere by night, counterfeitors of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembred. If a woman poison hir husband she is burned aliue, if the seruant kill his maister he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the accessaries are to suffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is punished by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the rewalting of the trees growing vpon the grounds of the offendors and losse of all his moueables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of seditious words against the magistrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Rogues are burned through the eares, carters of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or seething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in sheets, in churches and market steads are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offendors, so I would wish adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let loose againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betweene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned thereto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whordome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too seuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eies or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appeareth of what estimation mariage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so grieuouslie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, shewting rather at the punishments of such preests and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such late men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therfore so in adulterie and whordome I would with the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the purse, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselues are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but theeues are hanged (as I said before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that who soeuer doth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirteene pence halfe penie, he is forthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vsuallie vpon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdaies) or else vpon the same daie that he is so conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure fot and an halfe, which doth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betweene two peeces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of fiue pardes in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastned by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe among the people, so that when the offendor hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened doth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodis by an huge distance. If it be so that the offendor be apprehended for an ox, oxen, sheepe, kine, horsse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being driuen dow draw out the pin wherby the offendor is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe. Halifax law.

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked vpon cuckingstooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraignement are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a bord, that lieth ouer their brest, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Theeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, for the first offense, Mute. Cleargie.

offenſe, if they haue ſtollen nothing elſe but oxen, ſheepe, monie, or ſuch like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie ſide, or aſſailing of anie mans houſe in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe with an hot iron, ſo that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue beene arraigned of fellonie before, whereby they are ſure at that time to haue no mercie. I do not read that this cuſtome of ſauing by the booke is vſed anie where elſe than in England, neither do I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuiſed to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themſelues to huſbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongſt the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not ſuffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counſell houſe, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whenſoeuer anie thing touching the ſtate of the land was to be conſulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by ſea are condemned in the court of the admiraltie, and hanged on the ſhore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwaſhed them. Finallie, ſuch as hauing wals and banks neere vnto the ſea, and do ſuffer the ſame to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient cuſtome apprehended, condemned, and ſtaked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Pirats.

And thus much in part of the adminiſtration of iuſtice vſed in our countrie, wherein notwithſtanding that we do not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (ſuch I meane as are not ſildome ſeene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then ſome manſlaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be ſeuerelie puniſhed, and in ſuch wiſe as I before reported. Certes there is no greater miſchefe done in England than by robberies, the firſt by yong ſhifting gentlemen, which oftentimes do beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by ſeruingmen, whoſe wages cannot ſuffice ſo much as to find them breeches, wherefore they are now and then conſtreined either to keepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houſes with the firſt ſort, or elſe to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers paſtures, there to ſee and view which horſſes feed beſt, whereby they manie times get ſomething, although with hard aduenture it hath beene knowne by their confeſſion at the gallowes, that ſome one ſuch chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or ſixtie ſtolne horſſes at paſture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue ſold at faires and markets farre off, they themſelues in the meane ſeaſon being taken about home for honeſt yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue been bewraied. It is not long ſince one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honeſt and wealthie townelman, he vttered alſo more horſſes than anie of his trade, becauſe he ſold a reaſonable pennworth, and was a faire ſpoken man. It was his cuſtome likewiſe to ſaie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or ſir, either he did coſt me ſo much, or elſe by Jeſus I ſtole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet ſuch was his eſtimation, that each beleeued the firſt part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which do verie great miſchefe in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie ſuffer iniurie by the firſt two, theſe ſpare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or ſmall, all is fiſh that commeth to net with them, and yet I ſaie both they and the reſt are truſſed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the biſhop of Leroula) in the geniture of king Edward the firſt, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie ſeuerelie againſt ſuch idle perſons, I meane great theeues, pettie theeues and roges, did hang vp threeſcore and twelue thouſand of them in his time. He ſeemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the reſt: but ſince his death the number of them is ſo increaſed, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occaſion of their breed (for it is the cuſtome of the more idle ſort, hauing once ſerued or but ſeene the other ſide of the ſea vnder colour of ſeruice to ſhake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a diſgrace for himſelfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except ſome better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, ſuch as dwell in vplandiſh townes and little villages ſhall liue but in ſmall ſafetie and reſt. For the better apprehenſion alſo of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or anie man complaine and giue warning of ſlaughter or murther committed, the conſtable of the village whereunto he commeth and crieth for ſuccour, is to raiſe the pariſh about him, and to ſearch woods, groues, and all ſuſpected houſes and places, where the treſpaſſer may be, or is ſuppoſed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next conſtable, and ſo one conſtable after ſerch made to aduertiſe another from pariſh to pariſh, till they come to the ſame where the offendor is harbored and found. It is alſo prouided, that if anie pariſh in this buſineſſe do not his dutie, but ſuffereth the theefe (for the auoiding of trouble ſake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he ſhould be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to eſcape the ſame pariſh, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but alſo the ſame with the whole hundred wherein it ſtandeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his eſtate harmleſſe. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue eſcaped out of the ſtocks, being reſcued by other for want of watch & gard, that theeues haue beene let paſſe, becauſe the couetous and greedie pariſhoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to priſon, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue beene made euen to the faces of ſome conſtables, they haue ſaid; God reſtore your loſſe, I haue other buſineſſe at this time. And by ſuch meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath ſwet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himſelfe and his poore children and familie.

Of the maner of building and *furniture of our houſes.*

Chap. 12.

THe greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts & many radels, with ſtable and all offices vnder one rooſe, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſéene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betweéne the plaine and woddie ſoiles: for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered, ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, ſix, or nine inches betweéne ſtud and ſtud; ſo in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie ſtranke poſts, railins, beames, prickepoſts, groundſels, ſummers (or dormants) tranſoms, and ſuch principals, with here and there a girding, whervnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then call it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to wonder, but cheéflie when they ſaw what large diet was vſed in manie of theſe ſo homelie cottages, in ſo much that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them ſaid after this maner: Theſe Engliſh (quoth he) haue their houſes made of ſticks and durt, but they fare commonlie ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in ſuch courſe cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like ſort as euerie countrie houſe is thus apparelled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardlie diuided into ſundrie roomes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwiſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or reed, except ſome quarrie of ſlate be nére hand, from whence they haue for their monie ſo much as may ſuffice them.

The claie wherewith our houſes are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of theſe the firſt doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the ſecond is called lome, but the third eſtſoones changeth colour ſo ſone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent Aſbeſtos or white lime, made in moſt places, wherewith being quenched we ſtrike ouer our claie workes and ſtone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houſes: otherwiſe in ſtéed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones and ſhels of oiſters and like fiſh found vpon the ſea coaſt, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eſchew water whereby it is diſſolued, and neuertheleſſe deſire oile wherewith it is eaſilie mixed, as I haue ſeene by experience. Within their doores alſo ſuch as are of abilitie do oft make their floores and parget of fine alabaſter burned, which they call plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable againſt the rage of fire.

In plaſtering likewiſe of our faireſt houſes ouer our heads, we vſe to laie firſt a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or ſometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made faſt here and there with ſaplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforeſaid plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is laied on ſo euen and ſmoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactneſſe. The wals of our houſes on the inner ſides in like ſort be either hanged with tapiſſerie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerſe hiſtories, or hearbes, beaſts, knots, and ſuch like are ſtained, or elſe they are ſeeled with oke of our owne, or waineſcot brought hither out of the eaſt countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more cloſe than otherwiſe they would be. As for ſtoues we haue not hitherto vſed them greatlie, yet do they now begin to be made in diuerſe houſes of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and elſe where, but now and then to ſweat in, as occaſion and néed ſhall require it. This alſo hath béene common in England, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other nations, and yet to be ſéene (for example in moſt ſtréets of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardlie béene verie ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardlie haue bene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the fronts of our ſtréets haue not béene ſo vniforme and orderlie builded as thoſe of forreine cities, where (to ſaie truth) the vtterſide of their manſions and dwellings haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, than all the reſt of the houſe, which are often verie ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countrie houſes in ſtéed of glaſſe did vſe much lattiſe and that made either of wicker or fine riftes of oke in chekerwiſe. I read alſo that ſome of the better ſort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithſtanding vſed ſome glaſſe alſo ſince the time of Benedict Biſcop the monke that brought the feat of glaſſing firſt into this land) did make panels of horne in ſtéed of glaſſe, & fix them in wodden calmes. But as horne in windowes is now quite laid downe in euerie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bicauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, and within a verie little ſo good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obſcure mention of the ſpecular ſtone alſo to haue béene found and aplied to this vſe in England, but in ſuch doubtfull ſort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is that antiquitie vſed it before glaſſe was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glaſſe was firſt found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this preſent, although it be directlie beſide my purpoſed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & nére to the ſot of mount Carmell there is a more or marris, wherout riſeth a brooke called ſomtime Belus, and falleth into the ſea nére to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie aſcribed vnto Baall, and alſo honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Iſraell. It came to paſſe alſo as a certeine merchant ſailed that waie laden with Nitrum, the paſſengers went to land for to repoſe themſelues, and to take in ſome ſtore of freſh water into their veſſell. Being alſo on the ſhore they kindled a fire, and made proviſion for their dinner, but bicauſe they wanted treuets or ſtones whereon

to ſet their kettels on, ran by chance into the ſhip, and brought great peeces of Nitrum with him, which ſerued their turne for that preſent. To be ſhort, the ſaid ſubſtance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and ſo brought forth that ſhining ſubſtance which now is called glaſſe, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie ſaw this, they made no ſmall accompt of their ſucceſſe, and forthwith began to practiſe the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the ſaid ſtuffe did alſo inſue. Certes for the time this hiſtorie may well be true: for I read of glaſſe in Iob, but for the reſt I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be ſeene in Sudleie caſtell) and in diuerſe other places with fine chriſtall, but this eſpeciallie in the time of the Romans, whereof alſo ſome fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onelie the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſteemed: for we haue diuerſe ſorts, ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beſide that which is made in England, which would be ſo good as the beſt, if we were diligent and carefull to beſtow more coſt vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground ſtand altogither by ſtreets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland ſoiles diſperſed here and there, each one vpon the ſeuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in ſuch ſort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, ſtable, nor brewhouſe annered vnto them vnder the ſame roofe (as in manie places beyond the ſea & ſome of the north parts of our countrie) but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is done in each of them with eaſe, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger ſhould attach him.

The ancient manours and houſes of our gentlemen are yet and for the moſt part of ſtrong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before thoſe of like ſcience among all other nations. Howbeit ſuch as be latelie builded, are cõmonlie either of bricke or hard ſtone, or both; their romes large and comelie, and houſes of office further diſtant from their lodgings. Thoſe of the nobilitie are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone, as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtatelie, as the baſeſt houſe of a baron doth often match in our daies with ſome honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did floriſh in England, it is in theſe our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptiſta, and Serlo. Neuertheleſſe, their eſtimation more than their greedie and ſeruile couetouſneſſe, ioined with a lingering humour cauſeth them often to be reiected, & ſtrangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reaſonable in their takings, and leſſe waſters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houſes alſo exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: and herein I doo not ſpeake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewiſe of the loweſt ſort in moſt places of our ſouth countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſee abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapiſtrie, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſundrie cupboords, to the ſumme oftentimes of a thouſand or two thouſand pounds at the leaſt: whereby the value of this and the reſt of their ſtuffe doth grow to be almoſt ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and ſome other wealthie citizens, it is not geſon to behold generallie their great proniſion of tapiſtrie, Turkie worke, pewter, braſſe, fine linen, and thereto coſtlie cupboords of plate, worth fiue or ſir hundred or a thouſand pounds, to be deemed by eſtimation. But as herein all theſe ſorts doo far exceed their elders and predeceſſors, and in neatneſſe and curioſitie, the merchant all other; ſo in time paſt, the coſtlie furniture ſtaied there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leaſes haue for the moſt part learned alſo to garniſh their cupboords with plate, their ioined beds with tapiſtrie and ſilke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praiſed therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I ſpeake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to ſhew that I do reioiſe rather, to ſee how God hath bleſſed vs with his good gifts; and whileſt I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, & what commoditie ſo euer is to be had, is daille plucked from the communaltie by ſuch as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtein & atchiue ſuch furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpoſſible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be marueilouſlie altered in England within their ſound remembrance; & other three things too too much increaſed. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yong daies there were not aboue two or three, if ſo manie in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme (the religious houſes, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but ech one made his fire againſt a reredoſſe in the hall, where he dined and dreſſed his meat.

Three things greatlie amended in England.

Chimnies.

The ſecond is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (ſaid they) our fathers (yea and we our ſelues alſo) haue lien full oft vpon ſtraw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a ſheet vnder couerlets made of dagſwain or hopharlots (I vſe their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in ſtead of a bolſter or pillow. If it were ſo that our fathers or the good man of the houſe, had within ſeuen yeares after his mariage purchaſed a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſt his head vpon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie ſeldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; ſo well were they contented, and with ſuch baſe kind of furniture: which alſo is not verie much amended as yet in ſome parts of Bedfordſhire, and elſewhere further off from our ſouthern parts. Pillowes (ſaid they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for ſeruants, if they had anie ſheet aboue them it was well, for ſeldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking ſtraws that ran off through the canuas of the pallet, and raſed their hardened hides.

Hard lodging

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of veſſell, as of treene platters into pewter, and wodden ſpoones into ſiluer or tin. For ſo common were all ſorts of treene ſtuffe in old time, that a man ſhould hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a ſalt) in a good farmers houſe, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may ſo be iuſtlie called) they were ſcarſe able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without ſelling of a cow, or an horſſe, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vtter-

Furniture of houſehold.

This was in the time of generall idleneſſe.

By the

moſt

most by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had béene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew what store he had, did cast downe his purse, and therein a noble or six shillings in siluer vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold bicause it was not so readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dozzen of spoones to furnish vp the suite. This also he taketh to be his owne cléere, for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often séene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he renueth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeares before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuersion, and so defeat him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chin. And as they commend these, so (beside the decaie of housekéeping whereby the poore haue bene relieued) they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords séeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new meanes, and séeking vp all the old how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines, driuing them also for euerie trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme doth stand and is mainteined) to the end they may fléece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie that he is accompted but a fole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was *Sors pro sorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beside that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vsura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is commoditie of soile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine *Vsura, Ex sextante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to six, called *Ex semisse*, &c: as the accompt of the *Assis* ariseth, and comming at the last vnto *Vsura ex asse*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centesima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elsewhere. Sée Cicero against Verres, Demosthenes against Aphobus, and Athenæus *lib.* 13. *in fine*: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praie thée in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take *Centũ pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I dow iudge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they séeme (as it were) to eat them vp and deale with bondmen, so that if the leasse be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am sorie to report it, much more grieued to vnderstand of the practise; but most sorowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themselues become grasiers, butchers, tanners, sheepmasters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to inrich themselues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.

By the yeare.

Of cities and townes in *England*.

Cap. 13.

Six and twentie cities in England.

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the south part of this Ile, and so manie great cities vnder their iurisdiction: so in these our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them also vnder the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spirituall cases haue the charge and ouersight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishoprikes & archbishoprikes. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, do séeme to extend the aforesaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of these couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and sée of the bishop, sith one bishoprike can haue relation but vnto one sée, and the said sée be situate but in one place, after which the bishop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue bene of excéeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decaied, and the places where they stood worne out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine are maruellouslie altered, insomuch that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other these ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland supposeth (wherin they went by Colchester) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betweene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London, and likewise Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the sonne of Samothes, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disproued in diuerse cities in the maine, as also here with vs. Of these moreouer sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to haue stood somewhere about Chester; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie same that we do now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the shore. And as these and sundrie other now perished toke their denomination of this prince, so there

Sitomagus. Nouiomagus. Neomagus Niomagus.

are

are diuerse causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisburie doth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers do imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, sith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Suessionenses had a great part of this Iland in subiection, as Cæsar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe doth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the proofe of this matter, least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore. As some after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, do still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Iland was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the least wise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by copie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Salisburie of Sarron.

Sarronium. Sarrons burg.

Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.

The cause of the increase of villages.

1. London otherwise called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinum or Longidinium.
- Augusta of the legion Augusta that soiourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2 Yorke otherwise called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc or Eoforwijc.
- Yeworwijc.
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.

Leouitius placeth Yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus.

A legion conteined sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.

3 Canturburie
- Duroruerno *alias* Duraruenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbirie.

4 Colchester
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Colkin of Coilus.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.
- Coloncester. Tacitus.
- Camulodunum. Ptolome.

5 Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.
- Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6 Warwijc had sometime 9 parish churches.
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line or Cair Leon.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair Vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7 Chester vpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthur.
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legecester.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8 Carleill
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.
- Cair Doill.

9 S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamceſter.
- Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it stood.

10 Winchester.
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11 Cisceter.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kery.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirneceſter.
- Churneceſter.

12 Silcester.
- Cair Segent.
- Seleceſter.

Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reding.

13 Bath.
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ solis.

14 Shaftesbyry
- Cair Paladour.
- Septonia.

15 Worcester.
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Cair Frangon.
- Woorkeceſter.

16 Chichester.
- Cair Key or Kair Kis.
- Cair Chic.

17 Bristow
- Cair Oder nant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Bren.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brightstow.

18 Rochester.

18 Rochester. Durobreuis, corruptlie Durobrouis. Rofceſter. Dubobrus. Roffa. Durobrius.

19 Portchester. Cair Peris. Cair Porcis.

20 Cairmarden. Cair Maridunum. Cair Merdine. Maridunum. Cair Marlin. Cair Fridhin.

21 Gloceſter. Cair Clowy. Cair Glow. Claudioceſtria.

22 Leircester. Cair Beir. Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall, teſte. Matth. Weſt. 895.

23 Cambridge. Grantabric. Cair Graunt.

* 24 Cair Vrnach, peraduenture Burgh caſtell.
25 Cair Cucurat.
26 Cair Draiton, now a ſlender village.
27 Cair Celennon.
28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon ſhire, but now vnknowne, ſith it was twiſe raced to the ground, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines thereof are in theſe daies not extant to be ſeene. And in like ſort I am ignorant where moſt of them ſtood, that are noted with the ſtar. I find in like ſort mention of a noble citie called Alcluid ouer and beſide theſe afore mentioned, ſometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie deſtroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It ſtood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betweene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the weſt, and was ſometime march betweene the Britons and the Picts, and likewiſe the Picts and the Scots; neuertheleſſe, the caſtell (as I heare) doth yet remaine, and hath beene ſince well repared by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, ſo that it is not an hard matter by theſe few words to find where Alcluid ſtood. I could here, if leiſure ſerued, and haſt of the printer not require diſpatch, deliuer the ancient names of ſundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time paſt was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I geſſe) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kimbalton. But if anie man be deſirous to ſee more of them, let him reſort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the ſecond, and there he ſhall be farther ſatisfied of his deſire in this behalfe.

When Albane was martyred Aſclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.

It ſhould ſeeme when theſe ancient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne, which we now call ſaint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but cheefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it ſelfe, but rather preferred before it, becauſe it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the moſt part of the Iland was alſo in thoſe daies. God notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whoſe writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maieſtie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto poſteritie, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither (as it hath done hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of their ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are loſt and periſhed. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of his hiſtorie maketh mention of it, ſhewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miſerablie diſtreſſed, *Eadem clades* (ſaith he) *municipio Verolamio fuit*. And herevpon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolome ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antonius maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca ſtood nere to Barnet, if it were not the verie ſame. Of the old compaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is now ſmall knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it ſelfe you ſhall partlie vnderſtand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betweene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, ſith *Colonia aliò traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliunde in ciuitatem veniunt, ſuis, iuribus & legibus viuunt*: moreouer their ſoile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the ſtedfaſt friendſhip and protection of the Romans, as did ſomtime the Ceretes who were the firſt people which euer obteined that priuilege. The Britiſh Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble ſeruice in the warres deſerued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole freedome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more free in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie infranchiſed and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonie* is a companie ſent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to poſſeſſe either a citie newlie builded, or to replenith the ſame from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being deſirous to inlarge that houſe, it came into his mind to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to ſee if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garniſh his building taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſooner begun to dig among the rubbiſh, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, peeces of antike worke, threſholds, doore frames, and ſundrie other peeces of fine maſonrie for windowes and ſuch like, verie conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphyrite ſtone, ſome of diuerſe kinds of marble, touch, and alabaſter, beſide manie curious deuiſes of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himſelfe an happie man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundrie pillers of braſſe, and ſockets of latton, alabaſter and touch, all which he laid aſide by great heaps, determining in the end (I ſaie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who followed the doings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onlie peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearch

yet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other peeces of excellent workemanſhip, but came at the laſt to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which ſtood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie ſuperſtitiouſlie and religiouſlie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of neceſſitie. Theſe images were of ſundrie mettals, and ſome of pure gold, their altars likewiſe were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vſe in his building, but alſo deſtroied an innumerable ſort of other idols, whoſe eſtimation conſiſted in their formes, and ſubſtances could doo no ſeruice. He tooke vp alſo ſundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruſes of ſtone and wood moſt artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in ſuch quantitie, beſides infinite ſtore of fine houſhold ſtuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought thither of purpoſe to be hidden in thoſe vaults. In proceeding further, he tooke vp diuerſe pots of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, glaſſe and earth, whereof ſome were filled with the aſhes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers alſo of late in a well at little Wallingham in Norfolke, of ſix or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and alſo in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which veſſels the ſaid abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he reſerued it in like ſort for the garniſhing of his church.

He found likewiſe in a ſtone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the ſacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now ſaie) the martyrdome of ſaint Albane, both of them written in old Britiſh letters, which either becauſe no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both conſumed to aſhes, ſauing that a few notes were firſt taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. This much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found ſince that time, and diuerſe within the memorie of man, of paſſing workemanſhip, the like whereof hath no where elſe beene ſeene in anie ruines within the compaſſe of this Ile, either for coſt or quantitie of ſtuffe.

This ſeemeth like a lie.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to ſaie that the Thames came ſometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing ſo; but that the Uerlume (afterward called Uere and the Pure) did and doth ſo ſtill (whatſoeuer Gildas talketh hereof, whoſe booke may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie ſmall by reaſon of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old courſe, and runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is ſtanding on Holmehirſt crag, as I beheld of late. Thoſe places alſo which now are meadow beneath the abbaie, were ſometimes a great lake, mere, or pole, through which the ſaid riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie ſwift and violent courſe, whereas at this preſent it is verie ſlow, and of no ſuch deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author ſaith further of the ſame. As thoſe aforeſaid workemen digged in theſe ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet ſhels, peeces of ruſtie anchors, and keeles of great veſſels, whereupon ſome by and by gathered that either the Thames or ſome arme of the ſea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderſtanding that theſe things might aſwell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north ſide of the citie, which laie then (as ſome men thinke) vnwalled, but that alſo is falſe. For being there vpon occaſion this ſummer paſſed, I ſaw ſome remnant of the old wals ſtanding in that place, which appeared to haue beene verie ſubſtantiallie builded; the ruines likewiſe of a greater part of them are to be ſeene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne ſtandeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the hiſtorie of S. Albane ſpeaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell ſtreet or there about, for ſo the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the deſcription of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*) at the firſt belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no ſmall commoditie. It continued alſo vntill the time of Alfrije the ſeuenth abbat of that houſe, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by exceſſiue charges drained it ſo narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (ſauing that he reſerued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vſuall courſe, which he held vp with high bankes) becauſe there was alwaies contention betweene the monks and the kings ſeruants, which fiſhed on that water vnto the kings behooſe.

In theſe daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one ſtreet, which yet is called Fiſhpoole ſtreet, whereof this may ſuffice for the reſolution of ſuch men, as ſeeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas ſhould ſeeme to miſtake this riuer.

Hauing thus digreſſed to giue ſome remembrance of the old eſtate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe. Certes I would gladlie ſet downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in ſuch order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is ſome found by the biſhoprikes, ſith euerie ſee hath ſuch prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vſe *Regale ius* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege alſo is granted to ſundrie ancient townes in England, eſpeciallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the ſouth. The names therefore of our cities are theſe:

London.	Worceſter.	Cheſter.
Yorke.	Gloceſter.	Chicheſter.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Wincheſter.	Saliſburie.	Peterborow.
Carleill.	Exceſter.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Dauids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Briſtow.	S. Aſaph.
Lincolne.	Rocheſter.	

Whoſe particular plots and models with their deſcriptions ſhall inſue, if it may be brought to paſſe, that the cutters can make diſpatch of them before this chronologie be publiſhed. Of townes and villages likewiſe thus much will I ſaie, that there were greater ſtore in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare paſſed) than at this preſent. And this I note out of diuerſe records, charters, and donations (made in times paſt vnto ſundrie religious houſes, as Glaſſenburie, Abbandon, Ramſeie, Elie, and ſuch like) and whereof in theſe daies I find not ſo much as the ruines. Leland in ſundrie places complaineth likewiſe of the decaie of pariſhes in great cities and townes, miſſing in ſome ſix, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well

more

more at their firſt comming, yet ſince the firſt two hundred yeares after the latter conqueſt, they haue gone ſo faſt againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the monke of Cheſter telleth of generall ſurueie made in the fourth, ſirteenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, ſurnamed the Baſtard, wherein it was found, that (notwithſtanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parith churches, and 75000 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerſe other builded ſince that time, within the ſpace of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Baſtard, as it were in lieu or recompenſe of thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forreſt. For by an old booke which I haue, and ſometime written as it ſeemeth by an vnderſhriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parith churches, and but 60216 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the leaſt 28000: for ſo ſmall is the difference which he doth ſeeme to vſe. Howbeit if the aſſertions of ſuch as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you ſhall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforeſaid number, if it be throughlie ſcanned.

Certes this miſfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto moſt of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the grédie deſire of ſuch as would liue alone and onelie to themſelues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hetacompolis, becauſe it conteined an hundred cities, but now it is ſo vnfurniſhed that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus ſaith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which ſo decaied in proceſſe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our dates both in all Aſia & Aegypt this leſſer number ſhall not verie readilie be found. In time paſt in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue béene two and fiftie parith churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monaſteries and religious houſes, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable diſcourſe of ſo notable and gréeuous an inconuenience, growing (as I ſaid) by incrotching and ioining of houſe to houſe, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houſes either altogither pulled downe or ſuffered to decaie by litle and litle, although ſometime a poore man peraduenture dooth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, ſuffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himſelfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground aſſigned vnto him whereon to kéepe a cow, or wherein to ſet cabbages, radiſhes, parſneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or ſuch like ſtuffe, by which he and his poore houſehold liueth as by their principall food, ſith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themſelues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore eſtate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled ſometime in good tenements, there be now no houſes at all, but hoppards, and theads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may ſée in caſtell Hedingham, and diuerſe other places. But to proceed.

It is ſo, that our ſoile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houſes of the firſt lie vniformelie builded in euerie towne together with ſtréets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they ſtand ſcattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midſt of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and moſt great market townes, there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or manſions, & two thouſand communicants, or peraduenture more: ſo in the other, whether they be woodland or champaine, we find not often aboue fortie, fiftie, or three ſcore houſeholds, and two or three hundred communicants, whereof the greateſt part neuertheleſſe are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, ſith the ground of the parith is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea ſometimes into the tenure of one, two or three, whereby the reſt are compelled either to be hired ſeruants vnto the other, or elſe to beg their bread in miſerie from doore to doore.

There are ſome (ſaith Leland) which are not ſo fauourable when they haue gotten ſuch lands, as to let the houſes remaine vpon them to the vſe of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the ſoile to pull them downe for altogither, ſaieng that if they did let them ſtand, they ſhould but toll beggers to the towne, therby to ſurcharge the reſt of the parith, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas theſe pitifull men ſée not that they themſelues hereby do laie the greateſt log vpon their neighbors necks. For ſith the prince dooth commonlie loſe nothing of his duties accuſtomable to be paid, the reſt of the pariſhioners that remaine muſt anſwer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, ſaieng; I am charged alreadie with a light horſſe, I am to anſwer in this ſort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had ſeuen pounds thirteene ſhillings at a taſke gathered of fiftie wealthie houſeholders of a parith in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure houſholds do beare all the aforeſaid paiment, or elſe Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he eſpeciallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land and likewiſe vpon the coaſts. Certes a great number complaine of the increaſe of pouertie, laieng the cauſe vpon God, as though he were in fault for ſending ſuch increaſe of people, or want of wars that ſhould conſume them, affirming that the land was neuer ſo full, &c: but few men do ſée the verie root from whence it dooth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they flouriſhed, and therefore preſcribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of three ſcore in Inde, where he did plant himſelfe. I could (if néed required) ſet downe in this place the number of religious houſes and monaſteries, with the names of their founders that haue béene in this Iland: but ſith it is a thing of ſmall importance, I paſſe it ouer as impertinent to my purpoſe. Yet herein I will commend ſundrie of the monaſticall votaries, eſpeciallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie bookes and profitable wares, néere vnto their dwellings, although otherwiſe they pretended to be men ſeparated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent another, appeered herin to too much. For being hold from time to time to viſit their tenants, they wrought oft great

great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	*Market townes.*	*Parishes.*
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Sussex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southhampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.

IT hath béene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie: Nevertheles it séemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogither vnnédfull. This also is apparant by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisburie I speake not, of Anwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a bréeder of tyrants. Pyrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentlenesse. Caietanus in his common-wealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appéereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be nédfull.

There haue béene in times past great store of castels & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them liked vpon their owne demeasnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the méeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gainesaie manie of those procéedings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restreined. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decaied, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all maintained within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repared most of such as were alreadie standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quéene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes neece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safelie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small speed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done: albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much briefflie for my purpose at this present. For I néed not to make anie long discourse of castels,

The best keepers of kingdomes.

The wandles in time past were called windles.

ſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with ſtone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handſtrokes, where he may trauaile his ground, chooſe his plot, and vſe the benefit of ſunne ſhine, wind and weather, to his beſt aduantage & commoditie. Iſocrates alſo ſaith that towres, walles, bulworkes, ſoldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the beſt keepers of kingdomes; but freends, loue of ſubiects, & obedience vnto martiall diſcipline, which they want that ſhew themſelues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for thoſe tales that go of Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall ſaue all England on a date, and likewiſe the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that ſaid in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the ſixth yeare of his reigne:

The beſt keepers of kingdomes.

If I were in my caſtell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Waueneie,
I wold not ſet a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the firſt mere vaine, the ſecond fondlie vttered if anie ſuch thing were ſaid, as manie other words are and haue beene ſpoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not heard of among the common ſort. Certes the caſtell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforeſaid prince, the ſame yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and caſtell of Leiceſter, alſo the caſtels of Treſke and Paleſar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewiſe to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like ſort take occaſion to ſpeake of ſundrie ſtrong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I paſſe ouer to talke of any ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes. This neuertheleſſe concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one nere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to ſaie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may eaſilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewiſe is verie large and ſtrong. The ſecond is to be ſeene in the edge of Shropſhire about two miles from Colme, betweene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwiſe named Themis, wherevnto there is no acceſſe but at one place. The Welſhmen call it Cair Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Oſtorius, at ſuch time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for ſuccour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may ſee in Tacitus.

The wandles in time paſt were called windles.

Of palaces belonging to *the prince.*

Chap. 15.

IT lieth not in me to ſet down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie deſcription of hir graces court, ſith my calling is and hath beene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarſelie preſumed to peepe in at hir gates, much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſearch out and know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to be ſeene within them. Yet thus much will I ſaie generallie of all the houſes and honours perteining to hir maieſtie, that they are builded either of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both. And therevnto although their capacitie and hugeneſſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the like of diuerſe forren princes are to be ſeene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they ſo curious, neat, and commodious as anie of them, both for conueiance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of ſituation, which is not the leaſt thing to be conſidered of in building. Thoſe that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to theſe daies the ſhew and image of the ancient kind of workemanſhip vſed in this land: but ſuch as he erected after his owne deuiſe (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iuſtinian the lawgiuer) doo repreſent another maner of paterne, which as they are ſuppoſed to exceſſe all the reſt that he found ſtanding in this realme, ſo they are and ſhall be a perpetuall preſident vnto thoſe that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes maſonrie did neuer better flouriſh in England than in his time. And albeit that in theſe daies there be manie goodlie houſes erected in the ſundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than ſubſtantiall for continuance: whereas ſuch as he did ſet vp excell in both, and therefore may iuſtlie be preferred farre aboue all the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reſerued to hir maieſties onelie vſe at pleaſure are theſe: for of ſuch as are giuen awaie I ſpeake not, neither of thoſe that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards caſtell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whoſe wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the firſt; neither of the tower roiall there alſo, &c: ſith I ſee no cauſe wherefore I ſhould remember them and manie of the like, of whoſe verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of ſuch I ſaie therfore as I erſt mentioned, we haue firſt of all White hall at the weſt end of London (which is taken for the moſt large & principall of all the reſt) was firſt a lodging of the archbiſhops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Wolſeie, and finallie inlarged and finiſhed by king Henrie the eight. By eaſt of this ſtandeth Durham place, ſometime belonging to the biſhops of Durham, but conuerted alſo by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerſet place I ſpeake not, yet if the firſt beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerſet) had liued, I doubt not but it ſhould haue beene well finiſhed and brought to a ſumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that houſe & from vs all, ſo it prooued the ſtaie of ſuch proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to paſſe that it ſtandeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and houſe of munition, and therevnto a place for the ſafekeeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to ſoiourne in. Yet in times paſt I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the ſite of his palace in ſuch wiſe, that it ſtretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in ſo much that it approched nere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought ſome of the ruines of his houſe are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouſes in that tract of ground in our times. S. James ſometime a nonrie, was builded alſo by the ſame prince. Hir grace hath alſo Otelande, Aſhridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuelde, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the firſt, Hampton court (begun ſometime by cardinall Wolſeie, and finiſhed by hir father) and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king

White hall.
S. James.
Otelande.
Aſhridge.
Hatfield.
Enuelde.
Richmond.
Hampton.
Woodſtocke.

King Hen. 8. not inferiour to Adrian and Iuſtinian.

Henrie the first, in which the quænes maiestie delighteth greatlie to sojourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captivitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Windsor. For strength Windlesor or Winsor is supposed to be the cheefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Aruiragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed exceeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quænes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safegard. Such also hath béene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie béene interred there, but also made it the cheefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Grenewich. Greenewith was first builded by Humfreis duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the first, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Dartford. Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was

Eltham. also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreouer diuerse other. But what shall I need to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quenes maiestie hath: sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where shee continueth during pleasure, and till shee returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Of the court. The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowmed and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the interteinement of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall thereunto, much lesse one excelling it in anie maner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue councellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quénes maiestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the prehéminence. This further is

English courtiers the best learned & the worst liuers. not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best learned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Greeke and Latine tongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and auoid idleneste, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caul worke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine tong, whilest the youngest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quénes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in somthing wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a brééfe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

Traines of attendants.

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and thereunto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the seuerall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the household, that (as I suppose) Cyrus, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be seene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the exceeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God doth wonderfullie appéere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle *Ad aulicum quendam*

dam, ſaith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio eſt, qui illic ſuis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi ſcelerum ſchola eſt, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vſpiam eſt perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemẽtiæ, quicquid effrænatæ ſuperbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid obſcenæ libidinis fœdiſſimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum peſſimorum, totum illic acerruatur cumulatiſſimè, vbi ſtupra, raptus, incęſtus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi ſunt, vbi faſtus & tumor, ira, liuor, fœdáque cupido cum ſocijs ſuis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutumque omnium inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In ſuch great princes courts (I ſaie) it is a woꝛld to ſée what lewd behauiour is vſed among diuerſe of thoſe that reſoꝛt vnto the ſame, and what whoꝛedome, ſwearing, ribaldꝛie, atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, dꝛunkennelle, gluttonie, quarelling, and ſuch like inconueniences do dailie take hold, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates the like behauiour is leaſt conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which ſay that the thing increaſeth and gꝛoweth in the courts of pꝛinces ſauing vertue, which in ſuch places doth languiſh and dailie vade away) all which enoꝛmities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, oꝛ elſe ſo qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſehold, that ſeldome are ante of theſe things apparantlie ſéene there, without due repꝛehenſion, and ſuch ſeuere coꝛrection as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finallie to auoid idlenelle, and pꝛeuent ſundꝛie tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelie to be committed and done, ſuch oꝛder is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, oꝛ the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, oꝛ both, beſide ſome hiſtoꝛies and chꝛonicles lieng therein, foꝛ the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publike ſchoole of the vniuerſities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a pꝛinces palace, if you conferre the ſame with thoſe of other nations. Would to God all honoꝛable perſonages would take eꝛample of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and ſhew their confoꝛmitie vnto theſe hir ſo good beginnings! which if they would, then ſhould manie grieuous offenſes (wherewith God is highlie diſpleaſed) be cut off and reſtreined, which now do reigne exceedinglie, in moſt noble and gentlemens houſes, wherof they ſée no paterne within hir graces gates.

Traines of attendants.

I might ſpeake here of the great traines and troopes of ſeruing men alſo, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their ſeuerall liueries, and with differences of cogniſances on their ſléeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could alſo ſet downe what a goodlie ſight it is to ſée them muſter in the court, which being filled with them doth yéeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the ſhew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, oꝛ of ſome medow garniſhed with infinit kinds and diuerſitie of pleaſant floures. But I paſſe ouer the rehearſall hereof to other men, who moꝛe delite in vaine amplification than I, and ſéeke to be moꝛe curious in theſe points than I pꝛofeſſe to be.

The diſcipline of firme peace alſo that is maintened within a certeine compaſſe of the pꝛinces palace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſée dailie pꝛactiſed in the beſt gouerned holds & foꝛtreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike within the limits pꝛohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, oꝛ ſanctuarie, they are ſure to loſe their right hands at a ſtroke, and that in verie ſolemne maner, the foꝛme whereof I will ſet downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Striking within the court and palace of the pꝛince.

At ſuch time therefoꝛe as the partie tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficient inqueſt impanelled foꝛ the ſame purpoſe, and the time come of the execution of the ſentence, the ſergeant of the kings wood-yard pꝛouideth a ſquare blocke, which he bꝛingeth to ſome appointed place, and therewithall a great bœtle, ſtaple, and coꝛds, wherewith to faſten the hand of the offendoꝛ vnto the ſaid blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be perfoꝛmed. The yeoman of the ſcullarie likewiſe foꝛ the time being, doth pꝛouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the ſearing irons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe ſurgeon to the pꝛince oꝛ his deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Upon him alſo doth the ſergeant oꝛ chiefe farrour attend with thoſe irons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſaid ſurgeon when he ſhall be redie by ſearing to vſe the ſame. The gꝛoome of the ſalarie foꝛ the time being oꝛ his deputie is furthermoꝛe appointed to be readie with vineger and cold waſter, and not to depart from the place vntill the arriue of the offendoꝛ be bound vp and fullie dꝛeſſed. And as theſe things are thus pꝛouided, ſo the ſergeant ſurgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The ſergeant of the cellar is at hand alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewiſe the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bꝛead to giue vnto the ſaid partie after the execution done, and the ſtumpe ſeared, as the ſergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wꝛap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandꝛie with ſeared cloths, and finallie the maiſter cooke oꝛ his deputie with a ſharpe dꝛeſſing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the ſergeant of the larder, who doth hold it vpꝛight in his hand, vntill the execution be perfoꝛmed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment oꝛdeined foꝛ thoſe that ſtrike within the pꝛinces palace, oꝛ limits of the ſame. Which ſhould firſt haue bœne executed on ſir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great ſute to ſaue his right hand foꝛ the further ſeruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yælded to foꝛgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no ſmall benefit of the offendoꝛ, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the pꝛince. The like pꝛiuilege almoſt is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of puniſhment great difference doo appœre. Foꝛ he that bꝛalleth oꝛ quarelleth in either of them, is by and by ſuſpended *Ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ*, vntill he be abſolued: as he is alſo that ſtriketh with the fiſt, oꝛ laieth violent hands vpon anie whome ſo euer. But if he happen to ſmite with ſtaffe, dagger, oꝛ anie maner of weapon, & the ſame be ſufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to loſe one of his eares without all hope of releaſe. But if he be ſuch a one as hath bœne twiſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is ſeared deepe into his fleſh, he is from thenceforth noted as a common barratour and traie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deſerue to be abſolued. To ſtrike a clearke alſo (that is to ſaie) a miniſter, is plaine excommunication, and the offendoꝛ not to be abſolued but by the pꝛince oꝛ his eſpeciall cõmiſſion. Such alſo is the generall eſtate of the excõmunicate in euery reſpect, that he can yéeld no teſtimonie in anie matter ſo long as he ſo ſtandeth. No bargaine oꝛ ſale that he maketh is auaileable in law, neither any of his acts whatſoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as

an outlaw & a man altogither out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwiſe outlawed, without the danger of felonie.

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.

HOw well or how ſtronglie our countrie hath beene furniſhed in times paſt with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my ſelfe to make rehearſall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of queen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but alſo the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue ſome manifeſt notice. Upon the firſt I need not ſtand, for few will denie it. For the ſecond I haue heard, that when one of the greateſt peeres of Spaine eſpied our nakednelle in this behalfe, and did ſolemnelie vtter in no obſcure place, that it ſhould be an eaſie matter in ſhort time to conquer England, bicauſe it wanted armor, his words were then not ſo raſhlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the preſent time their efficacie was diſſembled, and ſemblance made as though he ſpake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gratious queene vnto the poſſeſſion of the crowne, they were ſo prouidentlie called to remembrance, and ſuch ſpeedie reformation ſought of all hands for the redreſſe of this inconuenience, that our countrie was ſoner furniſhed with armour and munition, from diuerſe parts of the maine (beſide great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enimies could get vnderſtanding of anie ſuch prouiſion to be made. By this policie alſo was the no ſmall hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open frends being now become our ſecret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue ſome braue exploit againſt vs and our countrie, did thereupon change their purpoſes, whereby England obteined reſt, that otherwiſe might haue beene ſore of ſharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spaniſh word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the leaſt wiſe hindered ſundrie priuie practiſes of manie at another. In times paſt the cheefe force of England conſiſted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed do practiſe to ſhoot compaſſe for our paſtime: which kind of ſhooting can neuer yeeld anie ſmart ſtroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were wont to do at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Kutters deriding our new archerie in reſpect of their corſlets, will not let in open ſkirmiſh, if anie leiſure ſerue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shoote Engliſh, and all bicauſe our ſtrong ſhooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if ſome of our Engliſhmen now liued that ſerued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of ſuch a varlet ſhould haue beene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he ſhould haue turned about to ſee who ſhot the firſt. But as our ſhooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, ſo our countrie men wer ſkilfull in ſundrie other points, as in ſhooting in ſmall peeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the ſeuerall vſes whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore conſiſteth of corſlets, almaine riuets, ſhirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fuſtian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are ſowed in the ſame, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The ſaid armour and munition likewiſe is kept in one ſeuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the conſent of the whole pariſh, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime alſo it is occupied, when it pleaſeth the magiſtrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the ſame, or finallie to ſee thoſe that are inrolled to exerciſe each one his ſeuerall weapon, at the charge of the townelmen of each pariſh according to his appointment. Certes there is almoſt no village ſo poore in England (be it neuer ſo ſmall) that hath not ſufficient furniture in a readineſſe to ſet forth three or foure ſoldiors, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the leaſt. No there is not ſo much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are leaſt to be accounted of, if anie haſt required: ſo that if this good order may continue, it ſhall be vnpoſſible for the ſudden enimie to find vs vnprouided. As for able men for ſeruice, thanked be God, we are not without good ſtore, for by the muſters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not ſo narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled. What ſtore of munition and armour the queenes maieſtie hath in hir ſtorehouſes, it lieth not in me to yeeld account, ſith I ſuppoſe the ſame to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie ſaid after the loſſe of Calis, that England ſhould neuer recouer the ſtore of ordinance there left and loſt: that ſame is at this time prooued falſe, ſith euen ſome of the ſame perſons do now confeſſe, that this land was neuer better furniſhed with theſe things in anie kings daies that reigned ſince the conqueſt.

The names of our greateſt ordinance are commonlie theſe.

Male muſis eam Marte.

Robinet, whoſe weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his widenelle is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poiſeth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fifteene hundred pounds, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thouſand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thouſand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon ſix thouſand pounds, and ſix inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon ſeauen thouſand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thouſand pounds, and ſeauen inches within the mouth.

Baſiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions alſo it is eaſie to come by the weight of euerie ſhot, how manie ſcores it doth flee at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had to the ſame, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The names of the greatest ordinance.		Weight of the shot.	Scores of cariage.	Pounds of pouder.	Height of bullet.
Robinet.		1. li.	0	½	1
Falconet.		2. li.	14	2	1 ¾
Falcon.		2. ½.	16	2½	2 ¼
Minion.		4. ½.	17	4½	3
Sacre.		5	18	5	3 ¼
Demie Culuerijn.	hath	9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.		18	25	18	5 ¾
Demie canon.		30	38	28	6 ¾
Canon.		60	20	44	7 ¾
E. Canon.		42	20	20	6 ¾
Basiliske.		60	21	60	8 ¼

I might here take iust occasion to speake of the princes armories. But what shall it need? sith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caster of his ordinance, which could not be drawen to the siege of Constantinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot poised aboue two talents in weight, made by the same Orban. But to proceed. As for the armories of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a part) they are so well furnished, that within some one barons custodie I haue seene three score or a hundred corslets at once, beside caliuers, handguns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie sight whereof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of some of them do then (trow you) if I should be inforced to vse one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leisure to haue them in a readinesse, and therefore both high and lowe in England

Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.

I would write here also of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to do with glistering armour? what sound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muses? or how should a man write anie thing to the purpose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuertheless will I adde of things at home, that seldome shall you see anie of my countriemen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the least at his backe or by his side, although they be aged burgesses or magistrates of anie citie, who in appearance are most exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as doth euerie common seruing man also that followeth his lord and maister. Some desperate cutters we haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a sheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie dronken fraie they are knowen to worke much mischiefe; their swords & daggers also are of a great length, and longer than the like vsed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of these weapons; so I see as yet small redresse: but where the cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue staues which diuerse that trauell by the waie do carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beside the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be théeues and robbers, or at the least wise scarse true men which beare them; so by reason of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest trauellor is now inforced to ride with a case of dags at his sadle bow, or with some prettie short snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defense before he come within the danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with vs; except the minister, who cõmonlie weareth none at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side. Seldome also are they or anie other wayfaring men robbed without the consent of the chamberleine, tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie, who séeing at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their sadles, or otherwise sée their store in drawing of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some one or other attendant dallie in the yard or house, or dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is asked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it please him to haue another ghest to beare him companie at supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is séene that the new ghest shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and kéepe him from suspicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the passenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or else come galloping apace after, wherby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger, to be fingering with his purse. And these are some of the policies of such shrewes or close bowed gentlemen as lie in wait for fat bootes by the high waies, and which are most commonlie practised in the winter season about the feast of Christmas, when seruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such wise whatsoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till some of them sharplie set vpon their chenisances, be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appéereth that some sort of youth will oft haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

Male musis cum Marte.

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare vsed in and before the time of Cesar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in *Essedis* or wagons; but this I also passe ouer, noting neuertheless out of Propertius, that our said wagons were gorgeous and gallie painted, which he setteth downe in these foure verses insuing, *Arethusæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.*

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sericus hostis equo,
Hibernique Getæ, pictóque Brittannia curru;
Vstus & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.

Of the nauie of England.

Chap. 17.

THere is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I conſider their ſpéedie building, or great number of ſhips which ſome one kingdome or region poſſeſſed at one inſtant; it giueth me ſtill occaſion, either to ſuſpect the hiſtorie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ſhip growing on the ſtub, and ſailing on the ſea within the ſpace of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet ſuch a nauie was to be ſéene in the firſt warre of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres alſo againſt Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ſhips bare leafe & ſaile within fiue and fortie daies. In the ſecond warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and ſéene to ſaile on the ſea fullie furniſhed in ſixe wéekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth ſéeme to be falſe and vnpoſſible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one ſkirmiſh on the ſea the Romans loſt ſeauen hundred veſſels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of ores on a ſide, and the Carthaginenſes fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of theſe veſſels were not altogither correſpondent to our ſhips and gallies made in theſe daies: yet the capacitie of moſt of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; ſo that if one of their biremes onlie conteined ſo much in burden as a ſhip of ours of ſix hundred tun: what ſhall we thinke of thoſe which had ſeauen rowes of ores walking on a ſide? But leaſt I ſhould ſéeme to ſpeake more of theſe forren things than the courſe of the hiſtorie doth permit without licence to digreſſe: giue me leaue (I beſéech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of theſe ancient formes & kinds of veſſels. For albeit that the diſcourſe hereof maketh little to the deſcription of our preſent nauie in England: yet ſhall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleaſant to ſuch as ſhall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It ſhall not be amiſſe therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane veſſell (as appéereth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie ſouldiers, and ſome of them thrée hundred. Theſe were called triremes, and were indéede gallies that had thrée rowes of ores on euerie ſide; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied ſo well to the gallie as ſhip, as to the conuerſant in hiſtories is eaſie to be found. In old time alſo they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, ſix, ſeauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftéene rowes of ores on a ſide; iudge you then of what quantitie thoſe veſſels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damaſthenes to be the firſt maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuiſed by Ariſtotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Neſichthon of Salamina; the gallie of ſix rowes by Xenagoras of Syracuſa: from this to the tenth Neſigiton brought vp; Alexander the great cauſed one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftéene; Demetrius the ſonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more ſeruing for pleaſure and to gaze vpon, than anie vſe in the wars for which they ſhould be deuiſed. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held alſo foure thouſand ores, foure hundred mariners, and three thouſand ſouldiers, ſo that in the ſaid veſſell were ſeauen thouſand and foure hundred perſons: a report incredible, if truth and good teſtimonie did not confirme the ſame. I muſt néeds confeſſe therefore, that the ancient veſſels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuertheleſſe if you regard the forme, and the aſſurance from perill of the ſea, and therewithall the ſtrength and nimbleneſſe of ſuch as are made in our time, you ſhall eaſilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greateſt veſſell is not alwaies the ſafeſt, ſo that of moſt huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptеſt to ſhift and breake the ſeas: as might be ſéene by the great Henrie, the higeſt veſſell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ſhips of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our ſeas we make ſmall account) nor ſo full of eaſe within, ſith time hath ingendred more ſkill in the wights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpoſe at the firſt intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three ſortes, of which the one ſerueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fiſhermen, which get their liuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How manie of the firſt order are mainteined within the realme, it paſſeth my cunning to expreſſe: yet ſith it may be parted into the nauie rotall and common fléete, I thinke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the prince, and ſo much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant ſort of ſhips than the quéenes maieſtie of England at this preſent, and thoſe generallie are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with thrée or foure of thoſe of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes ſo conuenientlie made, to breake ſo well one ſea as another lieng vpon the ſhore in anie part of the continent as thoſe of England. And therefore the common report that ſtrangers make of our ſhips amongſt themſelues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſailing, there are no veſſels in the world to be compared with ours. And all theſe are committed to the regiment and ſafe cuſtodie of the admerall, who is ſo called (as ſome imagine) of the Gréeke word Almiras a capiteine on the ſea, for ſo ſaith Zonaras *in Baſilio Macedone & Baſilio Porphyriogenito*, though other fetch it from Ad mare the Latine words, another ſort from Amyras the Saracen magiſtrate, or from ſome French deriuation: but theſe things are not for this place, and therefore I paſſe them ouer. The quéenes highneſſe hath at this preſent (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham rode, beſide thrée gallies, of whoſe particular names and furnitures (ſo far forth as I can come by them) it ſhall not be amiſſe to make report at this time.

The

The names of so manie ships belonging to hir maiestie as I could come by at this present.

The Bonaduenture.	Foresight.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Swift sute.
White Beare.	Aid.
Philip and Marie.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dread nought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Tiger.	Genet.
Antlope.	Barke of Bullen.
Hope.	Achates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victorie.	George.
Marie Rose.	Reuenge.

It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the yong daies of the world, and long since framed themselues to erect euerie yeare a citie in some one place or other of their kingdoms (and no small wonder that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharsus in one daie) so hir grace doth yearelie build one ship or other to the better defense of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no assured certeintie, so it shall suffice to haue said so much of these things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they should all be drawen to seruice at one instant) which God forbid) she should haue a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable compasse, beside the supplie of other vessels apperteining to hir subiects to furnish vp hir voiage.

Beside these hir grace hath other in hand also, of whom hereafter as their turnes do come about, I will not let to leaue some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable gallies: the Speed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the sight whereof and rest of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to saie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I saie) sith by their meanes hir coasts are kept in quiet, and sundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwise would inuade vs. The number of those that serue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whose vse is dailie seene, as occasion serueth, in time of the warres, is to me vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ships that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: boies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iust account, sith they are hardlie to come by. Of these also there are some of the quenes maiesties subiects that haue two or three, some foure or fiue, and (as I heard of late) one man whose name I suppresse for modesties sake, hath bene knowne not long since to haue had sixteene or seuenteene, and employed them wholie to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voiages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their dailie successe there: but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of them. Onelie this will I add, to the end all men shall vnderstand somewhat of the great masses of treasure dailie employed vpon our nauie, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold. What shall we thinke then of the greater, but especiallie of the nauie roiall, of which some one vessell is worth two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often told me? It is possible that some couetous person hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose monie so employed to be nothing profitable to the quenes coffers: as a good husband said once when he hard there should be prouision made for armor, wishing the quenes monie to be rather laid out to some speedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, because the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and so peraduenture he thought. But if as by store of armour for the defense of the countrie, he had likewise vnderstanded that the good keeping of the sea, is the safegard of our land, he would haue altered his censure, and some giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times past, when our nation made small account of nauigation, how some did the Romans, then the Saxons, & last of all the Danes inuade this Iland: whose crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen against their wils, to prouide for ships from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a short processe of time after the conquest of this Iland, and good consideration had for the well keeping of the same, they supposed nothing more commodious for the defense of the countrie, than the maintenance of a strong nauie, which they speedilie prouided, maintained, and thereby reaped in the end their wished securitie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I do not read that we had anie ships at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are some to be seene at this present in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betweene them. Of the same also Solinus speaketh, so far as I remember: neuertheless it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the said wickers, and that the Britons did vse to fast all the whiles they went to the sea in them: but whether it were done for policie or superstition, as yet I do not read.

The Britons fasted all the whyle they were at the sea in these ships.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had some ships also, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the first prince that euer throughlie began to know this necessitie of a nauie, and vse the seruice thereof in the defense of his countrie. After him also other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to store themselues at the full with ships of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 *alias* 3600 saile, which he diuided into foure parts, and sent them to abide vpon foure sundrie coasts of the land to keepe the same from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, should find a ship furnished to serue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I said before, when all their nauie was at the greatest, it was not comparable for force and sure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the same that is to be seene now in these our daies. For the iourneies also of our ships, you shall vnderstand, that a well builded vessell will run or saile commonlie three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke, or peraduenture some will go 2200 leagues in six weekes and an halfe. And suerlie, if their lading be readie against they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the west Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene weekes from Colchester; although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. This also I vnderstand

by

by report of ſome trauellers, that if anie of our veſſels happen to make a voiage to Hiſpaniola or new Spaine, called in time paſt Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies ſailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beſide the ſafetie and quietneſſe in the paſſage. But more of this elſewhere.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.

THere are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of proviſion for houſhold is to be bought and ſold, for eaſe and benefit of the countrie round about. Whereby as it cõmeth to paſſe that no buier ſhall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his neceſſities: ſo no occupier ſhall haue occaſion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to ſeeke for the higheſt prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and ſpeediеſt vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as theſe haue beene in times paſt erected for the benefit of the realme, ſo are they in many places too too much abuſed: for the reliefe and eaſe of the buier is not ſo much intended in them, as the benefit of the ſeller. Neither are the magiſtrats for the moſt part (as men loth to diſpleaſe their neighbours for their one prates dignitie) ſo carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they ſhould bee. For in moſt of theſe markets neither aſſiſes of bread nor orders for goodneſſe and ſweetneſſe of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be ſold, are anie whit looked vnto; but eche one ſuffered to ſell or ſet vp what and how himſelfe liſteth: & this is one euident cauſe of dearth and ſcarſitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, ſith it is rare to ſee in anie countrie towne (as I ſaid) the aſſiſe of bread well kept according to the ſtatute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his ſtuffe; whereby the honeſt poore man, whome the lawes of nations do commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon ſome round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are ſo nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the ſame, there is ſuch headie ale & beere in moſt of them, as for the mightineſſe thereof among ſuch as ſeeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoreſonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, ſtride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled cõſcience, after he had conſidered well of his reachleſſe life, and dangerous eſtate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, carried him ſtraightwaie to the ſtrongeſt ale, as to the next phyſician. It is incredible to ſaie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs ſhould lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie ſtill againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus ſucke their thee woolfe or ſhepheards wife Lupa, with ſuch eger and ſharpe deuotion, as theſe men hale at huffcap, till they be red as cockes, & little wiſer than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouſe? In returning therefore vnto my purpoſe, I find that in corne great abuſe is dailie ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, eſpeciallie the poore artificer and houſeholder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a buſhell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: becauſe bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne do not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be ſerued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will ſaie yet a little more, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmaſſe time poore men muſt make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretenſe of ſeed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, becauſe one wheat often ſowen without change of ſeed, will ſome deale and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promiſing there if they happen to be eſpied (which God wot is verie ſeldome) to ſend ſo much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this ſhift ſerue not (neither doth the for vſe alwaies one tracke for feare of a ſnare) they will compound with ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huffcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon ſome forged ſurmiſe, which being done, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can do any good for himſelfe ſo it is, if not, they will giue him ſomewhat for his paines at this time, & reſerue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders ſtumble vpon blind creekes at the ſea coaſt, I wote not well; but that ſome haue ſo done and yet do vnder other mens wings, the caſe is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to ſerue a meane gentlemans houſe with corne, who hath call vp all his tillage, becauſe he boaſteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can ſow his land, as the rich graſier often doth alſo vpon the like deuiſe, becauſe graſing requireth a ſmaller houſehold and leſſe attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a buſhell or two for his expenſes vnto the market croſſe, anſwer is made; Forſooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to ſaie the truth, theſe bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me ſee it, what ſhall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to ſuch a chamber, and if you bring in twentie ſeme more in the weeke daie to ſuch an Inne or ſollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie buſhell for ſix weekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, ſo that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his proviſion in the markets, ſith they will hardlie now adaies ſell by the buſhell, nor breake their meaſure; and ſo much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they ſaie) for ſo much ouer meaſure in a buſhell as the bodger will do in a quarter. Maie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, becauſe he prouideth altogither to ſerue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and inſatiable deſire of gaine, that the ſale will be better in the market: ſo that he muſt

Suborned bodgers.

Bodgers licenced.

giue

giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and kéepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but néeds must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our frends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countriemen the papists are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for néed of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Henceforth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horseload at the most, thereby to be séene to kéepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne wareth dære, but it will be dérer the next market date. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, where by they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen do vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes date, and for wheat as it is sold in séed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flée southward in winter, the age of the mone in the beginning of Januarie, & such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Herevpon also will they thresh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peraduenture till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not ocintie to sée muckie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can kéepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somwhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poore sort that of necessitie must buie the same, wherby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will séeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse rome, to the end it may not onlie séeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market date, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some frends house, against an other or the third date, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be dérer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

Suborned bodgers.

Bodgers le conced.

It is a world also to sée how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp egs, butter, chéese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wiues to sell the same in another, or to pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonablie sold, and therevnto the crosses sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarslie worth eightéene pence the gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them do cómonlie vse to out bid another. And whilest our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I never loke to sée this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either to big or to little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie séed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the grédinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Wherby some péece of monie must néeds passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to lose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indeuoureth to fléece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be loked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie or clearke of the said market

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to make ſale therof according to his diſcretion, without libertie to the farmer to ſet vp their corne in houſes and chambers, I am perſuaded that the prices of our graine would ſone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one ſhould kéepe his next market with his graine, and not to run ſir, eight, ten, fourteéne, or twentie miles from home to ſell his corne, where he doth find the higheſt price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurniſhed, I do not thinke but that our markets would be farre better ſerued than at this preſent they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after harueſt, and a note gathered by an eſtimat, and kept by ſome appointed & truſtie perſon for that purpoſe, we ſhould haue much more plentie of corne in our townes croſſes than as yet is commonlie ſéene: becauſe each one hideth and hordeth what he may vpon purpoſe either that it will be dérer, or that he ſhall haue ſome priuie veine by bodgers, who do accuſtomablie ſo deale, that the ſea doth load awaie no ſmall part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except ſome remedie be found. But what do I talke of theſe things, or deſire the ſuppreſſion of bodgers being a miniſter? Certes I may ſpeake of them right well, as féeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheleſſe I ſpeake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be ſold neceſſarie for mans vſe, and there is our prouiſion made commonlie for all the wéeke inſuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one wéekelie market at the leaſt, ſo there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compaſſe of the yeare aſſigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that ſome of them are not much better than Lowſe faire or the common kirkemeſſes beyond the ſea, yet there are diuerſe not inferiour to the greateſt marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire nére to Cambridge, Briſtow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerſe other, all which or at leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of them (to the end I may with the more eaſe to the reader and leſſe trauell to my ſelfe fulfill my taſke in their rectall) I haue ſet downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you ſhall find them at large, as I borrowed the ſame from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.

IN euerie ſhire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof ſome here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouiſion of that flеſh apperteine to the prince, the reſt to ſuch of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or nére vnto the ſame. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the iuſt number of theſe incloſures to be found in euerie countie: but ſith I cannot ſo do, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie, that in Kent and Eſſex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the biſhoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow dеere is cheriſhed and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almoſt innumerable, and dailie like to increaſe, by reaſon that the blacke ſkins of thoſe beaſts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcaſes, and this is the onelie cauſe whie the graie are leſſe eſtéemed. Méere vnto London their quickeſt merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no ſuch ſpeedie vtterance of rabbets and ſucklings in their ſeaſon, nor ſo great loſſe by their ſkins, ſith they are ſuffered to growe vp to their full greatneſſe with their owners. Our parkes are generallie incloſed with ſtrong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great ſtore cheriſhed in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the ſaid defenſe, and ſafekéeping of the fallow déere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times paſt diuerſe haue bén fenſed in with ſtone walles (eſpeciallie in the times of the Romans, who firſt brought fallow déere into this land (as ſome coniecture) albeit thoſe incloſures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauiſham, Towner, and Woodſtocke, beſide other in the weſt countrie, and one alſo at Bolton. Among other things alſo to be ſéene in that towne, there is one of the faireſt clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are alſo incloſed with piles of ſlate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beaſts or not. Plinie dœmeth them to be wild, Martial is alſo of the ſame opinion, where he ſaith, *Imbelles damæ quid niſi præda ſumus?* And ſo in time paſt the like controuerſie was about bées, which the lawiers call *Feras, tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. inſtit.* But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues*. But whither am I ſo ſuddenlie digreſſed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find alſo the circuit of theſe incloſures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and ſometimes more or leſſe. Wherby it is to be ſéene what ſtore of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, ſith they commonlie giue awaie their flеſh, neuer taking penie for the ſame, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a cuſtome, who beſide three ſhillings foure pence, or fiue ſhillings in monie, hath the ſkin, head, vmbles, chine, and ſhoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is ſcarſelie equall dealing; for veniſon in England is neither bought nor ſold, as in other countries, but mainteined onelie for the pleaſure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by ſelling yearelie hir huſbands veniſon to the cookes (as another of no leſſe name will not ſticke to ride to the market to ſée hir butter ſold) but not performed without infinite ſcoffes and mockes, euen of the pooreſt peaſants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of ſuch countenance to ſell their veniſon and their butter, as for an earle to feéle his oxen, ſheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to ſell his woll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-houſe, or deale with ſuch like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or graſiers; for which ſuch, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniuſtlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themſelues to huſbandrie. And euen the ſame enormitie take place ſometime among the Romans, and entred ſo farre as into the verie ſenate, of whome ſome one had two or three ſhips going vpon the ſea, pretending prouiſion for their houſes; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and reſtraine them. Liuie alſo telleth of another

ther law which paſſed likewiſe againſt the ſenators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no ſenator, or he that had bæne father to anie ſenator ſhould poſſeſſe anie ſhip or veſſell aboue the capacitie of thrée hundred amphoras, which was ſuppoſed ſufficient for the cariage and recariage of ſuch neceſſities as ſhould apperteine vnto his houſe: ſith further trading with merchandizes and commodities doth declare but a baſe and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man ſhould liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himſelfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and muſt nèeds proue in time the confuſion of that countrie wherein ſuch enormities are exerciſed. Where in times paſt, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell ſæne, and to be had among them, beſide a more copious procreation of humane iſſue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the prince in his affaires: now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wild and ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delight; and yet ſome owners ſtill deſirous to inlarge thoſe grounds, as either for the brèed and feeding of cattell, do not let dailie to take in more, not ſparing the verie commons whereupon manie townſhips now and then do liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great ſtore of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too ſoone do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndoing (they ſaie) of the common wealth.

Tillage and mankind diminiſhed by parkes.

Certes if it be not one curſe of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in ſuch ſort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and ſhrowds of wild beaſts, I know not what is anie. How manie families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt kèepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, ſome men may conſecture, but manie more lament, ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be loked for in this behalfe, becauſe the corruption is ſo generall. But if a man may preſentlie giue a gheſſe at the vniuerſalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtance, he ſhall ſaie at the laſt, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon dèere and conies alreadie, which ſeemeth verie much if it be not dulie conſidered of.

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome.

King Henrie the eight, one of the nobleſt princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was conſtreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent ſtore of ſouldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that ſuch ſupplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto thoſe that interteine them, as may chéeſlie be ſeene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger, and no ſmall number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when ſeauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thouſand men to the field againſt another, or two of them 100000 againſt the third, and thoſe taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, ſo he ſaw not the cauſe of this decaie, which grew beſide this occaſion now mentioned, alſo by laieng houſe to houſe, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the brèed of people not a little thereby diminiſhed. The auarice of landlords by increaſing of rents and fines alſo did ſo wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would ariſe, ſuppoſing a ſhort end in the warres to be better than a long and miſerable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties alſo are another great cauſe of the ruine of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature doth permit all men to liue in their beſt maner, and whatſoeuer trade they be exerciſed in, there commeth ſome priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they muſt nèeds ſhift ſoile, and ſèeke vnto other countries. By theſe alſo the greateſt commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbaſe, corrupt, and yet raiſe the prices of things at their owne pleaſures. Example of this laſt I can giue alſo in bookes, which (after the firſt impreſſion of anie one booke) are for the moſt part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it ſo well as the firſt, then would men ſtriue which of them ſhould do it beſt; and ſo it falleth out in all other trades. It is an eaſie matter to proue that England was neuer leſſe furniſhed with people than at this preſent; for if the old records of euerie manour be ſought, and ſearch made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will ſoone appéere, that in ſome one manour ſeuentéen, eightéene, or twentie houſes are ſhrunke. I know what I ſaie by mine owne experience: notwithſtanding that ſome one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpoſe. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminiſhed, though ſome one be a little increaſed here and there; of townes pulled downe for ſhéepe-walks, and no more but the lordſhips now ſtanding in them, beſide thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could ſaie ſomewhat: but then I ſhould ſwarue yet further from my purpoſe, whereunto I now returne.

Wée had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie alſo to the ſeruitude of our nation, making men of the beſt ſort further more to become kèepers of their game, whileſt they liued in the meane time vpon the ſpoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit ſort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke ſuppoſed in theſe times to be ſtatelie enough, that conteined not at the leaſt eight or ten hidelands, that is, ſo manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue bæne alwaies called in ſome places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was ſufficient in old time to mainteine an honeſt yeoman.

King John trauelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, becauſe he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his conſent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which ſome belonged to his barons, but the greateſt part to the abbats and prelats of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how theſe incloſures were the chéefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he ſware with an oth that he would not ſuffer wild beaſts to feed vpon the fat of his ſoile, and ſée the people periſh for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that ſhould defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was ſo ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming moſt ſlanderouſlie how he did it rather of purpoſe to ſpoile the corne and graſſe of the commons and catholikes that held againſt him of both eſtates, and by ſo doing to impouriſh and bring the north part of the realme to deſtruction, becauſe they refuſed to go with him into Scotland. If the ſaid prince were aliue in theſe daies, wherein Andrew Boord ſaith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne perſon) and ſaw how much ground they conſume,

I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not need in time, for the owners of a great sort of them begin now to smell out, that such parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore some of them dow grow to be disparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chase, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or such like: the chase alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enuield & Maluerne chases. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to keepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chase if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespasse, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chase, parke, or free warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnilate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or keepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chase were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in steed of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beast cõmonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that feed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chases haue alwaies bene had, and religiouslie preserued in this Iland for the solace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, or otherwise fensed than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preseruation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient laws prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore seeing the dailie spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow deere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subiects, as Waltham forrest, Windlesor, Pickering, Feckenam, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingswod, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Brecon, Weire, Charlie, Leircester, Lee, Rokingham, Selwod, New forrest, Wichwod, Hatfeld, Sauernake, Westbirie, Blacamore Peke, Deane, Penrise, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuourers of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, whereas in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & wareners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chefe lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Esser hath in time past wholie bene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good soth I do not read. This neuerthelesse remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Essex standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie doth take his name thereof. For in the Celtike tong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian speech doth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called Walds, and likewise their Druides were named Walie or Waldie, because they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of ef Wald and end, as if I should say, The end of the woddie soile; for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh his name of the woddie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word Chipping, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied thereunto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hils, whereof the lesser runneth quite through the middest of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woddie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trees, as may be seene in Cotswold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to proue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise bene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoeuer did take anie wild beast within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his peeres at Woodstocke, whereupon great trouble insued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

Chipping, of going by to anie place.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of oblivion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (whereof peraduenture some lawiers haue no knowlege) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; Ic will that elc one, &c: I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fee or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfet so much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and stile

as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue founded to anie benefit of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.

HAec sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

Pegened. 1 Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuendam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs forestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forestæ appellandos censemus.

Lespegend. Nunc forte Fringald. 2 Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.

3 In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo vt tales se intromittant: mediocrésq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.

Ealdermen. Tineman. 4 Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum seruilia opera subibunt.

5 Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnésq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.

Michni. 6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuspidem, vnum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.

7 Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.

8 Minutorum quilibet, vnum lanceam, vnam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.

9 Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warscot Angli dicunt, & forinsecis querelis.

Hundredlaw. Warscot.

10 Sint mediocrium & minutorum causæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuilium per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & decisæ: primariorum verò enormia si quæ fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.

Muchehunt. 11 Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem potestatem (salua semper nobis nostra præsentia) quatérq; in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.

Ofgangfordell. Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

12 Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen suum non sit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum. Pegen. Fozathe.

13 Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia vt non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * *sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.

14 Quicúng, coram primarios homines meos forestæ in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant Halsehang, alias Halsehang. Halsehang.

15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.

16 Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.

17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui ipsius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos. Pere & Pite.

18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidis. Gethbzech.

19 Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.

20 Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.

21 Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit causarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ nostræ regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quòd vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus. Ealderman.

22 Si liber aliquis feram forestæ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue præhabita voluntate, ita vt cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.

23 Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.

24 Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si verò seruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendlesman vocant. Staggon or Stagge. Frendlesman.

25 Si verò occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.

26 Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.

27 Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestæ) bestiæ, quæ

dum inter ſepta & ſepes foreſtæ continentur, emendationi ſubiacent: quales ſunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quãquam infra ſepta foreſtæ viuunt, &

Bubali olim in Anglia. *oneri & curæ mediocrium ſubiacent foreſtæ, tamen nequaquã cenſeri poſſunt, qualia ſunt bubali, vaccæ, & ſimilia. Vulpes & lupi, nec foreſtæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi ſubiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio ſit regalis chaceæ, & mitiùs emendetur. Aper verò quanquam foreſtæ ſit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi eſt aſſuetus.*

28 Boſco nec ſubboſco noſtro ſine licentia primariorum foreſtæ nemo manum apponat, quòd ſi quis fecerit reus ſit fractionis regalis chaceæ.

Ilices aliquando in Britãnia niſi intelligatur de quercu. *29 Si quis verò ilicem aut arborẽ aliquam, quæ victum feris ſuppeditat ſciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti ſolidis.*

30 Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito ſuo habeat venerem ſiue viridem in planis ſuis ſuper terras ſuas, ſine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, vbicũq; eam habere voluero.

Greihounds. *31 Nullus mediocris habebit nec cuſtodiet canes, quos Angli* Greihounds *appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiſciſtio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foreſtæ licebit, aut ſine genuiſciſtione dum remoti ſunt à limitibus foreſtæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno ſolido. Si verò infra ſepta foreſtæ reperiatur, dominus canis foriſfaciet & decem ſolidos regi.*

Uelter Langeran. *32 Velteres verò quos* Langeran *appellant, quia manifeſtè conſtat in ijs nihil eſſe periculi, cuilibet licebit ſine genuiſciſtione eos cuſtodire.*

Ramhundt. *Idem de canibus quos* Ramhundt *vocant.*

33 Quòdſi caſu inauſpicato huiuſmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagãtur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòdſi intra ſepta foreſtæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet ſecundum

Pretium hominis mediocris. *pretium hominis mediocris, quòd ſecundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, eſt ducentorum ſolidorum.*

34 Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet ſecundum pretiũ hominis liberalis, quod

Pretium liberi hominis. *eſt duodecies ſolidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morſa fuerit, reus ſit maximi criminis.*

And theſe are the conſtitutions of Canutus concerning the foreſt, verie barbarouſlie tranſlated by thoſe that tolke the ſame in hand. Howbeit as I find it ſo I ſet it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 19.

After ſuch time as Calis was wone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerſe countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to war idle alſo, and there vpon not onlie left off their former painfulneſſe and frugalitie, but in like ſort gaue themſelues to liue in exceſſe and vanitie, whereby manie godlie commodities failed, and in ſhort time were not to be had amongſt vs. Such ſtrangers alſo as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggiſhneſſe, and eſpieng that this idleneſſe of ours might redound to their great profit, forthwith imploied their endeuours to bring in the ſupplie of ſuch things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reaſonable prices as we ſuppoſed, by ſuch means from them, we thought it meere madneſſe to ſpend either time or coſt about the ſame here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in thoſe daies repoſed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exerciſed both at home and other places. Beſides this, the naturall deſire that mankind hath to eſteeme of things farre ſought, bicauſe they be rare and coſtlie, and the irkeſome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no ſmall ſwaie alſo in this behalfe amongſt vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, aſcribing I wot not what great force and ſolemne eſtimation vnto them, vntill they alſo haue waren old, after which they haue béene ſo little regarded, if not more deſpiſed amongſt vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could ſet downe manie, & in manie things, but ſith my purpoſe is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it ſhall ſuffice that I touch them onelie, and ſhew our inconſtancie in the ſame, ſo farre as ſhall ſeeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all ſuch grounds as are wrought with the ſpade by mans hand, for ſo the caſe requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elſe-where ſufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further ſince the penning of that booke) hath béene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but alſo ſince the conqueſt, as I haue ſeene by record: yet at this preſent haue we none at all or elſe verie little to ſpeake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the ſoile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots alſo as grow yéerelie out of the ground, of ſeed, haue béene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the firſt Edward, and after his daies: but in proceſſe of time they grew alſo to be neglected, ſo that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the ſeuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vſe of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or ſuppoſed as food more meet for hogs & ſauage beaſts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vſe is not onelie reſumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radiſhes, ſkirets, parſneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of ſalad herbes, but alſo fed vpon as deintie diſhes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their proviſion yearelie for new ſeeds out of ſtrange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither do they now ſtaie with ſuch of theſe fruits as are wholeſome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon ſuch as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the berangenes, mushroms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the belli, or that all things were to be eaten, for whoſe miſchiefous operation the Lord in ſome meaſure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time paſt were plentifull in this land, afterwards alſo their maintenance did ceaſe, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found: where anie greater commoditie to be raiſed by them: onelie poles are accounted to be their greateſt charge. But ſith men haue learned of late to ſow aſhen keies in aſhyards by themſelues, that inconuenience

uenience in ſhort time will be redreſſed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it ſelfe to proue no ſmall benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things elſe, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue our ſelues to idleneſſe, were glad to haue them other. If you loke into our gardens annered to our houſes, how wonderfullie is their beautie increaſed, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena ſydera*, ſaieng;

Pingit & in varios terreſtria ſydera flores,

and varietie of curious and coſtlie workmanſhip, but alſo with rare and medicinable hearbes ſought vp in the land within theſe fortie yeares: ſo that in compariſon of this preſent, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laiſtowes to ſuch as did poſſeſſe them. How art alſo helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for ſo curious and cunning are our gardeners now in theſe daies, that they preſume to do in maner what they liſt with nature, and moderate hir courſe in things as if they were hir ſuperiours. It is a world alſo to ſée, how manie ſtrange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in reſpect of the conſtitutions of our bodies they do not grow for vs, bicauſe that God hath beſtowed ſufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne neceſſitie; yet for delectation ſake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous ſauours vnto the noſe, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified alſo in them, bicauſe they are his good gifts, and created to do man helpe and ſeruice. There is not almoſt one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great ſtore of theſe floures, which now alſo do begin to war ſo well acquainted with our ſoiles, that we may almoſt accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no leſſe regard in like ſort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions nérer hand: inſomuch that I haue ſéene in ſome one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whoſe names within fortie yéeres paſſed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find ſome cauſe of juſt complaint, for that we extoll their vſes ſo farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than ſuch as grow elſewhere, ſith (as I ſaid before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatſoeuer is néedfull and moſt conuenient for them that dwell therein. How do men extoll the vſe of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cauſe be in the repugnancie of our conſtitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of ſo great efficacie as they write. And beſide this, our common germander or thiſtle benet is found & knowne to bée ſo wholeſome and of ſo great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vſed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in ſundrie other, as the *Salſa parilla*, *Mechoacan*, *&c.*: but I forbeare ſo to do, becauſe I couet to be briéfe. And trulie the eſtimation and credit that we yéeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cauſe wherefore the full knowledge and vſe of our owne ſimples hath bene ſo long raked vp in the timbers. And as this may be verified, ſo to be one ſound concluſion, for the greater number of ſimples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confuſion is found therein, becauſe the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen ſo our continuall deſire of ſtrange drugs, whereby the phyſician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no ſmall cauſe that the vſe of our ſimples here at home doth go to looſe, and that we tread thoſe herbes vnder our fét, whoſe forces if we knew, & could aplie them to our neceſſities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their eaſe behoueth. Alas what haue we to do with ſuch Arabian & Grecian ſtuffe as is dailie brought from thoſe parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of ſuch as dwell there, are of another conſtitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by ſkill be aplied vnto our benefit, yet to be more ſkilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vſe forren wares when our owne maie ſerue the turne is more follie; but to deſpiſe our owne and magnifie aboue meaſure the vſe of them that are ſought and brought from farre, is moſt follie of all: for it ſauoureth of ignorance, or at the leaſtwiſe of negligence, and therefore worthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the moſt preſent cures for euerie diſeaſe, of their owne nation, there is ſmall regard of compound medicins, & leſſe of forren drugs, becauſe they neither know them nor can vſe them, but worke wonders euen with their owne ſimples. With them alſo the difference of the clime doth ſhew hir full effect, for whereas they will heale one another in ſhort time with application of one ſimple, &c: if a Spaniard or Engliſh man ſtand in néed of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer ſpace in their cures, and now and then alſo to vſe ſome addition of two or three ſimples at the moſt, whoſe forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, becauſe their exerciſe is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer ſought or heard what vertue was in thoſe that came from other countries. And euen ſo did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of ſundrie diſeaſes, wherein he not onelie vſed ſuch ſimples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but alſo examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt ſo diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of thoſe moſt learnedlie, as would eaſilie be ſeene, if thoſe his bookes were extant. For the ſpace alſo of 600 yéeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diſeaſes, ſo that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in thoſe parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he ſpeaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè naſcentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; ſi placet etiam ſuperſtitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam ſupplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem ſine his poſſe conſtare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis ſui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vſe of outlandiſh drugs had not blinded our phyſicians of England in times paſſed, but that the vertues of our ſimples here at home would haue béene far better knowne, and ſo well vnto vs, as thoſe of India are to the practiſioners of thoſe partes, and thereunto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This alſo will I add, that euen thoſe which are moſt common by reaſon of their plentie, and moſt vile bicauſe of their abundance, are not without ſome vniuerſall and eſpeciall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: ſith God in nature hath ſo diſpoſed his creatures, that the moſt néedfull are the moſt plentifull, and ſeruing for ſuch generall diſeaſes as our conſtitution moſt commonlie is affected

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the phyſicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to ſearch out the vſe of ſuch ſimples as our ſoile doth yéeld and bring forth, but alſo to procure ſuch as grow elſewhere, vpō purpoſe ſo to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through ſome alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewiſe turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vſed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuiſe, is Carolus Cluſius, the noble herbariſt, whoſe induſtrie hath wonderfullie ſtirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come néere to Cluſius, much leſſe gone further in the finding and true deſcriptions of ſuch herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one ſeuen yéeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our phyſicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cheriſhing of ſuch homeborne and forren ſimples in their gardens, for hereby they ſhall not onlie be had at hand and preſerued, but alſo their formes made more familiar to be diſcerned, and their vſes better knowne than hitherto they haue béene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, ſo doth it with our orchards, which were neuer furniſhed with ſo good fruit, nor with ſuch varietie as at this preſent. For beſide that we haue moſt delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c. and thoſe of ſundrie ſorts, planted within fortie yéeres paſſed, in compariſon of which moſt of the old trées are nothing worth: ſo haue we no leſſe ſtore of ſtrange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cornetrées in noble mens orchards. I haue ſeene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beſide other ſtrange trées, brought from far, whoſe names I know not. So that England for theſe commodities was neuer better furniſhed, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with theſe and other bleſſings from the moſt high God, who grant vs grace withall to vſe the ſame to his honour and glorie! and not as inſtruments and prouocations vnto further exceſſe and vanitie, wherewith his diſpleaſure may be kindled, leaſt theſe his benefits do turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and puniſhment, which he hath beſtowed vpon vs for our conſolation and comfort.

We haue in like ſort ſuch workemen as are not onelie excellent in graffing the naturall fruits, but alſo in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one trée bringeth forth ſundrie fruits, and one and the ſame fruit of diuers colours and taſts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir courſe, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of ſowre ſweet, of ſweet yet more delicate, béereuing alſo ſome of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the ſauour of muſke, ambre, or ſweet ſpices at their pleaſures. Diuerſe alſo haue written at large of theſe ſeuerall practiſes, and ſome of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of ſmall fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or add ſuperfluous or neceſſarie moiſture to the trées, with other things belonging to their preſeruation, and with no leſſe diligence than our phyſicians do commonlie ſhew vpon our owne diſeaſed bodies, which to me doth ſeeme right ſtrange. And euen ſo do our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are ſtrengthened againſt noiſome blaſts, and preſerued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby ſome ſuch as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yéerelie taken vp, and either reſerued in the houſe, or hauing the roſſe pulled from their rotes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in ſafetie. What choiſe they make alſo in their waters, and therewith ſome of them do now and then kéepe them moiſt, it is a world to ſée; inſomuch that the apothecaries ſhops maie ſéeme to be néedfull alſo to our gardens and orchards, and that in ſundrie wiſe: naie the kitchin it ſelfe is ſo farre from being able to be miſſed among them, that euen the verie diſhwater is not without ſome vſe amongeſt our fineſt plants. Whereby and ſundrie other circumſtances not here to bée remembred, I am perſuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Heſperides were in times paſt ſo greatlie accounted of becauſe of their delicacie: yet if it were poſſible to haue ſuch an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in compariſon of thoſe times, wherein the old exceeded. Plinie and other ſpeake of a roſe that had thrée ſcore leaues growing vpon one button: but if I ſhould tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I ſhall not be beléeued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, ſuch a one was to be ſéene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a ſlip or ſtalon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the ſame, which ſhould haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better bndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boaſt a litle of my garden, which is but ſmall, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, ſuch hath béene my good lucke in purchaſe of the varietie of ſimples, that notwithſtanding my ſmall abilitie, there are verie néere thrée hundred of one ſort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vſuallie to bée had. If therefore my little plot, void of all coſt in kéeping be ſo well furniſhed, what ſhall we thinke of thoſe of Hampton court, Noneſuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and ſundrie other apperteining to diuerſe citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I ſhould not ſéeme to offend them by ſuch my demeanour and dealing?

Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.

THere is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make leſſe report than of our waters. For albeit our ſoile abound with water in all places, and that in the moſt ample maner: yet can I not find by ſome experience that almoſt anie one of our riuers hath ſuch odd and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are ſaid to be indued withall. Vitruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whoſe water ſéemeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerſe become drunke by ſuperfluous taking of the ſame. The like force is found *In amne Liceſio*, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whoſe bankes a man ſhall hardlie miſſe to find ſome traueller or other ſléeping for drunkennelle, by drinking of that liquor. Néere alſo vnto Epheſus are certeine welles, which taſte like charpe vineger, and therefore

therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke and euill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choise, doth colour woll with such a glosse, that the die thereof contendeth with skarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the same. The Cydnus in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth himselfe therein, shall find great ease of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two springs, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sadnesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is taken to be a souereigne medicine against the other, to the great admiration of such as haue beholden it. At Susis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast all his teeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall, it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, whereof if a beast drinke, he forthwith casteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap do light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means whereof verie manie do perish and are taken that light vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will neuer be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Caietanus doth report. Another at Halicarnassus called Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effeminate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes it maie be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than superfluous wealth, and inconstancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue strange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like whereof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongst vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fish: so we know by experience, that diuerse turne ash, some other elme, and eken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard stone, in long continuance of time, which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this present whereupon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerse welles, whereunto ourold writers ascribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courses, as of one vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth euerie daie twise a large mile and more; and yet is the surge of that water alwaies seuen foot from the salt sea: whereby it should seeme that the head of the spring is moueable. But alas I do not easilie beleeue it, more than that which is written of the Llingwan lake in Wales, which is neere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the sea goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp the water with such violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an absurd report. They adde also, that if all the people of the countrie stood neere to the same, with their faces toward the lake, in such maner that the dashing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no power to go from thence, but maugre their resistance be drawne into that gulfe and perish; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should suffer no such inconuenience though they stood neuer so neere. Manie other such like toies I could set downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie should I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his description of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or Boccatius of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or Felix Malliolus of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (where Iacobus de Voragino bishop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam do also make mention) sith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man should staine his paper with such friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their superstitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Capena in Rome, wherein such as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle the same vpon themselues: and so manie as stood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craving pardon for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiuenesse and remission of their trespasses. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) doth write in his first *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me) *aspersione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & castimoniam corporis præstari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further also (if I would) make relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and sundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall suffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our sheepe, though it please Cardan to auouch otherwise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes of their infections when they drinke, as I elsewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we haue a spring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such force, that it loseth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that is verie delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare also of two welles neere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no sope; and yet so situat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

Of woods and marishes.

Chap. 22.

Great abundance of wood sometime in England.

IT should seeme by ancient records, and the testimonie of sundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue sometimes béene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the said commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in such wise that a man

ſhall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be nére vnto townes, gentlemens houſes, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, haſels, or aſhes about their dwellings for their defenſe from the rough winds, and keeping of the ſtormie weather from annoiance of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at the firſt grew (as it is thought) either by the induſtrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderſtand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the weſt Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compaſſe therby to come by ground whereon to ſow their graines) or elſe thorough the couetouſneſſe of ſuch, as in preferring of paſture for their ſheepe and greater cattell, doo make ſmall account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hiſtories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thin, that no trée of anie greatneſſe, other than ſhrubs and buſhes, is able to grow or proſper long therein for want of ſufficient moiſture wherewith to feed them with freſh humour, or at the leaſtwiſe of mould, to ſhrowd, ſtaie vpright, and cheriſh the ſame in the bluſtering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatneſſe, and ſpread or yéeld their rotes downe right into the ſoile about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I muſt needs confeſſe that there is good ſtore of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in ſome places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our anceſtors haue ſéene heretofore, when ſtatelie building was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater number of meſuages and manſions almoſt in euery place; yet were their frames ſo ſlight and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you conſider the preſent charge with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes, builded of ſallow, willow, plumtrée, hardbeame, and elme, ſo that the vſe of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all theſe are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet ſée the change, for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Perſian delicacie crept in among vs altogither of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In thoſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defenſe to keepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts muſt defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poſes. Then had we none but rere dolles, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe daies was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe; ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or poſe, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Deſire of much wealth and eaſe abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.

Of the curiouſneſſe of theſe tiles I ſpeake not, ſith our workemen are growne generallie to ſuch an excellencie of deuiſe in the frames now made, that they far paſſe the fineſt of the old. And ſuch is their huſbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the ſame ſtuffe which in time paſt was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vſe but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and beſt part of the worke. Whereby the common ſaieng is likewiſe in theſe daies verified in our manſion houſes, which earſt was ſaid onelie of the timber for ſhips, that no oke can grow ſo crooked but it falleth out to ſome vſe, & that neceſſarie in the naule. It is a world to ſée moreouer how diuerſe men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in ſpending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuiſes of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and thoſe more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding alſo of their workes, how they ſet vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they reſtreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purſes neuer ſhut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

Deſtruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis

ſaith the poet. So that if a man ſhould well conſider of all the odd crotchets in ſuch a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of thoſe affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he ſhould not well be able to deale in anie other. But ſuch commonlie are our workemaſters, that they haue beſide this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little leſſe buſineſſe in the commonwealth, or finallie no ſmall dealings otherwiſe incident vnto them, whereby gaine ariſeth, and ſome trouble oft among withall. Which cauſeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts ſo well of ſo manie ſundrie men, whereas diuerſe other of greater forecaſt in apparance can ſeldome ſhift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpoſe.

We haue manie woods, forreſts, and parks, which cheriſh trées abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſpringes, that are mainteined of purpoſe for the building and proviſion of ſuch owners as doo poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit as euerie ſoile doth not beare all kinds of wood, ſo there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forreſt, that is not mixed with diuerſe, as oke, aſh, haſell, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, ſorſe, quicken aſpe, roſiers, wild cherie, and ſuch like, whereof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as moſt méet for building and the naule, whervnto it is reſerued. This trée bringeth forth alſo a profitable kind of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell nére vnto the aforeſaid places doo cheriſh and bring vp innumerable heards of ſwine. In time of plentie of this maſt, our red and fallow déere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common poultrie alſo if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth proue verie pernicious vnto the firſt, ſo theſe egs which theſe latter doo bring forth (beſide blackeneſſe in colour and bitterneſſe of taſt) haue not ſeldome béene found to breed diuerſe diſeaſes vnto ſuch perſons as haue eaten of the ſame. I might ad in like ſort the profit inſuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vſe in dreſſing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the ſadame, as I haue oft ſéene: but it ſhall not néed at this time to enter into anie ſuch diſcourſe, onlie this I wiſh, that our ſole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be haſted on by extraordinarie ſlights, as with aſh, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it ſéemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well done: ſo if you reſpect the ſadnes therof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neuertheleſſe we haue good lawes for redreſſe of this enormitie, but it cõmeth to paſſe in theſe as in the execution of moſt penall ſtatutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the ſame being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie perſons, they make a ſhew of great reformation at the firſt, & for a litle while, till they find that following of ſute

The like haue I ſéene where hens doo feed vpon the tender blades of garlike.

in law against the offendors is somwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and rewards to winke at things past, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then do they tender licences, and offer large dispensations vnto him that shall aske the same, thereby to do what him listeth in his trade for an pearelie pension, whereby the bribour now groweth to some certeine reuenues, & the tanner to so great libertie that his lether is much worse than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifest illusion of the good subiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the softest, and far more spalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Wardfield parke is the finest for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I seene of their workes made of that oke so fine and faire, as most of the wainescot that is brought hither out of Danske, for our wainescot is not made in England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they haue hoped, because the ab or iuice will not so soone be removed and cleane drawne out, which some attribute to want of time in the salt water. Neuerthelesse in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer so much hath beene spent in a hundred yeares before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it neuer so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old house (if anie were there standing) and set vp a new after his owne deuise. But whereunto will this curiositie come?

Of elme we haue great store in euerie high waie and elsewhere, yet haue I not seene thereof anie together in woods or forrests, but where they haue beene first planted and then suffered to spread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech and hasell in manie places, especiallie in Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where they are greatlie cherished, & conuerted to sundrie vses by such as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I saw, those in the south side of Douer court, in Essex neere Harwich are the most notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almost apt for nothing else but nauie timber, great ordinance, and beetels: and such thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vsed in the said behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trees in whatsoeuer parcell else of this land, without cuphar, shaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Ash commeth vp euerie where of it selfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so are we not without the plane, the vgh, the sorse, the chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like. And although that we inioy them not in so great plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we sufficient of them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especiallie of vgh; as may be seene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and some sreds of Kent also, as I haue beene informed.

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we do not altogither want, especiallie the firre, whereof we haue some store in Chatlete more in Darbishire, Shropshire, Andernelle, and a mosse neere Manchester, not far from Leircesters house: although that in time past not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part of the coast betweene Chester and the Solme were well stored. As for the frankincense and pine, they haue beene planted onelie in colleges and cloisters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want them altogither; for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I see no cause whie they should be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue also the aspe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The seuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vse for bolles, treies, troughs, dishes, &c. Also the alder, whose barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therfore much vsed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hosen. I might here take occasion to speake of the great sales yeerlie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin destroied within these few yeers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go so fast to decaie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue done and are like to do in this, sometimes for increase of sheepwalks, and some maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burnished gentleman * that hath borne threescore at once in one paire of galigascons to shew his strength and braurie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, brome, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, hallacks, flags, straw, sedge, reed, rush, and also sea cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, whereunto some of them euen now haue gotten readie passage, and taken vp their innes in the greatest merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our lawes were able inough to make sufficient prouision for the redresse of this error & enormitie likelie to insue. But such is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie lawes are made, so they will keepe none; or if they be vrged to make answer, they will rather seeke some crooked construction of them to the increase of their priuat gaine, than yeeld themselues to be guided by the same for a common wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end whatsoeuer the law saith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impouerished, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerse dealing. Thus manie thousand persons do suffer hinderance by this their lewd behauior. Hereby the wholesome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magistrate in consultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would with that I might liue no longer than to see foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of discipline in the church: the couetous dealing of most of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of faires and markets vpon the sundaie to be abolished and referred to the wednesdaies: and that euerie man, in whatsoeuer part of the champaine solle enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with oke mast, hasell, beech, and sufficient prouision be made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare me that I should then liue to long, and so long, that I should either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle sufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto pasture. As for the taking downe of houses, a small fine will beare out a great matter. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in refreint of superfluous grasing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech estate might keepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice for that and other purposes. Neither was wood euer

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* This gentleman caught such an heate with this sore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for physicke, yet it could not saue his life, but he must needs die homewards.

The like haue I seene where hens do feed vpon the tender blades of garlike.

better cherished or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yerelie to viewe and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did growe, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might proue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common naule, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what do I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an hraue report: within these fortie yéres we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yéres old; for it is commonlie séene that those yong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yéres fall, are vsuallie at the nert sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennes.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers do specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and nére to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie mores, that in times past they haue béene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may sée the triall (beside the rots that are dailie found in the déps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Pertoneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marisses with long spits, which they dash hers and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie done in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trées which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, aplie them to their vses. The like do they in Shropshire with the like, which hath béene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to growe euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Loegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due fadnesse, are now turned into more plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new lose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie by ditching and dreanes (a thing some done if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might some leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Caer Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogither about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Pennith and Mycoit, that is, the woodie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be séene in those places, let him that hath béene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath béene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.

AS almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appeareth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Hallielwell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in néed. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is nére vnto Buxton, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing fiftéene miles from Manchester, or Marlechesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be séene; of which thrée are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indéed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mired with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great spéd in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer withall lesse grieuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the affebled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious oppilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so spedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water whereof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue béene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are thrée welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, from thence infinit plentie of water without

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any notable diminution of the ſpring is dailie caried into ſundrie parties of the realme, & drunke by ſuch as haue need to occupie the ſame. Of the other two, one is reſerued for ſuch as be comelie perſonages and void of lothſome diſeaſes: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clenſed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholeſomer. Manie diſeaſes alſo are cured in the ſame, as the palſie, dimneſſe of ſight, dulneſſe of hearing, but eſpeciallie the collike and the ſtone, old ſores and greene wounds; ſo that I ſuppoſe there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more ſpedie force in theſe behalfes, than the vſe of this ſimple liquor is to ſuch as dw frequent it. The ſaid water hath a naturall propertie alſo following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or ſticke of aſh, oke, &c: dw fall into the ſame, within a ſhort ſpace, ſuch ſtore of fine ſand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reſerued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will ſeeme to become an hard ſtone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue ſeene by experience. At the firſt entrance it is verie cold, but after a ſeaſon it warmeth the goer in, cauſing him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet ſuſteined anie manner of impeachment through the coldneſſe of the ſame. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitſuntide, by a man who had wounded himſelfe, & comming by the ſame water, thought onelie to waſh the blod from his hand therewith, and ſo to go home and ſeeke for helpe by ſurgerie: finallie finding the paine well aſſwaged, & the wound faire clenſed, he departed, and miſliking his vſuall medicins, he eſſsones came againe, and ſo often indeed vnto the ſaid water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practiſe. By this meanes alſo he became a counſellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they ſhould trie the vertue of this ſpring, who finding eaſe alſo, gaue out ſuch commendation of the ſaid water, that now at this preſent their fame is fullie equall, and the reſort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beſide this, the cures of ſuch diſeaſes as their forces do extend vnto, is much more ſpeedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie alſo not ſmallie to be conſidered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from ſaint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) ſaint Needs, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two ſprings are knowne to be, of which the one is verie ſweet and freſh, the other brackiſh & ſalt; this is good for ſcabs and leaperie (as it is ſaid) the other for dimneſſe of ſight. Merie manie alſo dw make their repaire vnto them for ſundrie diſeaſes, ſome returning whole, and ſome nothing at all amended, bicauſe their cure is without the reach and working of thoſe waters. Neuer went people ſo faſt from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to theſe wels, and thoſe neere Rugbie, both places being diſcouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found alſo about Ratcliffe neere London, euen at the ſame ſeaſon. But ſith rumors are now ſpred almoſt of euerie ſpring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake at all of anie other, till further experience dw trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but moſt of theſe alreadie mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred alſo, though confuſedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in proceſſe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of ſundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie beene miſſed.

The laſt place of our baths, is a citie in Sommerſetſhire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be ſeene and vſed. At the firſt it was called Caer Bledud, and not Caer Bledune, as ſome would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient caſtell at Malmeſburie, which the Saxons named Ingleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ ſolis, or Scamannia, or Acmanceſter, but now it hight generallie Bath in Engliſh, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it ſelfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerſe notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſeene in the wals thereof; and firſt of all betweene the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

The firſt is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue ſeene of Antius the Romane. The ſecond betweene the ſouth and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a ſerpent, and ſo doth this. Thirdlie there ſtandeth a man on foot with a ſword in his one hand, and a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a branch that lieth folded and weathed into circles, like to the weath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but ſo defaced that no man liuing can read them at this preſent. There is moreouer the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two ſerpents, and an other inſcription, and all theſe betweene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſaid before.

Now, betweene the weſt and north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome words are euident to be read, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo the image of a naked man, and a ſtone in like ſort, which hath *Cupidines & labruſcas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie floriſhed both aboue and beneath. Finallie (ſauing that I ſaw afterward the image of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in each hand) there was an inſcription of a tome or buriall, wherein theſe words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but ſo defuſedlie written, that letters ſtood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not ſaie whether theſe were ſet into the places where they now ſtand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, and placed afterward in thoſe wals, in their neceſſarie reparations. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this is to be gathered by our hiſtories, that Bladud firſt builded that citie there, and peraduenture might alſo kindle the ſulphurous veines, of purpoſe to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occaſion the ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for ſundrie kinds of diſeaſes. Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the cheefe goddeſſe and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, bicauſe of the nereneſſe of hir temple vnto the ſame. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir ſaid temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer conſume into dead ſparkles; but ſo ſone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone: all which I take to be nothing elſe than the effect of the aforeſaid fire, of the ſulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters dw come. That theſe baths or waters are deriued from ſuch, the marchaſites, which the Grecians call *Pyritis, per antonomaſiam* (for being ſmit with the iron, it yeeldeth more ſparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore ſeemeth to deſerue the name aboue the reſt) and beſides theſe other ſtones mixed with ſome copper, and dailie found vpon the mountains

Chap. 25.

The Pyritis is found almoſt in euerie veine of metall in great plentie, diuerſities and colour, and ſometimes mixed with that mettall of whoſe excrements it conſiſteth.

feins thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physicke, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs do draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt peter, because he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng date be induced to beléeue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euerie side with great hils, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the more plentious and lesse of value vnto them, because it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselues, wherof in the title of this chapiter I protested to intreat.

Crosse bath. There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leaprie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath. The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house néere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

Kings bath. The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, wherein be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, do resort thither indifferentlie, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluce out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I do not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Hot houses in some countries little better than brodels.

Colour of the water of the baths. As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a déepe blew, and réeketh much after the maner of a séething pot, commonlie yéelding somwhat a sulpherous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauour. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while sustéeine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the diseased do leaue in each of them, wherfore we do forbeare the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more gréeuouslie affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the kéeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) frée passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall or issue of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.

What cost of late hath béene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious péeces of workemanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrées. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue these his good gifts fréelie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to interteine them) doth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither do drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I should excéed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping that some man yer long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I do not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.

Of antiquities found.

Chap. 24.

HAuing taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselues, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland

land maie in ſome caſes moꝛe manifeſtlie appeare. Foꝛ ſuch was their poſſeſſion of this Iland on this ſide of the Tine, that they held not one oꝛ two, oꝛ a few places onelie vnder their ſubiection, but all the whole countrie from eaſt to weſt, from the Tine to the Britiſh ſea, ſo that there was no regi-on void of their gouernance: notwithſtanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his iſſue, they did permit the ſucceſſoꝛs of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongeſt them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe-where I haue declared. The cheefe cauſe that bꝛigeth me to ſpeake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chꝛonologie ſhall happen to come abꝛoad) to ſet downe the liuelie poꝛtraitures of euerie emperour ingrauen in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompeie, Craſſus, the ſeuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerſe other, which I haue pꝛouided readie foꝛ the purpoſe, beſide the monuments and liuelie images of ſundꝛie philoſophers, and kings of this Iland, ſince the time of Edward the Confeſſoꝛ. Wheꝛof although pꝛeſentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendſhip at the leaſt wiſe pꝛocured foꝛ monie ſhall be able to pꝛeuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, ſo the charges to be emploied vpon theſe bꝛaſen oꝛ copper images, will hereafter put by the impꝛeſſion of that treatiſe: whereby it maie come to paſſe, that long trauell ſhall ſoone pꝛoue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to verie ſmall ſucceſſe. Wheꝛeof yet I foꝛce not greatlie, ſith by this means I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtoꝛies, which often miniſter ſtoꝛe of examples readie to be vſed in my function, as occaſion ſhall moue me. But to pꝛocéed with my purpoſe.

Befoꝛe the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Bꝛitaine, as Cæſar confeſſeth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a repoꝛt of certeine rings, of a pꝛopoꝛtionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtead likewiſe of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I ſaie) to haue the certeine view of anie of theſe, ſo after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue ſuch imperiall monies oꝛ coines, as foꝛ the paiment of their legions was dailie bꝛought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is eaſie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and ſiluer, as of copper, bꝛaſſe, and other mettall, much like ſteele, almoſt of euerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it ſtill repꝛeſent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition foꝛ vs, to take hæd how we yéeld our ſelues to the regiment of ſtrangers. Of the ſtoꝛe of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, I haue alreadie made mention in the deſcription of Richboꝛow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the Britiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo how ſimple fiſhermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making pꝛofers and holes to bꝛéed in, haue ſcraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of theſe coines haue bene gathered there: wheꝛfoꝛe I ſhall not néed here to repeat the ſame againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the moſt part of all theſe antiquities, to be found within the land, & diſtant from the ſhoꝛe, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decaied, oꝛ in incloſed buꝛrowes, where their legions accuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What ſtoꝛe hath bene ſeene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the legion that ſoiourned there, & likewiſe in Yoꝛke named alſo Victrix, of the legion Victoria, oꝛ Altera Roma (becauſe of the beautie and fine building of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partlie witneſſe, that haue ſeene, & often had of them, if better teſtimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Veſpaſian, and other, are often-times plowed vp, oꝛ found by other means: alſo of Caiſtoꝛburie, Andꝛedeſcheſter (now decaied) Rocheſter, then called Duꝛobꝛeuum, Wincheſter, and diuerſe other beyond the Thames, which foꝛ bꝛeuitie ſake I doo paſſe ouer in ſilence. Onlie the cheefe of all and where moſt are found in deed, is néere vnto Carleon and Caiꝛgwent in Southwales, about Rencheſter, thꝛée miles aboue Herefoꝛd, Aldboꝛow, Ancaſter, Bꝛamdon, Dodington, where a ſpuꝛre and péece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine, Wincheſter, Camalet, Lacocke vpon Auon, and Lincolne, Doꝛcheſter, Warwike, and Cheſter, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It ſéemeth that Ancaſter hath bœne a great thing, foꝛ manie ſquare & colоꝛed pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. And amongſt theſe, one Ureſbie oꝛ Roſebie, a plowman, did eꝛe vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, couered with another ſtone, wherein was great foiſon of the afoꝛeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſéene not yet foꝛtie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an husbandman had far better lucke at Harleſton, two miles from the afoꝛeſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but alſo an huge bꝛaſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtlie ſtones: he toke vp alſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he pꝛeſented to quéene Katharine then lieng at Peterboꝛow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten foꝛ age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into péeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt foꝛ a ſwoꝛd of the ſame mettall, beſide ſtuds and harneſſe foꝛ ſpuꝛs, and the huge long ſpuꝛs of like ſtuffe, wheꝛof one doctoꝛ Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boꝛoughs oꝛ buries, wheꝛof I ſpake befoꝛe, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane ſouldiers did vſe to lie when they kept in the open fields as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſaries, if anie outrage were wꝛought oꝛ rebellion moued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall aboads foꝛ thoſe able legions that ſerued dailie in the wars, ſo had they other certeine habitations foꝛ the old and foꝛwoꝛne ſouldiers, whereby diuerſe cities grew in time to be repleniſhed with Romane colonies, as Caiꝛleon, Colcheſter, Cheſter, and ſuch other, of which, Colcheſter bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddeſſe of Victoꝛie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram ſempiternæ dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Britiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our boꝛowes, they were generallie walled about with ſtone wals, and ſo large in compaſſe that ſome did conteine thirtie, fourtie, thꝛée ſcoꝛe, oꝛ eightie acres of ground within

within their limits: they had alſo diuerſe gates or ports vnto each of them, and of theſe not a few remaine to be ſeene in our time, as one for example not far from great Cheſterford in Eſſex, neere to the limits of Cambridgſhire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compaſſe of the verie wall with the places where the gates ſtood is eaſie to be diſcerned: the like alſo is to be ſeene at a place within two miles ſouth of Burton, called the Borow hils. In theſe therefore and ſuch like, and likewiſe at Cuoiſburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and ſundrie other places, eſpeciallie vpon the ſhore and coaſts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romnete, Lid, &c: is much of their coine alſo to be found, and ſome peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hegs pence, Feirie groats, Iewes monie, & by other fooliſh names not woorthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vſed theſe holds as refuſes for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like alſo did the Saxons againſt the Danes, by which occaſions (and now and then by carieng of their ſtones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwiſe might haue continued for a longer time, and ſo your honour would ſaie, if you ſhould happen to peruſe the thickeneſſe and maner of building of thoſe ſaid wals and borowes. It is not long ſince a ſiluer ſaucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Hyerbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of ſuch maſſie greatneſſe, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I ſhould ſtand in theſe things vntill I had ſaid all that might be ſpoken of them, both by experience and teſtimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerſe yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore ſo much onelie ſhall ſerue the turne for this time as I haue ſaid alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, eſpeciallie of coine, whereof I purpoſed chiefelie to intreat.

Hyerbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.

THe Saxon coine before the conqueſt is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I ſuppoſe that one ſhilling of ſiluer in thoſe daies did counterpeiſe our common ounce, though afterward it came to paſſe that it aroſe to twentie pence, and ſo continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who firſt brought it to three ſhillings and foure pence, & afterward our ſiluer coine vnto braſſe & copper monies, by reaſon of thoſe inceſſimable charges, which diuerſe waies oppreſſed him. And as I gather ſuch obſcure notice of the ſhilling which is called in Latine *ſolidus*, ſo I read more manifeſtlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this alſo currant among the Saxons of our Ile, ſo well in gold as in ſiluer, at ſuch time as 240 of their pennies made vp a iuſt pound, fiue pence went to the ſhilling, and foure ſhillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpoſe. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his ſonne began to reſtore the aforeſaid coine againe vnto fine ſiluer: ſo queene Marie his ſucceſſour did continue his good purpoſe, notwithſtanding that in hir time the Spaniſh monie was verie common in England, by reaſon of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

Copper monie.

After hir deceaſe the ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, and now our moſt gratious queene, ſouereigne and princeſſe, did finiſh the matter wholie, vtterlie aboliſhing the vſe of copper and braſen coine, and converting the ſame into guns and great ordinance, reſtored ſundrie coines of fine ſiluer, as peeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of ſix pence vſuallie named the teſtone, and ſhilling of twelue pence, whereon ſhe hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall ſuperſcription. Siluer reſtored.

Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained ſince the time of king Edward the third, or beene coined by ſuch other princes as haue reigned ſince his deceaſſe, without anie abaſing or diminution of the fineſſe of that mettall. Therof alſo we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the ſalut, the angell, and their ſmaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though theſe in my time are not ſo common to be ſeene. I haue alſo beheld the ſouereigne of twentie ſhillings, and the peece of thirtie ſhillings, I haue heard likewiſe of peeces of fortie ſhillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But ſith there were few of them coined, and thoſe onelie at the commandement of kings, pearlie to beſtow where their maieſties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requiſit that I ſhould remember them here amongſt our currant monies. Old gold.

The new gold is taken for ſuch as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the fineſſe of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be reſtored for ought that I can ſee: and yet is it ſuch as hath beene coined ſince by his ſucceſſors princes of this realme, in value and goodneſſe equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one doth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old finer gold: ſo that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie ſeene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in thoſe kinds of our coine. Our peeces now currant are of ten ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, and two ſhillings and ſix pence onelie: and thoſe of ſundrie ſtamps and names, as halfe ſouereigns (equall in weight with our currant ſhilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times ſo much ſiluer) quarters of ſouereigns (otherwiſe called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewiſe angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good ſooth I know them not, as one ſcarſelie acquainted with anie ſiluer at all, much leſſe then (God it wot) with anie ſtore of gold. New gold.

The firſt currant ſhilling or ſiluer peeces of twelue pence ſtamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & thoſe of fiue ſhillings, and of two ſhillings and ſix pence, & the halfe ſhilling by king Edward the firſt: but the od peeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princeſſe queene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greateſt ſiluer monies if you reſpect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well diſcuſſe of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the firſt in the eight yeare of his reigne, did firſt coine the penie and ſmalleſt peeces of ſiluer roundwiſe, which before were ſquare, and wont to beare a double croſſe with a creſt, in ſuch ſort that the penie might eaſilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which ſhift onelie the people came

came by ſmall monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwiſe were not ſtamped nor coined of ſet purpoſe.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the ſingle, double, and the double double, the cruſadoes, with the long croſſe and the ſhort: the portigue, a péece verie ſolemnelie kept of diuerſe, & yet oft times abaſed with waſhing, or abſolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemiſh crownes, onlie currant among vs, ſo long as they hold weight. But of ſiluer coines, as the ſoules turnois, whereof ten make a ſhilling, as the franke doth two ſhillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and ſuch often times brought ouer, but neuertheleſſe exchanged as bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by ſuch as haue authoritie.

In old time we had ſundrie mints in England, and thoſe commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houſes before the conqueſt, where true dealing was commonlie ſuppoſed moſt of all to dwell: as at Ramſeie, S. Edmundſburie, Canturburie, Glaſſenburie, Peterborow, and ſuch like, ſundrie exemplifications of the grants whereof are yet to be ſéene in writing, eſpeciallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appéereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they truſted themſelues beſt with the ouerſight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerſe of their owne, although they afterward permitted ſome for ſmall péeces of ſiluer vnto ſundrie of the houſes aforeſaid. In my time diuerſe mints are ſuppreſſed, as Southwarke, Briſtow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to ſaie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and peruſed, but not without great gaine to ſuch as deale withall. There is alſo coinage of tin holden yearelie at two ſeuerall times, that is to ſaie, Midſummer and Michaelmas in the weſt countrie; which at the firſt hearing I ſuppoſed to haue béene of monie of the ſaid mettall, and granted by priuilege from ſome prince vnto the towns of Haileſtone, Trorie, and Loſtwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing ſo, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie cuſtomes of that mettall: and ſuch blocks of tin as haue paſſed the hands of his officers, are marked with an eſpeciall ſtampe; whereby it is knowne that the cuſtome due for the ſame hath ordinarilie béene anſwered. It ſhould ſéeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingſtone vpon Thames (ſometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vſuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in caſting of the ground about that towne in times paſt, and now of late (beſides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue béene riped vp by plowes, and diuerſe coines of braſſe, ſiluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Wolſeie, one ſuch huge pot was diſcouered full as it were of new ſiluer latelie coined; another with plates of ſiluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of ſiluer and ſuch broken ſtuffe redie (as it ſhould appéere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this ſuffice to countenance out my coniecture. Of coins currant before the comming of the Romans I haue elſewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Iſlanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Eſſences did barter ware for ware, ſo the Britons vſed braſſe or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in ſtéed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Biſantines alſo did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (ſaith he) rough péeces of braſſe and iron in ſtéed of coine, wherewith they purchaſed their wines.

The contents of the third booke.

1 Of cattell kept for profit.
2 Of wild and tame foules.
3 Of fiſh vſuallie taken vp on our coaſts.
4 Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.
5 Of hawkes and rauenous foules.
6 Of venemous beaſts.
7 Of our Engliſh dogs and their qualities.
8 Of our ſaffron, and the dreſſing thereof.
9 Of quarries of ſtone for building.
10 Of ſundrie minerals.
11 Of mettals to be had in our land.
12 Of pretious ſtones.
13 Of ſalt made in England.
14 Of our accompt of time and hir parts.
15 Of principall faires and markets.
16 Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. 1.

There is no kind of tame cattell vſually to be ſéene in theſe parts of the world, whereof we haue not ſome, and that great ſtore in England; as horſſes, oxen, ſhéepe, goats, ſwine, and far ſurmounting the like in other countries, as may be prooued with eaſe. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horſſes more decent and pleaſant in pace, kine more commodious for the pale, ſhéepe more profitable for woll, ſwine more wholeſome of fleſh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England? But to ſpeke of them peculiarlie, I ſuppoſe that our kine are ſo abundant in yéeld of milke, wherof we make our butter & chéeſe, as the like are in where elſe, and ſo apt for the plough in diuerſe places as either our horſſes or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they ſéeme to come ſhort of that commoditie which is looked for

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth moſt commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines alſo gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath bene valued at twentie ſhillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground ariſe to be yet dearer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleaſure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikſhire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studlele, which in ſix yeares had ſixteene calfes, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twiſe twins, which vnto manie may ſeeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are ſuch as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatneſſe of bodie and ſweetneſſe of fleſh: or elſe would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before thoſe of Liguria. In moſt places our graſiers are now growen to be ſo cunning, that if they bow but ſee an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a gheſſe at his weight, and how manie ſcore or ſtone of fleſh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the ſale, and what he may haue for the ſkin and tallow; which is a point of ſkill not commonlie practiſed heretofore. Some ſuch graſiers alſo are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their abſence their wiues will not let to ſupplie thoſe turnes with no leſſe ſkill than their huſbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, ſith he through this means can ſeldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like ſort the fleſh of our oxen and kine is ſold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yong ware rather by weight, eſpeciallie for the ſteere and heighfer, ſith the finer beefe is the lighteſt, whereas the fleſh of buls and old kine, &c: is of ſadder ſubſtance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the ſcale. Their hornes alſo are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except thoſe which are to be ſeene among the Pæones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped alſo by art. For when they be verie yong, manie graſiers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardneſſe of that ſubſtance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatneſſe. Certes, it is not ſtrange in England, to ſee oxen whoſe hornes haue the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themſelues thereto ſo tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent ſtature is ſcarſe equall vnto them. Neuertheleſſe it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better loked vnto: for the greateſt occupiers weane leaſt ſtore, becauſe they can buie them (as they ſaie) far better cheape than to raiſe and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath riſen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithſtanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they do in other countries.

Oxen.

Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 8.

Our horſſes moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of ſuch huge greatneſſe as in other places of the maine: yet if you reſpect the eaſineſſe of their pace, it is hard to ſaie where their like are to be had. Our land doth yeeld no aſſes, and therefore we want the generation alſo of mules and ſoumers; and therefore the moſt part of our cariage is made by theſe, which remaining ſtoned, are either reſerued for the cart, or appointed to beare ſuch burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horſſes (for we vſe them indifferentlie) are commonlie ſo ſtrong that fiue or ſix of them (at the moſt) will draw three thouſand weight of the greateſt tale with eaſe for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vſage, which conſiſteth onelie of two thouſand, or ſixtie foot of timber, fortie buſhels of white ſalt, or ſix and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elſewhere remembred. Such as are kept alſo for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This further more is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that when the queenes maieſtie doth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vſuallie 400 carewarcs, which amount to the ſumme of 2400 horſſes, appointed out of the countries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied ſafelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby alſo the ancient vſe of ſomers and ſumpter horſſes is in maner vtterlie relinquiſhed, which cauſeth the traines of our princes in their progreſſes to ſhew far leſſe than thoſe of the kings of other nations.

Horſſes.

Such as ſerue for the ſaddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie deere among vs, eſpeciallie if they be well coloured, iuſtlie limmed, and haue thereto an eaſie ambling pace. For our countriemen, ſeeking their eaſe in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in theſe qualities, but chieflie in their excellent paces, which beſides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horſſes of our ſoile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner ſitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleaſant and delectable in his eares, in that the noiſe of their well proportioned pace doth yeeld comfortable ſound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vſed anie where than among our horſſekeepers, horſſecorſers, and horſſelers: for ſuch is the ſubtill knauerie of a great ſort of them (without exception of anie of them be it ſpoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honeſt meaning man ſhall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by ſome falſe tricke or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horſſes and colts is bought and ſold, and wherevnto ſuch as haue need reſort yearelie to buie and make their neceſſarie prouiſion of them, as Kippon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Yarborow, and diuerſe other. But as moſt drouers are verie diligent to bring great ſtore of theſe vnto thoſe places; ſo manie of them are too too lewd in abuſing ſuch as buie them. For they haue a cuſtome to make them loke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to driue them till they ſweat, & for the ſpace of eight or twelue houres, which being done they turne them all ouer the backs into ſome water, where they ſtand for a ſeaſon, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make ſale of their infected ware, and ſuch as by this meanes do fall into manie diſeaſes and maladies. Of ſuch outlandiſh horſſes as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I ſpeake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courſer of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemiſh roile, and Scotiſh nag, becauſe that further ſpeech of them commeth not within the compaſſe of this treatiſe, and for whoſe breed and maintenance (eſpeciallie of the greateſt ſort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble ſtudderie and for a time had verie good ſucceſſe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of baſtard races, whereby his good purpoſe came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the beſt horſſes in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compaſſe of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vſuallie a ſtudderie of 30000 mares and 300 ſtallions, as Strabo doth remember *lib.* 16. But to leaue this, let vs ſee what may be ſaid of ſheepe.

Geldings.

Our ſheepe are verie excellent, ſith for ſweetneſſe of

Sheepe.

Sheepe without hornes.

of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our
woolles to be preferred before those of Milesia and o-
ther places, that if Iason had knowne the value of
them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he
would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to loke for anie
there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his
De situ orbis, it may by spinning be made comparable
to the spiders web. What soles then are our countri-
men, in that they seeke to bereue themselues of this
commoditie, by practising dailie how to transfer the
same to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams
& ewes to breed & increase among them? The first ex-
ample hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth,
who not vnderstanding the bottome of the sute of sun-
drie traitorous merchants, that sought a present
gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their coun-
trie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of
them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few
shipped verie manie: a thing commonlie practised in
other commodities also, whereby the prince and his
land are not seldome times defrauded. But such is
our nature, and so blind are we in deed, that we see no
inconuenience before we feele it: and for a present
gaine we regard not what damage may insue to our
posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the
desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and
to impeach our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth,
that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the
sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteé-
med than a continuall commoditie at home with vs,
which far exceedeth that value. In time past the vse of
this commoditie consisted (for the most part) in cloth
and wollfells: but now by meanes of strangers suc-
coured here from domesticall persecution, the same
hath béene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mo-
kados, bates, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the
makers haue reaped no small commoditie. It is
furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of
Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithstan-
ding the sharpenesse of our lawes to the contrarie)
doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & wea-
Shéepe with- thers do go thither from vs neuer so well headed ac-
out hornes. cording to their kind: yet after they haue remained
there a while, they cast there heads, and from
thencefoorth they remaine polled without any hornes
at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished
in England, than standeth well with the commoditie
of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse townes,
whereof some are wholie conuerted to their féeding:
yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fléece, such ne-
cessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the ma-
nuring of barren soile with their dung and pisse, that
their superfluous numbers are the better borne with-
all. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I
speake not of our great shéepemasters of whom some
one man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this
cattell féeding on his fallowes and short grounds,
which yéeld the finer fléece, as Virgil (following Var-
ro) well espied Georg. 3. where he saith:

Si tibi lanicium curæ, primùm aspera sylua,
Lappæque tribulique absint, fuge pabula læta.

Neuertheles the shéepe of our countrie are often
troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the mea-
sels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are
now and then great losers by the same: but after the
calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and kéepe their
new flocks sound for seauen yeares togither, the for-
mer losse will easilie be recompensed with double
commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are
hurtfull to our shéepe, howbeit this is but his coniec-
ture: for we know that our shéepe are infected by go-
ing to the water, and take the same as a sure and cer-
teine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their
liuers and lights being alredie distempered through
excessiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to séeke
vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the
maine, wherin a man shall generallie find more fine
and wholesome water than in England; and therfore
it is impossible that our shéepe should decaie by ta-
sting of the same. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is
rather to be ascribed to the vnseasonablenes & moi-
sture of the weather in summer, also their licking in
of mildewes, gossamire, rolvie fogs, & ranke grasse,
full of superfluous iuice: but specialliè (I saie) to euer
moist wether, whereby the continuall raine pearsing
into their hollow felles, soketh forthwith into their
flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also
infected their first shew of sickenesse is their desire to
drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them *Causa*
ægritudinis, but *Signum morbi*, what so euer Cardan do
mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduen-
ture no small babes) which are growne to be so good
husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten
kine to be clérelie worth twentie pounds in cómon
and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue shéepe be
dailie added to the same. But as I wote not how
true this surmise is, bicause it is no part of my trade,
so I am sure hereof, that some housewiues can
do ad dailie a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the
chéese of so manie kine, whereby their chéese doth the
longer abide moist, and eateth more brickle and mel-
low than otherwise it would.

Goats. Goats we haue plentie, and of sundrie colours
in the west parts of England; especiallie in and to-
wards Wales, and amongst the rockie hilles, by
whome the owners do reape no small aduantage:
some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse stéeds
for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrie
maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, chéese,
and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie profi-
table, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and
néere. Certes I find among the writers, that the
milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the
woman; for that it helpeth the stomach, remoueth op-
pilations and stoppings of the liuer, and loseth the
bellie. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the
ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can
shew no reason; onelie this I know, that ewes milke
is fullsome, sweet, and such in taste, as except such as are
vsed vnto it no man will gladlie yéeld to liue and féed
withall.

Swine. As for swine, there is no place that hath greater
store, nor more wholesome in eating, than are these
here in England, which neuertheles do neuer ante
good till they come to the table. Of these some we eat
greene for pork, and other dried vp into bakon to
haue it of more continuance. Lard we make some
though verie little, because it is chargeable: neither
haue we such vse thereof as is to be séene in France
and other countries, sith we do rather bake our meat
with sweet suet of beefe or mutton, and bast all our
meat with sweet or salt butter, or suffer the fattell to
bast it selfe by leisure. In champaine countries they
are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to at-
tend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth
them togither by his noise and crie, and leadeth them
forth to féed abroad in the fields. In some places al-
so women do scowre and wet their cloths with their
dung, as other do with hemlocks and netles: but
such is the sauor of the cloths touched withall, that I
cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than
such as are scowred with the refuse sope, than the
which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie
sauor.

Boares. Of our tame boares we make brawne, which is a
kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as
I take it) otherwise would not the swart Rutters
and French cookes, at the losse of Calis (where they

found great ſtore of this prouiſion almoſt in euerie houſe) haue attempted with ridiculous ſucceſſe to roſt, bake, broile, & frie the ſame for their maſters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long ſince, did ſend ouer an hogſhead of brawne readie ſowſed to a catholike gentleman of France, who ſuppoſing it to be fiſh, reſerued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he ſo well liked of the prouiſion it ſelfe, that he wrote ouer verie earneſtlie & with offer of great recompenſe for more of the ſame fiſh againſt the yeare inſuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene fleſh, he would not haue touched it (I dare ſaie) for a thouſand crownes without the popes diſpenſation. A friend of mine alſo dwelling ſometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did ſet brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earneſtlie, ſuppoſing it to be a kind of fiſh not common in thoſe parties: but when the goodman of the houſe brought in the head in paſtime among them, to ſhew what they had eaten, they roſe from the table, hied them home in haſt, each of them procuring himſelfe to vomit, ſome by oile, and ſome by other meanes, till (as they ſuppoſed) they had cleanſed their ſtomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of ſeruice at the table, from Nouember vntill Februarie be ended; but cheeflie in the Chriſtmaſſe time. With the ſame alſo we begin our dinners each daie after other: and becauſe it is ſomewhat hard of digeſtion, a draught of malueſeie, baſtard, or muſcadell, is vſuallie drunke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: otherwiſe the meaner ſort content themſelues with their owne drinke, which at that ſeaſon is generallie verie ſtrong, and ſtronger indeed than in all the yeare beſide. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, ſet vp for the purpoſe by the ſpace of a whole yere or two, eſpecíallie in gentlemens houſes (for the huſbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vſe aboue three or foure moneths, or halfe a yeere at the moſt) in which time he is dieted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneaſie coat, till his fat be hardened ſufficientlie for their purpoſe: afterward he is killed, ſcalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the reſt is nothing ſo fat, and therefore it beareth the name of ſowſe onelie, and is commonlie reſerued for the ſeruing man and hind, except it pleaſe the owner to haue anie part thereof baked, which are then handled of cuſtome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are firſt brawne with lard, and then ſodden; being ſodden they are ſowſed in claret wine and vineger a certeine ſpace, and afterward baked in paſties, and eaten of manie in ſtead of the wild bore, and truelie it is verie good meat: the peſtles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be brawne with lard if you will, and thereby proue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the ſhoulders are named ſhilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, ſo that theſe aforeſaid peeces deſerue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beaſt are commonlie caſt awaie becauſe of their rankneſſe, and ſo were likewiſe his ſtones; till a ſwiſh fantaſie got hold of late amongſt ſome delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dreſſe them alſo with great coſt for a deintie diſh, and bring them to the bord as a ſeruice among other of like ſort, though not without note of their deſire to the prouocation of fleſhlie luſt, which by this their fond curioſitie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, each peece is wraped vp, either with bulruſhes, or oziер

Brawne of the bore.

Baked hog.

peeles, tape, inkle, or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be ſo tender that a man may thruſt a bruſed ruſh or ſoft ſtraw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they powre either good ſmall ale or beere mingled with veriuice and ſalt thereto till it be couered, and ſo let it lie (now and then altering and changing the ſowſing drinke leaſt it ſhould wax ſowre) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the waie. Some vſe to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and ſeeth them, and ſowſe the whole, as they do that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more eaſie of digeſtion. But of brawne thus much; and ſo much may ſeeme ſufficient.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.

READer requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the foules alſo of England, which I may eaſilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in foules, that to ſay the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well diſtinguiſh one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for ſo manie kinds as our Iland doth bring forth, and much more would haue, if thoſe of the higher ſoile might be ſpared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which ſet onlie for the pot & purſe. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Johns daies, inſomuch that going in progreſſe about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to ſolace himſelf, or exerciſe his falcons. Wherfore being at Wiſſow in the Chriſtmas inſuing, he reſtreined all maner of hawking or taking of wild foule throughout England for a ſeaſon, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie repleniſhed againe. But what ſtand I vpon this impertinent diſcourſe? Of ſuch therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame ſwan, the bullard, the herron, curlew, ſnite, wildgoſe, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both ſorts, lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, ſheldrake, ſhoueler, pewet, ſeamew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are ſubiect to the falling ſickeneſſe) the notte, the oliet or oliſe, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feaſant, beſides diuerſe other, whoſe names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taſte of their fleſh; wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at all ſeaſons, ſo in their ſeuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie ſhould ſeeme at anie time furniſht. But of all theſe the production of none is more marueilous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whoſe place of generation we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the ſame nearer home, and not onelie vpon the coaſts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhould ſay how either theſe or ſome ſuch other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie ſerueth, and the circumſtances do miniſter occaſion) in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet ſuch a thing hath there beene ſeene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrub ſtanding neere vnto the ſhore, from whence when

their

their time came, they fell downe, either into the ſalt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and periſhed, as Pena the French herbartan hath alſo noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue ſéene here by experience, I haue alreadie ſo touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it ſhould be but time ſpent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Loke therefore in the deſcription of Man or Manaw for more of theſe barnacles, as alſo in the eleuenth chapter of the deſcription of Scotland, & I do not doubt but you ſhall in ſome reſpect be ſatiſfied in the generation of theſe foules. As for egrets, palpers, and ſuch like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the ſea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are ſuch (for the moſt part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, géeſe, ducks, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reaſon of their multitudes, and number of houſes dailie erected for their increaſe (which the bowres of the countrie call in ſcorne almes houſes, and dens of thæues, and ſuch like) wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there alſo to be ſold either for readie monie in the open markets, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good companie amongſt their neighbors without reprehenſion or fines. Neither are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or ſup with a quarter of a hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe, as they do in ſome other countries: but if occaſion ſerue, the whole carcaſſes of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and ſuch like do oft go to wracke, beſide béefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feaſt are taken for neceſſarie diſhes amongeſt the communaltie of England.

The geloing of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practiſe brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the geloing of turkies or Indiſh peacocks is a newer deuiſe: and certeinlie not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rankeneſſe of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the ſtrong taſte of the fleſh in ſundrie wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders grow alſo to be geloed, I ſuppoſe that ſome will laugh me to ſcorne, neither haue I talked at anie time of ſuch a foule ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vſed in the countrie, where their géeſe are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a goſeheard, a toie alſo no leſſe to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a geloed gander, ſo is it ſtrange to me to ſée or heare of géeſe to be led to the field like ſhéepe: yet ſo it is, & their goſeheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment, with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goſlings togither, the noiſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and haſten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſée how they will pepe vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this ſort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept ſo much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke ſoiles their dung doth ſo qualifie the batableneſſe of the ſoile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and ſundrie other diſeaſes, although ſome of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules procreated by the induſtrie of man, as betweene the feſant cocke and dunghill hen, or betweene the feſant and the ringdoue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but ſith I haue no more knowledge of theſe, than what I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan ſpeaking of the ſecond ſort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewiſe intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rokes, kites, faies, ringtailes, ſtarlings, woodſpikes, woodnalwes, rauens, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture moſt of all in England (by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not need to ſpend anie time in the rehearſall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that breed in our ſoiles (as Polydor ſuppoſeth) ſith there are no vplandiſh townes but haue (or ſhould haue) nets of their owne in ſtore to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewiſe made for their vtter deſtruction, as alſo the ſpoile of other rauenous foules hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whoſe valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuiſe brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the deſtruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them alſo for the rotage out of their wild beaſts, ſauing that they ſpared their greateſt beares, eſpeciallie the white, whoſe ſkins are by cuſtome & priuilege reſerued to couer thoſe planchers whereupon their prieſts do ſtand at maſſe, leaſt he ſhould take ſome vnkind cold in ſuch a long péece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he ſhall haue pardon inough for that ſo religious an act, to laſt if he will till domes day do approch; and manie thouſands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that theſe noiſome creatures are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuoure our wormes, which do not abound much more in England than elſewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that ſome loke for a diſcourſe alſo of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thruſhes, blackebirds, mauiſes, ruddocks, redſtarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfiſhers, buntings, turtles white or grate, linets, bullfinches, goldfinches, waſhtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I ſhould then ſpend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I ſpeake of our coſtlie and curious aniaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obſeruation of their natures: but I ceaſe alſo to go anie further in theſe things, hauing (as I thinke) ſaid inough alreadie of theſe that I haue named.

Of fiſh vſuallie taken vpon *our coaſts.*

Cap. 3.

I Haue in my deſcription of waters, as occaſion hath ſerued, intreated of the names of ſome of the ſeuerall fiſhes which are commonlie to be found in our riuers. Neuertheleſſe as euerie water hath a ſundrie mixture, and therefore is not ſtored with euerie kind: ſo there is almoſt no houſe, euen of the meaneſt bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reſeruation of water vnſtored with ſome of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, eles, or ſuch like as will liue and breed togither. Certes it is not poſſible for me to deliuer the names of all ſuch kinds of fiſhes

as our riuers are found to beare: yet leaſt I ſhould ſeeme inurious to the reader, in not deliuering ſo manie of them as haue beene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to ſet them downe as they do come to mind. Beſides the ſalmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middeſt of September to the middeſt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greateſt riuers, as their yong fore are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midſummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, gud-geon, ſmelt, perch, menan, ſhrimpes, creuiſes, lam-preies, and ſuch like, whoſe preſeruation is prouided for by verie ſharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but alſo in plaſhes or lakes and ponds, which other-wiſe would bring ſmall profit to the owners, and do much harme by continuall maintenance of idle per-ſons, who would ſpend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all theſe there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the ſame water, than the pike and eele, which com-monlie deuoure ſuch fiſh or frie and ſpawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheleſſe, the pike is friend vnto the tench, as to his leach & ſurgeon. For when the fiſhmonger hath opened his ſide and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that preſent, he laieth the ſame againe into the proper place, and ſowing vp the wound, he reſtoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer ceaſe to ſucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue re-ſtored him to health, and made him readie to come a-gaine to the ſtall, when his turne ſhall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and ſome other of our riuer fiſhes are ſold by inches of cleane fiſh, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needleſſe: alſo how the pike as he a-geth, receiueth diuerſe names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and laſt of all to a luce; alſo that a ſalmon is the firſt yeare a grauellin, and commonlie ſo big as an her-ring, the ſecond a ſalmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a ſalmon: but this is in like ſort vnneceſ-ſarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie ri-uers ſiues if you cut a turfe, and laie it with the graſſe downewards, vpon the earth, in ſuch ſort as the water may touch it as it paſſeth by, you ſhall haue a brood of eeles, it would ſeeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued with no leſſe aſſurance of ſome, than that an horſe haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in ſhort time ſtirre and become a liuing crea-ture. But ſith the certeintie of theſe things is rather proued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it paſſe at this time. Neuerthe-leſſe this is generallie obſerued in the maintenance of frie ſo well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of ſpawne we vſe to throw in faggots made of wil-low and ſallow, and now and then of buſhes for want of the other, whereby ſuch ſpawne as falleth into the ſame is preſerued and kept from the pike, perch, eele and other fiſh, of which the carpe alſo will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the ſtore and increaſe of proper kind. Some vſe in euerie fift or ſeauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the ſum-mer time, to the end they may gather graſſe, and a thin ſwart for the fiſh to feed vpon; and afterwards ſtore them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue ſpawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not aboue foure or fiue behind, euen in the greateſt ponds, by meanes whereof the reſt do proſper the better: and this obſeruation is moſt vſed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fiſh) it proſpereth euerie where, I meane ſo well in ponds as riuers, and alſo in motes and pittes, as I do know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our freſh fiſh, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto ſuch of the ſalt water as are taken vpon our coaſts. As our foules therefore haue their ſeaſons, ſo likewiſe haue all our ſorts of ſea fiſh: whereby it commeth to paſſe that none, or at the leaſt wiſe verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheleſſe, the ſeas that inui-ron our coaſts, are of all other moſt plentifull: for as by reaſon of their depth they are a great ſuccour, ſo our low ſhores miniſter great plentie of food vnto the fiſh that come thereto, no place being void or bar-ren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fiſh, as rochet, and gur-nard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muſkles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Julie, with conger. In Auguſt and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths inſuing with the ſame, as alſo thornbacke and reigh of all ſorts; all which are the moſt vſuall, and wherewith our com-mon ſort are beſt of all refreſhed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the ſeaſons, nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe: and therefore if I ſhould take vpon me to deſcribe or ſpeake of either of them abſolutelie, I ſhould enter-priſe more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſorts of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſeene, to the end I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without the re-herſall of ſomething, although the whole ſumme of that which I haue to ſaie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full diſcourſe hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fiſhes therefore as I find fiue ſorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and ſhelled: ſo the flat are diuided into the ſmoth, ſcaled and tailed. Of the firſt are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or ſea flounder, dorree, dab, &c. Of the ſecond the ſoles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, king-ſons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt part either dried and carried into other countries, or ſodden, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whileſt the leſſer be fried or buttered; ſome after they be taken as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are common-lie comprehended lumps, an vglie fiſh to fight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dreſſed: the whiting (an old waiter or ſeruitor in the court) the rochet, ſea breame, pirle, hake, ſea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, ſprat, and ſuch like. And theſe are they whereof I haue beſt knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coaſts. Under this kind alſo are all the great fiſh conteined, as the ſcale, the dolphin, the porpoiſe, the thirlepole, whale, and whatſoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are congers, eeles, garefiſh, and ſuch other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, nei-ther haue I ſeene anie more of this ſort than the Po-lypus called in Engliſh the lobſter, craſiſh or creuis, and the crab. As for the little craſiſhes they are not taken in the ſea, but plentifullie in our freſh riuers in banks, and vnder ſtones, where they keepe them-ſelues in moſt ſecret maner; and oft by likeneſſe of colour with the ſtones among which they lie, deceiue euen the ſkilfull takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maiſon ruſtique,

Flat fiſh.

Round fiſh.

Long fiſh.

Legged fiſh.

ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſtars be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts; but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well reherſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, whoſe value in old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, ſcalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, June, Julie, and Auguſt, which are void of the letter R: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I pelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie ſomewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie attempted and begun.

Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

Flat fiſh.

Round fiſh.

This is cheerfelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Twed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greeuous wolfes and cruell fores, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred wolfes, whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire, and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie wolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne (as I haue ſaid) in England.

Wolfes.

Long fiſh.

Legged fiſh.

Tribute of wolfes ſkins.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be; but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſeback or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage creatures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of thoſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, thar: anie man would of ſet purpoſe repleniſh the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.

Of fores we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, brome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied becauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to rot them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

Fores.

Badgers.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weaſell, ſtote, fulmart, ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*: alſo of the otter, and likewiſe of the beuer, whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their neſts, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their ſaid tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as

Beuers.

Verto-

Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their attractiue force, proceeding from a vehement sauour wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, chéefelie about Balaschám, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Deffie in Wales) is not wanting or to séeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow déere, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselues they are not offensiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iustlie reproued of many; as are in like sort our huge flocks of shéepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, woll, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yong males which our fallow déere doo bring forth, are commonlie named according to their seuerall ages: for the first yéere it is a fawne, the second a pucket, the third a sorell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yéers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rowtie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yéerelie mew and cast their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doo grise or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red déere, I find that the yong male is called in the first yéere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spaie, the fourth a stagon or stag, the fift a great stag, the sixt an hart, and so forth vnto his death. And with him in degrée of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and woolfe. The fallow déere as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) doo make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow déere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that séelie beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters doo vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are passimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoeuer Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in talking of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as eftsoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horsses fét, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appéere by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but most willinglie lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an od or chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Hereunto beside that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdaining (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but chéeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherwith to trouble his eiesight in anie manner of wise. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trées, to sharpen his téeth, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so nere togither, that the one (if néed be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his passime, either on horssebacke or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the yonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue béene about Blackleie nére Manchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said alreadie.

Stags.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a mere scotterie to pursue anie fallow déere with hounds or greihounds, but supposed himselfe al waies to haue donne a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vplhot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polymnestor Milesius, of whome it is written, how he ran so swiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardlie beléeue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and swiftlie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I doo read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red déere is a right princelie passime. In diuerse forren countries they cause their red and fallow déere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horsses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue béene séene and vsed in Wales, where he did eat chéese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans house, whose wife of purpose kept a deirie of the same. As for the plowing with oxes (which I suppose to be vnlikelie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vsed in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be séene in England. Wherfore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and sauage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken alreadie sufficientlie

Hinds haue béene milked

sufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Of hawkes and rauenous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie iust report how manie sorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of those that are vsuallie had among vs are disclosed within this land, I thinke it more easie and lesse difficult to set downe. First of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerse of our rockes whereon they breed, if speach did serue, could well declare the same. But the most excellent aierie of all is not much from Chester, at a castell called Dinas Bren, sometime builded by Brennus, as our writers do remember. Certes this castell is no great thing, but yet a pile sometime verie strong and inaccessible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It standeth vpon an hard rocke, in the side whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This also is notable in the ouerthrow of hir nest (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither must be sure of two large baskets, and so prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may sit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwise the eagle would kill him, and teare the flesh from his bones with hir sharpe talons though his apparell were neuer so good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne do shew anie difference of sex, I meane betweene the male and female, so we haue great store of them. And neere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neasts, therwith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuersitie of kind betweene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vsed the word erne in most places for the eagle. We haue also the lanner and the lanneret: the tersell and the gosehawke: the musket and the sparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie some (though verie few) marlions. And these are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as these are not wanting with vs, so are they not verie plentifull: wherefore such as delite in hawking do make their chiefe puruiance & prouision for the same out of Danske, Germanie, and the Eastcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at excessiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are sold for almost right naught, and vsuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforesaid foules) almost of euerie man. It is said that the sparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that she taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one silie foule, doth let it go to make some shift for it selfe. But hereof as I stand in some doubt, so this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the sparhawke is enimie to yong children, as is also the ape; but of the pecocke she is maruellouslie afraid & so appalled, that all courage & stomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the sight thereof. But to proceed with the rest. Of other rauenous birds we haue also verie great plentie, as the bullard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & such as often annoie our countrie dames by spoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, duckes and goslings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned also the waie: and so much are our rauens giuen to this kind of spoils, that some idle and curious heads of set purpose haue manned, reclaimed, and vsed them in steed of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauen should be the vulture, and I was almost persuaded in times past to beleeue the same: but finding of late a description of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a second kind of eagle, I freelie surcease to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a sort the shape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, so are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their sides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith also their gorge or a part of their breast vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is also verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie resemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occasion to intreat further. I haue seene the carren crowes so cunning also by their owne industrie of late, that they haue vsed to soare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & suddenlie comming downe haue caught a small fish in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this present the aforesaid riuer is not without some of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue also ospraies which breed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the keepers of the same do reape in breeding time no small commoditie: for so soone almost as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of sundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, do neuer cease to bring fish vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is such as is well fed, or not of the worst sort. It hath not beene my hap hitherto to see anie of these foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another resembling a goose wherewith to swim; but whether it be so or not so, I refer the further search and triall thereof vnto some other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to such fish as come within the wind of it. There is no cause wherefore I should describe the cormorant amongst hawkes, of which some be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I should call him a water hawke. But sith such dealing is not conuenient, let vs now see what may be said of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

Of venemous beasts.

Chap. 6.

IF I should go about to make anie long discourse of venemous beasts or wormes bred in England, I should attempt more than occasion it selfe would readilie offer, sith we haue verie few worms, but no beasts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. First of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tong called an atter) which

some

ſome men do not raſhlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be ſo, then is it not the viper author of the death of hir * parents, as ſome hiſtories affirme; and thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica, lib.3.cap.38.* where he maketh mention of a ſhe adder which he ſaw in Sala, whoſe wombe (as he ſaith) was eaten out after a like faſhion, hir yong ones lieng by hir in the ſunne ſhine, as if they had béene earth worms. Neuertheleſſe as he nameth them *Viperas*, ſo he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the ſame ſerpent which his countrimen to this daie call Ein atter, as I haue alſo noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am perſuaded that the ſlaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their ſuperfluous increaſe by ſome meanes or other) and ſo much the rather am I led hereunto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine *Vipera quaſi viuipara:* but of hir owne death he doth not (to my remembrance) ſaie any thing. It is teſtified alſo by other in other words, & to the like ſenſe, that *Echis id eſt vipera ſola ex ſerpentibus non ouaſed animalia parit.* And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philoſtratus *De vita Appollonij*, how he ſaw a viper licking hir yong. I did ſee an adder once my ſelfe that laie (as I thought) ſléeping on a moule hill, out of whoſe mouth came eleuen yong adders of twelue or thirtéene inches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the graſſe one with another, till ſome of them eſpied me. So ſone therefore as they ſaw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a ſoft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indéed. The colour of their ſkin is for the moſt part like ruſtie iron or iron graie: but ſuch as be verie old reſemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they caſt their old ſkins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) ſo their ſtinging bringeth death without preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſing to ſwell, neither the venem to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcend vpward to the hart, where it finiſheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*) be ſpéedilie miniſtred and dronke in ſtrong ale, or elſe ſome other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the ſame. The length of them is moſt commonlie two foot and ſomwhat more, but ſeldome doth it extend vnto two foot ſix inches, except it be in ſome rare and monſtrous one: whereas our ſnakes are much longer, and ſéene ſometimes to ſurmount a yard, or three foot, although their poiſon be nothing ſo grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder ſtones, as Ariſtotle alſo ſaith of the viper Lib.8.cap.15. and in holes of the earth, rotten ſtubs of trées, and amongſt the dead leaues: but in the heat of the ſummer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon ſome hillocke, or elſewhere in the graſſe. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and higheſt grounds, where ſometimes (though ſeldome) a ſpeckled ſtone called Echites, in dutch Ein atter ſtein, is gotten out of their dried carcaſes, which diuers report to be good againſt their poiſon. As for our ſnakes, which in Latine are properlie named *Angues*, they commonlie are ſéene in mores, fens, lomie vales, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great ſtore of todes where adders commonlie are found, ſo do frogs abound where ſnakes do kéepe their reſidence. We haue alſo the ſloworme, which is blacke and graieth of colour, and ſomewhat ſhorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that the was not ſo called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuertheleſſe we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which ſome alſo do call (and vpon better ground) by the name of ſlow worms, and they are knowen eaſilie by their more or leſſe varietie of ſtriped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little exceéding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This alſo is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of ſerpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our ſnake: but as theſe are not ordinarie and oft to be ſéene, ſo I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the ſcorpion, a plague of God ſent not long ſince into Italie, and whoſe poiſon (as Apollodorus ſaith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane ſpider, whoſe poiſon bringeth death, except muſike be at hand. Wherefore I ſuppoſe our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of theſe two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue alſo eéts, both of the land and water, and likewiſe the noiſome ſwifts, whereof to ſais anie more it ſhould be but loſſe of time, ſith they are well knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (ſith it ſhall not be amiſſe a little to touch them alſo) we haue none that can do hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie: for whether they be cut waſted, or whole bodied, they are void of poiſon and all venemous inclination. The cut or girt waſted (for ſo I Engliſh the word Inſecta) are the hornets, waſpes, bées, and ſuch like, whereof we haue great ſtore, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the firſt do bréed of the corruption of dead horſſes, the ſecond of peares and apples corrupted, and the laſt of kine and oxen; which may be true, eſpecallie the firſt and latter in ſome parts of the beaſt, and not their whole ſubſtances, as alſo in the ſecond, ſith we haue neuer waſpes, but when our fruit beginneth to warripe. In déed Virgil and others ſpeake of a generation of bées, by killing or ſmothering of a bruſed bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his fleſh wrapped vp in his hide in a cloſe houſe for a certeine ſeaſon; but how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet ſure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may ſée by our ſelues, whoſe fleſh doth alter into lice; and alſo in ſhéepe for exceſſiue numbers of fleſh flies, if they be ſuffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and ſwine, who often and happilie preuent ſuch needleſſe generations.

As concerning bées, I thinke it good to remember, that whereas ſome ancient writers affirme it to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing ſo. In old time peraduenture we had none in déed, but in my daies there is ſuch plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in ſome vplandiſh townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the ſaid hiues are not ſo huge as thoſe of the eaſt countrie, but far leſſe, as not able to conteine aboue one buſhell of corne, or fiue pecks at the moſt. Plinie (a man that of ſet purpoſe deliteth to write of wonders) ſpeaking of honie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of ſuch quantitie, that ſome one combe conteined eight foot in length, & yet (as it ſhould ſéeme) he ſpeketh not of the greateſt. For in Podolia, which is now ſubiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are ſo great,

*Galenus de Theriaca ad Piſonem, *Plin.lib.10. cap.62.

Slowworme.

Adder or viper.

Eéts. Swifts.

Flies.

Cut waſted. Whole bodied. Hornets. Waſpes.

Snakes.

Sol.cap.40. Plin.lib.37. cap.11.

Todes. Frogs.

Honie.

great and combes ſo abundant, that huge boxes ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out. Slowworme.

Our honie alſo is taken and reputed to be the beſt, bicauſe it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier veſſelled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtreine their combs, bées, and yong blowings altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our phyſicians and apothecaries eſchew the forren, eſpeciallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reaſon of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the ſame, as ſome write, and chooſe the home made: not onelie by reaſon of our ſoile, which hath no leſſe plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and maketh the beſt ſtuffe; as alſo for that it bréedeth (being gotten in harueſt time) leſſe choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue ſéene by experience) ſo white as ſugar, and corned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie ſtraw, and wadled about with bramble quarters: but ſome make the ſame of wicker, and call them ouer with claie. Wée cheriſh none in trées, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, prouiding that they may ſtand drie and without danger both of the mouſe and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that whereas in veſſels of oile, that which is néereſt the top is counted the fineſt, and of wine that in the middeſt: ſo of honie the beſt which is beauieſt and moiſteſt is alwaies next the bottome, and euermore caſteth and driueth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid ſubſtances, whoſe grounds and lées do generallie ſettle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and Engliſh honie. honie. Eftes. Swifts. Flies. Cutwalled. Whole bodied. Hornets. Waſpes.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and ſuch venemous creatures of the ſame kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we béetles, horſeflies, turdbugs or dorres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locuſt or the graſhopper (which to me doo ſéeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and ſuch like, whereof let other intreat that make an exerciſe in catching of flies, but a far greater ſport in offering them to ſpiders. As did Domitian ſometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited ſo much to ſée the follie combats betwixt a ſtout flie and an old ſpider, that diuerſe men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouiſion of flies made onelie for this purpoſe. Some paraſites alſo in the time of the aforeſaid emperour, (when they were diſpoſed to laugh at his follie, and yet would ſéeme in appearance to gratifie his fantaſticall head with ſome ſhew of dutifull demenour) could deuiſe to ſet their lord on worke, by letting a fleſh flie priuilie into his chamber, which he forthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) and neuer ceaſed till he had caught hir into his fingers: whereupon aroſe the prouerbe, *Ne muſca quidem*, vttered firſt by Vibius Priſcus, who being aſked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, anſwered, *Ne muſca quidem*, whereby he noted his follie. There are ſome cockeſcombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men tranſregionate, which make account alſo of this paſtime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is ſéene betwene them, if either of them be luſtie and couragious in his kind. One alſo hath made a booke of the ſpider and the flie, wherein he dealeth ſo profoundlie, and beyond all meaſure of ſkill, that neither he himſelfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe follie fellows in ſtéed of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) would beſtow the coſt to ſet a foles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more ſecuritie and leſſe reprehenſion behold theſe notable battels.

Now as concerning the locuſt, I am led by diuerſe of my countrie, who (as they ſay) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when thoſe nations were greatlie annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie conſtantlie, that they ſaw none other creature than the graſhopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was ſaid to come to them from the Meotides. In moſt of our tranſlations alſo of the bible, the word *Locuſta* is Engliſhed a graſhopper, and therevnto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwiſe John the Baptiſt would neuer haue liued with them in the wilderneſſe. In Barbarie, Numidia, and ſundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue bæne, ſo are they eaten to this date powdred in barels, and therefore the people of thoſe parts are called Acedophagi: neuertheles they ſhorten the life of the eaters by the production at the laſt of an irkeſome and filthie diſeaſe. In India they are three ſpot long, in Ethiopia much ſhorter, but in England ſeldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath ſome likelihood, but not verie great, with the graſhopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this caſe. Finallie Matthiolus, and ſo manie as deſcribe the locuſt, doo ſet downe none other forme than that of our graſhopper, which maketh me ſo much the more to reſt vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locuſt and graſhopper are one. Séé Diodorus Siculus.

Of our Engliſh dogs and *their qualities.*

Chap. 7.

THere is no countrie that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not ſend to Epyro for ſuch merchandize: but to his further coſt prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and péece of huſbandrie for his common wealth, which he furniſhed of ſet purpoſe with Molollian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the ſame alſo with ſhéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Parus, ſwine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatiſe vnto Geſner *De canibus Anglicis*, bringeth them all into three ſorts: that is, the gentle kind ſeruing for game: the homelie kind apt for ſundrie vſes: and the curriſh kind méet for many toies. For my part I can ſay no more of them than he hath done alredie. Wherefore I will here ſet downe onelie a ſumme of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our maſtiffes ſhall yet more largelie appeare. As for thoſe of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were ſometime killed in ſacrifice, and ſometime their whelps eaten as a delicate diſh, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be diſpoſed to read of them, let him reſort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, mawgre the reſiſtance of his aduerſaries: alſo to Cardan, lib. 10. *De animalibus*, Ariſtotle, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who

who is not afraid to compare ſome of them for greatneſſe with oxen, and ſome alſo for ſmalneſſe vnto the little field mouſe. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who ſaith that the Galles did ſomtime buy vp all our maſtiffes, to ſerue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they reſembled the Colophonians, Caſkabalenſes of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie alſo ſpeaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The firſt ſort therefore he diuideth either into ſuch as rouſe the beaſt, and continue the chaſe, or ſpringeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by purſute. And as theſe are commonlie called ſpaniels, ſo the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight ſorts, of which the formoſt excelleth in perfect ſmelling, the ſecond in quicke eſpieng, the third in ſwiftneſſe and quickeneſſe, the fourth in ſmelling and nimbleneſſe, &c: and the laſt in ſubtiltie and deceitfulneſſe. Theſe (ſaith Strabo) are moſt apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie becauſe of their ſkill in hunting, but alſo for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes moſt exactlie. For if the hunter ſee anie one to follow ſkilfullie, and with likelihood of good ſucceſſe, he biddeth the reſt to harke and follow ſuch a dog, and they eftſoones obeie ſo ſone as they heare his name. The firſt kind of theſe are alſo commonlie called harriers, whoſe game is the fox, the hare, the woolfe (if we hap anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopkart, weſell, conie, &c: the ſecond hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whoſe office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to purſue a theefe or beaſt by his dole foot: the fourth hight a gaſehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his ſtrength, ſwiftnes, and ſtature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatiſe, but aboue all other thoſe of Britaine, where he ſaith:

——*& magna ſpectandi male Britanni*,

alſo by Nemeſianus, libro Cynegetico, where he ſaith:

Diuiſa Britannia mittit
Veloces noſtrig, orbis venatibus aptos,

of which ſort alſo ſome be ſmooth, of ſundrie colours, and ſome ſhake haired: the firſt a liemer, that excelleth in ſmelling and ſwift running: the ſeuenth a tumbler: and the eight a theefe, whoſe offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft ſo ſkilfull, that few men would thinke ſo miſchiefous a wit to remaine in ſuch fillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chaſe and hunting, he commeth next to ſuch as ſerue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh alſo two ſorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp ſuch foule as keepeth in the water: and of theſe this is commonlie moſt vſuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he doth ſhew at large. Of the firſt he ſaith, that they haue no peculiar names aſſigned to them ſeuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or ſeeke, for which conſideration ſome be named dogs for the feaſant, ſome for the falcon, and ſome for the partrich. Howbeit, the common name for all is ſpaniell (ſaith he) and therevpon alludeth, as if theſe kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like ſort we haue of water ſpaniels in their kind. The third ſort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the ſpaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the ſitting hound, and thoſe are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. Theſe are little and prettie, proper and fine, and ſought out far and neere to ſatiſfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens wils; inſtruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treaſure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exerciſes, and to content their corrupt concupiſcences with vaine diſport, a fillie poore ſhift to ſhun their irkeſome idleneſs. Theſe Sybariticall puppies, the ſmaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleaſure alſo they prouoke, as meet plaiefellowes for minſing miſtreſſes to beare in their boſoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to ſuccour with ſleepe in bed, and nourish with meat at boord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yong Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for courſeneſſe with fineneſſe hath no fellowſhip, but featneſſe with neatneſſe hath neighbourhead inough. That plauſible prouerbe therefore verefied ſometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his ſow better than his ſonne, may well be applied to ſome of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all poſſibilitie of reaſon, than they doo in children that are capable of wiſedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the beſt, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the worſt. But the former abuſe peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of iſſue, elſe where barrenneſſe is the beſt bloſſome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne iſſue are not readie to be had. It is thought of ſome that it is verie wholeſome for a weake ſtomach to beare ſuch a dog in the boſome, as it is for him that hath the palſie to feele the dailie ſmell and ſauour of a for. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it ſhall ſuffice for Doctor Caius to haue ſaid thus much of ſpaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Some barke and bite not.

Some bite and barke not

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either ſhepheards curs, or maſtiffes. The firſt are ſo common, that it needeth me not to ſpeake of them. Their vſe alſo is ſo well knowne in keeping the heard together (either when they graſe or go before the ſhepheard) that it ſhould be but in vaine to ſpend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the maſtiffe, tie dog, or bandog, ſo called becauſe manie of them are tied vp in chaines and ſtrong bonds, in the daie time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, ſtubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little ſwiftneſſe) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Coꝛſican cur. Our Engliſhmen to the intent that theſe dogs may be more cruell and fierce, aſſiſt nature with ſome art, vſe and cuſtome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, ſtout and bold: yet will they increaſe theſe their ſtomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other ſuch like cruell and bloudie beaſts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the ſame purpoſe) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wreſtling with a man (hauing for the ſafegard of his life either a pike ſtaffe, club, ſword, priuie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto ſtrangers. The Caſpians made ſo much account ſometime of ſuch great dogs, that euerie able man would nourish ſundrie of them in his houſe of ſet purpoſe, to the end they ſhould deuoure their carcaſes after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the moſt honourable ſepulchers. The common people alſo followed the ſame rate, and therfore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof theſe beaſts became the more eger, and with great

Homelie kind of dogs.

Tie dogs.

difficultie

difficultie after a while restreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digressed? In returning therefore to our owne, I saie that of mastiffes, some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, some do both barke and bite, but the cruellest do either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take also their name of the word male and theele (or master theele if you will) bicause they often stound and put such persons to their shifts in townes and villages, and are the principall causes of their apprehension and taking. The force which is in them surmounteth all beleefe, and the fast hold which they take with their teeth exceedeth all credit: for three of them against a beare, foure against a lion are sufficient to trie maistries with them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all such curres to be hanged, bicause they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and souereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as some saie, bicause he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, saieng that it was not meet for anie subiect to offer such wrong vnto his lord and superiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the seauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one English mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe first an huge beare, then a pard, and last of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one date, when the lord Buckhurst was ambassador vnto him, and whereof if I should write the circumstances, that is, how he toke his aduantage being let lose vnto them, and finallie draue them into such exceeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credit: wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof. Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night, some are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and yard, are so gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleasures. Diuerse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer their maister and whosoeuer of his household, that if a stranger do imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame mischeefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bithinia, who seeing Consigne the queene to imbrace and kisse hir husband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mauger his resistance, and the present aid of such as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will suffer a stranger to come in and walke about the house or yard where him listeth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and loue towards their maisters than horsses; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Masinissa reposed in them, in so much that mistrusting his household seruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treasons and conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of lesse force than the Molossian race, brought from Epiro into some countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the brasen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Iupiter, who also deliuered the same to Europa, she to Pasiphris, and Pasiphris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maister long time from slaughter, till at the last he was remooued by policie, and the tyrant killed sleeping: the storie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the said Phereus and hir three brethren conspired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog onelie, she found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house hard by, whilest they should execute their purpose. Neuertheless, when they came to the bed where he laie sleeping, they ware faint harted, till she did put them in choise, either that they should dispatch him at once, or else that she hir selfe would wake hir husband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the least wise bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched him.

Some barke and bite not.

Some bite and barke not.

Homelie kind of dogs.

Tie dogs.

The last sort of dogs consisteth of the currish kind meet for manie toies: of which the whappet or prickeard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicause they are good for nothing else but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie doth stirre or lie in wait about the house in the night season. Certes it is vnpossible to describe these curs in anie order, bicause they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themselues, but are a confused companie mixt of all the rest. The second sort of them are called turne spits, whose office is not vnknowne to anie. And as these are onelie reserued for this purpose, so in manie places our mastiffes (beside the vse which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to draw water in great wheeles out of deepe wels, going much like vnto those which are framed for our turne spits, as is to be seene at Rotsson, where this feat is often practised. Besides these also we haue holts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and much made of among vs, bicause of their sawcinesse and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie sore, and loue candles exceedinglie, as do the men and women of their countrie: but I may saie no more of them, bicause they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, that when a great man of those parts came of late into one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparelled in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilest hir husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell to and eat them vp euerie one, supposing hir selfe to haue beene at a iollie banket, and shewing verie pleasant gesture when hir husband came vp againe vnto hir.

The last kind of toiesh curs are named dansers, and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taught & exercised to danse in measure at the musicall sound of an instrument, as at the iust stroke of a drum, sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie of the harpe, shewing manie trickes by the gesture of their bodies: as to stand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their teeth, to saw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and sundrie such properties, which they learne of their idle rogish maisters whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured short wasted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who seeke no bet-

ter liuing, than that which they may get by fond pastime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betweene a bitch and a woolfe, and called *Lycisca*: a thing verie often seene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie these sault bitches often in woods, that they might be lotted by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we reherse want the first that, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendred and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ougly and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For what soeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither woolfe, beare, nor lion, and therefore may well be compared with those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (& procreated as it is thought betweene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hyrcania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betweene shee woolfes and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpose, more than the constitution of Cardans talke, *De subt. lib.* 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs do become woolfes, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath set a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is impossible that his assertion can be sound.

Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.

Chap. 8.

AS the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in sweetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, sometime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Esser, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The rot of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not cloued as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance *Inter bulbosa*, as *Orchis*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Statyrion*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogither so brickle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe florisheth the rot is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small rots die, so that when the time doth come to take them vp, they haue no rots at all, but so continue vntill September that they do grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to the air on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or stuble, some also will worke for them in verie eger maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the flowres be gathered and gone, pointed on a little fuft much like vnto our cines. Sometimes our carroll will feed vpon the same; neuertheles, if it be bitten whilest it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from such attendance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the carter be neet fast thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie flowre we find commonlie three chiues, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted flowres I speake not; yet is it found, that two flowres grow together, which being both fiue chiues, so that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though three or foure flowres should come out of one rot. The whole herbe is named in Greeke Crocos, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) Castor, Cynomorphos, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borow the name which we giue thereunto) I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called Crocus was this (as the poets feigne) specially those from whome Galen hath borowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis secundum loca*, where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocus to be the first that vsed this commoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocus went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being heedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great discomfort of his frends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chiue as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ very much from Ouids Metamorphos. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbruised, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to do with fables?

Occasion of the name.

Raising.

The heads of saffron are raised in Julie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scowred from their rosse or filth, and seuered from such heads as are ingendred of them since the last setting, they are interred againe in Julie and August by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small rots like vnto a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same removed, to the intent that nothing may annoie the flowre when as his time doth come to rise.

Paring.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the flowre beginneth to appeare of a whitish blew, resse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the middest thereof three chiues verie red and pleasant to behold. These flowres are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or flitter. And the chiues being picked from the flowres, these are throwne into the

Gathering.

See Rembert.

downhill,

downehill; the other dried vpon little kells couered with skreined canuasses vpon a soft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laied vpon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeres we gather foure score or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried doth yeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and sith the price of saffron is commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the setter, which indeed are great, but yet not so great as he shall be thereby a loser, if he be a nie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sixteene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for clensing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of dung which is worth six pence the load to be laid on the first yeere, for the setting three and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he sustaine no damage, if warme weather and open season do happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeres that ground will serue well; and without compest for barleie by the space of eightéene or twentie yéeres togither, as experience doth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middest fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chiue wareth smaller, as six at the last will do no more but yéeld one of the dried, by reason of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie obserue.

Occasion of the name.

Raising.

The heads are raised euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rosse commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yéere after they be set they yéeld verie little increase: yet that which then commeth is counted the finest and greatest chiue, & best for medicine, and called saffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe about Walden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to child, that is, to yéeld out of some parts of them diuerse other headlets, whereby it hath béene séene, that some one head hath béene increased (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or fiue, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause wherby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne foure bushels or a come of them to be valued much aboue two shillings eight pence, except in some od yéeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them vp.

Paring.

Gathering.

See Rember.

In Norfolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yéeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie iackes vse to mix it with scraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is soone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plentie of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them fro or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilest the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them (as wishing rather more scarsitie thereof because of the keeping vp of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saieng that he did thite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselues no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vnthankfulnesse, & gaue them euer since such scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store; and most of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine scarse able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about Saffron Walden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine sixteene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint Iames tide, or verie shortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midsummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will shrinke like a rosted warden: so after August they will war drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of forie daies and more: yet some of them haue brought forth two or three floures a peece, and some floures three or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or saffron men do vse an obseruation a little before the comming vp of the floure, and sometime in the taking vp at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and scarsitie of this commoditie to come. For if they sée as it were many small hairie veines of saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man shall discerne the saffron by the colour, and sée where about the chiue will issue out of the rot. Warme darke nights, sweet dews, fat grounds (chéefle the chalkie) and milkie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold do kill and kéepe backe the floure, or else shrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degrée, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yéere wherein ewes twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit vsed in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the worst saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spoone, or by the softnesse thereof betweene the fore finger and the thumbe; or shirtlie, by

the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worſe ſaffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the ſwartneſſe of the chiue, which otherwiſe would excell it, and therevnto being ſound, remaine criſpe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden neere the face, will ſtrike a certeine biting heat vpon the ſkin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indeed among the ſkilfull crokers.

Now if it pleaſe you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note theſe inſuing at the requeſt of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatſoeuer breuitie I liſted. Therefore our ſaffron (beſide the manifold vſe that it hath in the kitchin and paſtrie, alſo in our cakes at bridals, and thankſgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with thoſe medicins which we take for the diſeaſes of the breaſt, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good alſo for the ſtomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the ſame and maketh good digeſtion: being ſodden alſo in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from drunkenneſſe, but incourageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for thoſe that are troubled with the tiſike and ſhortneſſe of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it ſtaieth ſuch humors as deſcend into the ſame, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be ſowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in preſſes amongſt tapiſtrie or apparell: alſo it is verie profitable laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apoſthumes, and the chingles; and doth no ſmall eaſe vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with ſuch medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vſe alſo in ripening of botches and all ſwellings proceeding of raw humors. Or if it ſhall pleaſe you to drinke the root thereof with maluaſie, it will marueilouſlie prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and yeeld no ſmall eaſe to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one ſhilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poiſon; as Dioſcorides doth affirme: and drunke in wine (ſaith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. *De honeſta voluptate*, doth haſt on drunkenneſſe, which is verie true. And I haue knowne ſome, that by eating onelie of bread more than of cuſtome ſtreined with ſaffron, haue become like drunken men, & yet otherwiſe well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this alſo, if a man doo but open and ranſake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants doo when they buie it of the crokers, it will ſtrike ſuch an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they ſhall be giddie and ſicke (I meane for two or three houres ſpace) their noſes and eies in like ſort will yeeld ſuch plentie of rheumatike water, that they ſhall be the better for it long after, eſpeciallie their eieſight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit ſome merchants not liking of this phyſike, muffle themſelues as women doo when they ride, and put on ſpectacles ſet in leather, which doth in ſome meaſure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof. There groweth ſome ſaffron in manie places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, which later is taken for the beſt that ſpringeth in thoſe quarters. In ſtead of this ſome doo vſe the Carthamus, called amongſt vs baſtard ſaffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in anie wiſe comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the valle of the White horſſe ſo well as in Walden and Cambridgeſhire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of ſome alſo to be cheriſhed alreadie in Glocеſterſhire, and certeine other places weſtward. But of the fineneſſe and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prouided more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or woll. But alas! ſo idle are we; and heretofore ſo much giuen to eaſe, by reaſon of the ſmalneſſe of our rents, that few men regard to ſearch out which are their beſt commodities. But if landlords hold on to raiſe the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and ſcratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aſide. The greateſt mart for ſaffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an eſpeciall weight for the ſame of ten pounds leſſe in the hundred than that of Florens and Venice: but how it agreeth with ours it ſhall appeare hereafter.

Of quarries of ſtone for building.

Chap. 9.

Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our ſtone to build withall, & of theſe as we haue great plentie in England, ſo are they of diuerſe ſorts, and thoſe verie profitable for ſundrie neceſſarie vſes. In times paſt the vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houſes, princely palaces, biſhops manours, and holds onlie: but now that ſcrupulous obſeruation is altogither infringed, and building with ſtone ſo commonlie taken vp, that amongſt noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and leaſt continuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet downe how manie ſorts of ſtone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, ſuch is the curioſitie of our countrimen, that notwithſtanding almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner, with ſuch and ſo manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longeſt continuance, yet we as lothſome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doo commonlie leaue theſe naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie conſumed and ſpent, to the no ſmall decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that periſh oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in miſliking of our owne commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroad, moſt eſteemed the cane ſtone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in theſe our daies following the ſame veine, doo couet in their works almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide, and our ſkilfull maſons on the other (whoſe iudgement is nothing inferiour to thoſe of other countries) doo affirme, that in the north and ſouth parts of England, and certeine other places, there are ſome quarries, which for hardneſſe and beautie are equall to the outlandiſh greet. This maie alſo be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquare ſtone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white free ſtone, ſlate, and more ſtone, which is betweene

twéne Pentowen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine ſtuffe. Other doo ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and paving ſtone of Burbecke. For toph ſtone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dzeſleie, diuerſe miſlike not of the veines of hard ſtone that are at Drford, and Burford. One praiſeth the free ſtone at Hanchelter, & Peſtburie in Glocelterſhire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard ſtone in Cloe hill in Shropſhire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, ſufficient for vs to build withall, if the peeuiſh contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch ſuch foliſh hold vpon vs. It is alſo verified (as anie other waie) that all nations haue rather need of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may ſuffice for the ſubſtance of our works. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of ſundrie kinds of courſe & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chiefflie one in Staffordſhire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at Vauldrie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Egleſtone, which is of blacke marble, ſpotted with graie or white ſpots, the firſt not farre from Durham. Of white marble alſo we haue ſtore, and ſo faire as the Parpelian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the moſt excellent? ſith theſe which I haue named alredie are not altogither of the beſt, nor ſcarſelie of anie value in compariſon of thoſe, whoſe places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble ſpotted with greene is none of the vileſt ſort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and alſo in Weſtminſter, where ſome peeces thereof are yet to be ſeene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not ſerue, then haue we the fineſt alabaſter that maie elſewhere bee had, as about ſaint Dauids of Wales; alſo neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leiceſter, & taken to be the beſt, although there are diuerſe other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkeſhire, &c: and ſullie ſo good as that, whoſe names at this time are out of my remembrance. What ſhould I talke of the plaiſter of Arholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in ſundrie places of Lincolne and Darbiſhires, wherewith they blanch their houſes in ſtead of lime, I ſpeake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaſter. But ſith it is ſold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and courſe. For my part I cannot skill of ſtone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vſe for plaiſter of paris, and ſuch is the nature of it, that the ſtones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the ſame is an exceeding hard ſtone verie profitable for building, as hath often times beene proued. This is alſo to be marked further of our plaiſter white and graie, that not contented with the ſame, as God by the quarrie doth ſend and yéeld it forth, we haue now deuiſed to caſt it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and faſhion we liſt, euen as alabaſter it ſelfe: and with ſuch ſtuffe ſundrie houſes in Yorkſhire are furniſhed of late. But of what continuance this deuiſe is like to proue, the time to come ſhall eaſilie bewraie. In the meane time ſir Rafe Burcher knight hath put the deuiſe in practiſe, and affirmeth that ſir men in ſir moneths ſhall trauell in that trade to ſée greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in ſix yeares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaſter nor marble doth ſuffice, we haue the touchſtone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, ſhining as glaſſe, either to match in ſockets with our pillers of alabaſter, or contrariwiſe: or if it pleaſe the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaſter or touch with ſockets of braſſe, pewter, or copper, we want not alſo theſe mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuerſitie of ſtuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our ſelues could ſo like of it. But ſuch alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do moſt of all delite vs; & for deſire of noueltie, we oft exchange our fineſt cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorſſes for children, dogs of wax or of cheſs, two pennie tabers, leaden ſwords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for diſards, hawkeſwhoods, and ſuch like trumperie, whereby we reape ſuſt mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for millſtones, that are to be had in diuerſe places of our countrie, as in Angleſeie, Kent, alſo at Queene hope of blew greet, of no leſſe value than the Colaine, yea than the French ſtones: our grindſtones for hardware men. Our whetſtones are no leſſe laudable than thoſe of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vſe no oile with them, as they did in thoſe parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Marians do with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia muſt haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or elſe they make no edge. Theſe alſo are diuided either into the hard greet, as the common that ſhomakers vſe, or the ſoft greet called hones, to be had among the barbars, and thoſe either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle ſtone which huſbandmen do occupie in the whetting of their ſithes.

In like maner ſlate of ſundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the ſhalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wee muſt fetch them ſtill from farre, as did the Hull men their ſtones out of Iſeland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as ſir Thomas Greſham did, when he bought the ſtones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burſe. But as he will anſwer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and ſubſtance of his workemanſhip in Flanders: ſo the Hullanders or Hull men will ſaie, how that ſtockefiſh is light loding, and therfore they did balaſſe their veſſels with theſe Iſeland ſtones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their ſo tedious a voiage. And thus much briefflie of our quarries of ſtone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found ſtrange things incloſed, I meane liuelie creatures ſhut vp in the hard ſtones, and liuing there without reſpiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you ſhall read more in the chronologie following: alſo in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amſterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Niloſcopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime alſo they find pretious ſtones (though ſeldome) and ſome of them perfectlie ſquared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was ſo perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had cõſulted about the performance of that workemanſhip. I know that theſe reports vnto ſome will ſéeme incredible, and therefore I ſtand the longer vpon them; neuertheleſſe omitting to ſpeake particularlie of ſuch things as happen amongſt vs, and rather ſéeking to confirme the ſame by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof ſhall ſo much the better appeare. For in the middeſt of a ſtone not long ſince found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was ſeene *Caput paniſci* incloſed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders do remember. How come the grains of gold to be ſo faſt incloſed in the ſtones

that are & haue bœne found in the Spaniſh Batis? But this is moſt maruellous, that a moſt delectable and ſweet oile, comparable to the fineſt balme, or oile of ſpike in ſmell, was found naturallie included in a ſtone, which could not otherwiſe be broken but with a ſmiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard ſtone, vpon the top of a crag. Ariſtotle and Theophraſt ſpeake of fiſhes digged out of the earth, farre from the ſea in Græece, which Seneca alſo confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a ſerpent was found faſt incloſed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, ſo that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of ſtone at Auignion, wherein a man had bœne buried, which ſo filled the rome, and laie ſo cloſe from aire, that all men wondered how it was poſſible for the ſame to liue and continue ſo long time there. Finallie I my ſelfe haue ſœns ſtones opened, and within them the ſubſtances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far ſhorter) whoſe creſts and wrinkles of bodie appeared alſo therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the ſtones by art and induſtrie of man. Wherefore to affirme, that as well liuing creatures, as pretious ſtones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, ſhall not hereafter be a thing ſo incredible as manie talking philoſophers, void of all experience, do affirme, and wilfullie mainteine againſt ſuch as hold the contrarie.

Of ſundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.

WIth how great benefits this Iland of ours hath bœne indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confeſſe, and yeeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the ſame. For we are bleſſed euerie waie, & there is no temporall commoditie neceſſarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in moſt aboundant maner beſtowed vpon vs Engliſhmen, if we could ſee to vſe it, & be thankefull for the ſame. But alas (as I ſaid in the chapter precedent) we loue to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not worth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe ſaith) in three ſhips from beyond the ſea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewell, eaſie to be had at home. They haue alſo the caſt to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they ſee that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be ſo that they haue alſo the like in their owne countries) they will ſuddenlie abaſe the ſame to ſo low a price, that our gaine not being worthie our trauell, and the ſame commoditie with leſſe coſt readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it cauſeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cauſe wherefore our commodities are oft ſo little eſteemed of. Some of them can ſaie without anie teacher, that they will buie the caſe of a fox of an Engliſhman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiſer, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flouriſh againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be ſhorne and dreſſed abroad, while our clothworkers here do ſtarue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practiſe vtterlie neglect to be ſkilfull in this ſcience! But to my purpoſe.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke ſiluer, antimonie, ſulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue alſo the fineſt alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greateſt fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a ſubiect hath bœne of late egregiouſlie abuſed, and euen almoſt with barbarous inciuilitie) & of no leſſe force againſt fire, if it were vſed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vſe ſomtime amongſt the Aſians & Romans, & wherof Sylla had ſuch triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes ſet it on fire in a long time, becauſe it was waſhed ouer with alume, as were alſo the gates of the temple of Jeruſalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the ſame. Beſide this we haue alſo the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the ſulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is ſcant and geaſon: the chryſocolla, coperis, and minerall ſtone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is moſt ſtrange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatneſſe and colour moſt excellent of all other, ſo are they digged out of the maine land, and in ſundrie places far diſtant from the ſhore. Certes the weſterne part of the land hath in times paſt greatlie abounded with theſe and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are waſhed awaie by the violence of the ſea, which hath deuoured the greateſt part of Cornewall and Deuonſhire on either ſide: and it doth appeare yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great diſtance betweene the Sylian Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to ſpeke of ſcarſelie a broke or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if ſo much, as by thoſe euidences appeareth, and are yet to be ſeene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of thoſe Iles. But to proceed.

The lord Wynning.

Of colemines we haue ſuch plentie in the north and weſterne parts of our Iland, as may ſuffice for all the realme of England: and ſo muſt they do hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherriſhed than it is at this preſent. And to ſaie the truth, notwithſtanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greateſt trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appeare alreadie in moſt cities and townes that lie about the coaſt, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turffe and haſſocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of theſe into Suſſex and Southhampton ſhire, for want whereof the ſmiths do worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cauſe, which is but a ſlender excuſe to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Gold. Siluer.

Beſide our colemines we haue pits in like ſort of white plaſter, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors do compoſt their ſoile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue ſaltpeter for our ordinance, and ſalt ſoda for our glaſſe, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Codington, and ſometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is ſo fine to make moulds for goldſmiths and caſters of mettall, that a load of it was worth fiue ſhillings thirtie yeares agone: none ſuch againe they ſaie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for theſe and other his benefits

beſtowed

beſtowed vpon vs, whereby he ſheweth himſelfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewiſe returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednelle, auarice, mere contempt of his will, pride, exceſſe, atheiſme, and no leſſe than Iewiſh ingratitude.

Of mettals to be had in our land.

Chap. 11.

ALl mettals receiue their beginning of quickſiluer and ſulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And ſuch is the purpoſe of nature in their generations: that ſhe tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuertheleſſe ſhe ſildome reacheth vnto that hir end, becauſe of the vnequall mixture and proportion of theſe two in the ſubſtance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or leſſe, doth ſhew it ſelfe in the mettall that is produced. Firſt of all therefore the ſubſtance of ſulphur and quickſiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, orderlie ingroſſed and fired, becommeth gold, which Encelius doth call the ſunne and right heire of nature: but if it ſwarue but a little (ſaith he) in the commixtion and other circumſtances, then doth it product ſiluer the daughter, not ſo noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the chæſe. Contrariwiſe, the ſubſtances of the aforeſaid parents mixed without proportion, and leſſe digeſted and fired in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moiſture becommeth combuſtible and not of force to indure heat and hammer, doth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the firſt mettals knowne in time paſt vnto antiquitie, although that in theſe daies there are diuerſe other, whereof neither they nor our alchumiſts had euer ante knowledge. Of theſe therfore which are reputed among the third ſort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, ſo will I intreat of them, and with ſuch breuitie as may ſerue the turne, and yet not altogither omit to ſaie ſomewhat of gold and ſiluer alſo, becauſe I find by good experience how it was not ſaid of old time without great reaſon, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it ſelfe of none. For truelie if a man regard ſuch neceſſities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the ſunne, that can ſaie ſo much as ours: ſith we do want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of ſome, neither likewiſe of ſiluer: what ſoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, *Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16.* in whoſe time they were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (ſaith he) *expectatur; conſtat enim aditus inſulæ eſſe munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe vllum in illa inſula, neque vllam ſpem prædæ niſi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut muſicis eruditos expectare.* And albeit that we haue no ſuch abundance of theſe (as ſome other countries do yeeld) yet haue my rich countrimen ſtore inough of both in their purſſes, where in time paſt they were wont to haue leaſt, becauſe the garniſhing of our churches, tabernacles, images, ſhrines and apparell of the prieſts conſumed the greateſt part, as experience hath confirmed.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the weſt Indies, from whence they haue brought ſome gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into thoſe parts, none haue ſped better than ſir Francis Drake whoſe ſucceſſe 1582 hath far paſſed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobiſher in like maner attempting to ſeeke out a ſhorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable ſea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and ſo much that ſome letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden ſhew made him ſo deſirous alſo of like ſucceſſe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring newes of ſuch things as he had ſeene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but droſſe, he gaue ouer both the enterprizes, and now keepeth home without anie deſire at all to ſeeke into farre countries. In truth, ſuch was the plentie of ore there ſeene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furniſhed all the world with abundance of that mettall; the forneie alſo was ſhort and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marſilis from hence, as Diodorus alſo confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonſhire (& elſe-where in in the north) the other in Darbiſhire, Weredale, and ſundrie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen do reape no ſmall commoditie, but eſpeciallie our pewterers, who in time paſt imploied the vſe of pewter onelie vpon diſhes, pots, and a few other trifles for ſeruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto ſuch exquiſit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infuſion ante forme or faſhion of cup, diſh, ſalt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldſmiths craft, though they be neuer ſo curious, exquiſite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of houſhold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of veſſell, is ſold vſuallie by the garniſh, which doth conteine twelue platters, twelue diſhes, twelue ſaucers, and thoſe are either of ſiluer faſhion, or elſe with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at ſix or ſeuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I ſpeake not, albeit that in the making of all theſe things there is ſuch exquiſite diligence vſed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reaſon of ſharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue beene alſo informed that it conſiſteth of a compoſition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle braſſe to a thouſand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad three or foure pounds of tinglaſſe: but as too much of this doth make the ſtuffe brickle, ſo the more the braſſe be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that doth buie and purchaſe the ſame. But to proceed.

In ſome places beyond the ſea a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter of an ordinarie making (I ſaie flat, becauſe diſhes and platters in my time begin to be made deepe like baſons, and are indeed more conuenient both for ſawce, broth, and keeping the meat warme) is eſteemed almoſt ſo pretious, as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſiluer, and in maner no leſſe deſired amongſt the great eſtates, whoſe workmen are nothing ſo ſkilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall ſo good, nor plentie ſo great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glaſſes of our Engliſh tin, howbeit our workemen were not then ſo equiſite in that feat as the Brunduſiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were thoſe glaſſes

eſteemed

The lord Mountioy.

Tin.

Lead.

Gold.

Siluer.

eſteemed of till ſiluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into ſuch contempt, that in manner euerie diſhwaſher refuſed to looke in other than ſiluer glaſſes for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of ſiluer glaſſes had beene in vſe before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Pyrrikles deuiſed them in the yong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæſar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all their wood by melting of the ſame (as they did alſo at Comerill with ſir miles from Stradfleur) and I ſuppoſe that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he ſpeaketh) was to be found in thoſe parts, in the ſeauenteenth of his thirtie fourth booke: alſo he affirmeth that it laie in the verie ſwart of the earth, and dailie gotten in ſuch plentie, that the Romans made a reſtraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much ſhould yearelie be wrought and tranſported ouer the ſea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling neere Comerill with (as Leland ſaith) had made ſo tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where ſoeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the firſt mine was knowne to be, did laie his purſſe and girdle by him, as men commonlie doo that addreſſe themſelues to aplie their buſineſſe earneſtlie, and he himſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The crow likewiſe was verie buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be ſhort, in the end the crow haſtilie caught vp his girdle and purſſe, and made awaie withall ſo faſt as hir wings could carrie hir. Heere vpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the meanes whereby his life was ſaued, for he had not beene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe and ſearch out the cauſe of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I perſuaded, that the crow was Gods inſtrument herein, whereby the life of this poore labourer was preſerued. It was done alſo in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a ſhomaker of Dutch land in his ſhop or ſtoue: who ſeeing the ſame to ſit vpon the pearch among his ſhone, verie beautie and drouſie, ſaid vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, thie art thou ſad and penſiue? The crow hearing his maiſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſwered (or elſe the diuell within him) out of the pſalter: *Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui*. But whither am I digreſſed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in manie places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walchall, as alſo in Shropſhire, but cheeflie in the woods betwixt Welnos and Willocke or Wicberie neere Manchester, and elſewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerſe doo bring forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the ſea, beſide the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would ſo accept it, or beſtow a little more coſt in the refining of it. It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yeeldeth to the making of clericord wire in ſome places of the realme. Neuertheleſſe, it was better cheape with vs when ſtrangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vſe it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to ſhut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expenſe and waſte of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table veſſell of glaſſe, wherein is much loſſe ſith it is ſo quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) ceaſſe to be made tougher, if our alchumiſts could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whoſe mixture would indure a metallicall toughneſſe vnto it, whereby it ſhould abide the hammer.

Copper is latelie not found, but rather reſtored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue beene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as ſtrangers haue moſt commonly the gouernance of our mines, ſo they hitherto make ſmall gaines of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie countervaile the charges; whereat wiſe men doo not a little marueil, conſidering the abundance which that mine doth ſeeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our countrieman noteth ſundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be eaſtwards, as betweene Dudman and Trewardth in the ſea cliffes, beſide other places, whereof diuerſe are noted here and there in ſundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it ſhall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchaſite, I ſpeake not of it, ſith it is not incident to my purpoſe. In Dorſetſhire alſo a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

Steele. As for our ſteele, it is not ſo good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often ſold for the other, and like tale vſed in both, that is to ſaie, thirtie gads to the ſheffe, and twelue ſheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our ſpoones and ſome ſalts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with ſome, albeit in truth it be much ſubiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet ſome ignorant perſons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie ſame which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wiſemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, ſiluer can not be farre off. Neuertheleſſe it is knowne to be a mixture of braſſe, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vſed in pewter. But alas I am perſuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumiſts of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof doo ſeeme to come out of their forge. For the common ſort indeed doo call it alchumie, an vnwholſome mettall (God wot) and worthie to be baniſhed and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this diſcourſe, as hauing no more to ſaie of the mettals of my countrie, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, and ſuch as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but ſaie that there is ſome braſſe found alſo in England, but ſo ſmall is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be eſteemed or accounted of.

Of

Of pretious stones.

Chap. 12.

THe old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates:* whereunto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as vsuallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers do make anie mention at all. Howbeit what soeuer it hath pleased a number of strangers (vpon false surmise) to write of the vsages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in marriage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbishire and about Barwike, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as these men are drowned with the common errour conceiued of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countries whersoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

Nascitur in Lycia lapis & prope gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger est, leuis & leuissimus idem,
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, restinguitur vnctus olivo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in driuing away of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glased the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter therby. The writers also diuide this stone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another straked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of blood (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renowme: in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Cæsar to aduenture hither, after he had seene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired bicause of their smalnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallie sith church worke, as copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; vpon which our countrimen superstitiously bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but wore either throughlie fretted, or notablie garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, *in ipso fine*, speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie those of Persia before them, which to me doth seeme vnequallie done. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time esteemed aboue those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans reuealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Aetites (in English called the ernestone, but for erne some pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodstone, and these verie pure and excellent: also the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the chrisall, and those other which we call calaminares and speculares, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coast the white coral, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, nere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beside the loadstone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else do make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and seeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallie toward the naile, then is it not sound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his *De subtilitate*; if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipathia betweene wine and our iuie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all maner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Greece or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iuie then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iuie, wherfore I can not beleeue that it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our oisters, todes, muskels, snailes and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hils in Glocestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer so skilfull

Geat.

Laon. Chalchonthe.

Copper.

Stele.

Triall of a stone.

Lib. 7.

ſkilfull and cunning, alſo thoſe that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much deſired of ſuch as haue the ſtone, & yet of themſelues are no ſtones but rather ſhels or grilles, which in time conſume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if thoſe which are found in muſkels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue at ſundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerſe haue holes alreadie entered by nature, ſome of them not much inferiour to great peaſon in quantitie, and thereto of ſundrie colours, as it happeneth amongſt ſuch as are brought from the eaſterlie coaſt to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, ſcale fiſhing fiſh and welked muſkels are thought to be good meat; for other fiſh is to deere amongſt vs when law doth bind vs to vſe it. See more for the generation of pearls in the deſcription of Scotland, for there you ſhall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, becauſe of the cleerenelle, which reſembleth the colour of the cleere aire before the riſing of the ſun. They are alſo ſought for in the later end of Auguſt, a little before which time the ſweetneſſe of the dew is moſt conuenient for that kind of fiſh, which doth ingender and conceiue them, whoſe forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north alſo that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their ſubſtances of better valure, as lapidaries do giue out.

liquor, as both the other. Some ſaie (or rather fable) that this ſalt ſpring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich biſhop of Chicheſter, and that afterwards by his interceſſion it was reſtored to the profit of the old courſe (ſuch is the ſuperſtition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peradventure for the zeale which the Wich men and ſalters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vſed of late times on his date (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this ſalt ſpring or well about with tapiſtrie, and to haue ſundrie games, drinkings, and ſolliſh reuels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of ſalt cotes about this well, wherein the ſalt water is ſodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white ſalt. The other two ſalt ſprings be on the left ſide of the riuer a prettie waie lower than the firſt, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At theſe alſo be diuerſe fornaces to make ſalt, but the profit and plentie of theſe two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riſeth by the greateſt. I asked of a ſalter how manie fornaces they had at all the three ſprings, and he vnderſtood them to eight ſcore, that is, three hundred and fortie, ſaieng how euerie one of them paied pearelie ſix ſhillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and thereupon they giue a certaine farme (or Vectigal) of one hundred pounds pearelie. Sithes the penſion is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increaſed to foure hundred. There was of late ſearch made for another ſalt ſpring there abouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appeereth, as doth alſo the wood and timber which was ſet about it, to keepe vp the earth from falling into the ſame. But this pit was not ſince occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the ſalt ſpring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. We thinke that if wood and ſale of ſalt would ſerue, they might dig and find more ſalt ſprings about the Wich than three, but there is ſomewhat elſe in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a ſalt ſpring was found in another quarter of Worceſterſhire, but it grew to be without anie vſe, ſith the Wich men haue ſuch a priuilege, that they alone in thoſe quarters ſhall haue the making of ſalt. The pits be ſo ſet about with gutters, that the ſalt water is eaſilie turned to euerie mans houſe, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of ſuch as dwell on the other ſide of the ſame. They ſeeth alſo their ſalt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the ſalt ſome in caſes of wicker, through which the water drayneth, and the ſalt remaineth. There be alſo two or three but verie little ſalt ſprings at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where ſalt is ſometime made.

other cattle eth the bines as we marke in baſſowles.

Priuileges doo ſometimes harme.

Of late alſo a mile from Combremere abbaie a peece of an hill did ſinke, and in the ſame pit roſe a ſpring of ſalt water, where the abbat began to make ſalt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & couent that there ſhould be none made there, whereby the pit was ſuffered to go to loſſe. And although it yelded ſalt water ſtill of it ſelfe, yet it was ſpoiled at the laſt and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vſe the commoditie of their ſalt ſprings in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by ſix moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midſummer to Chriſtmas, as (I gelle) to mainteine the price of ſalt, or for ſauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reaſon. For making of ſalt is a great and notable deſtruction of wood, and ſhall be greater hereafter, except ſome prouiſion be made for the better increaſe of firing. The lacke of wood alſo is alreadie perceiued in places neere the Wich, for whereas they vſed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their

occupi-

Of ſalt made in England.

Chap. 13.

THere are in England certein welles where ſalt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his cõmentaries of Britaine, and whoſe words onlie I will ſet downe in Engliſh as he wrote them, becauſe he ſeemeth to haue had diligent conſideration of the ſame, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where neceſſitie doth inforce me for the meere aid of the reader, in the vnderſtanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worceſter in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he ſaith thus: From Worceſter I road to the Wich by incloſed ſoile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, ſufficient wood and good paſture, about a ſir miles off. Wich ſtandeth ſomewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two ſmall hils on the left ripe (for ſo he calleth the banke of euerie brooke through out all his Engliſh treatiſes) of a prettie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope brooke. The beautie of the towne in maner ſtandeth in one ſtreet, yet be there manie lanes in the towne beſides. There is alſo a meane church in the maine ſtreet, and once in the weeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it ſelfe is ſomewhat ſoule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reaſon of much cartage through the ſtreets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement alſo hereof is by making of ſalt. And though the commodities thereof be ſingular great, yet the burgeſſes be poore generallie, becauſe gentlemen haue for the moſt part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whileſt the poore burgeſſes yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this preſent time three hundred ſalters, and three ſalt ſprings in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butſhot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this ſpring is double ſo profitable in yelding of ſalt

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the buſh but an-

occupiengs, those wonted spzings are now decaied, and they be inforced to seeke their wood so far as Worcester towne, and all the parts about Brenisgraue, Aichirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed pearelie to be spent at these fornaces: and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pole wood for the most, which is easie to be cleft, and handsomelie riuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the inst rate of eueric fornace is to make foure loads of salt pearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath Leland left in memozie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baie salt in some part of our countrie. But sith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie salt can not be framed in ante ozder, because my memozie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that as well the baie as white are wzought and made in England, and more white also vpon the west coast toward Scotland, in Eller and else where, out of the salt water betweene Wilre and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.

Of our accompt of time & hir parts.

Chap. 14.

AS *Libra* is *As* or *Assis* to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie consisting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to saie the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebzues had anie vse; sith they reckoned by watches: and whereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I doo not see anie great difference vsed in the obseruation of time & hir parts, betweene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I shall not need to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact ozder herein shall appeere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearsall thereof, and that in so briefe manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomicall practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniformelie obserued ouer all. Our common ozder therefore is to begin at the minut, which conteineth $\frac{1}{60}$ part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from thence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentith part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which doth begin at midnight, and is obserued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and astronomicall instruments of all sozts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perls and stone, neither of the value of mettall, whereof they haue beene made, as gold, siluer, &c: and almost no abbeis or religious house without some of them. This onelie shall suffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excesse spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bzingeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, diuersities, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, wherof Marke seemeth to speake cap. 15 c 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also ibid. vers. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 e 45 Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sozt, whereas the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Athenians, and Iews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night; the Persians, Babylonians, Greecians, and Nozbergians, at the sun rising (each of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Athenians, Arabians, Dutchmen, Umbers, Hetrurians, and Astronomers at high none, and so reckon from none to none: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to speake more properlie, imitating the Roman maner vsed in the church there of long time, chose the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaie insuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforesaid point, according to these verses;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit astra sequentes
In medio lucis Iudæus vespere sancta,
Inchoat ecclesia media sua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall ozder for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is vp, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Otherwise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to saie, fore none and after none, not regarding the ruddie, shining, burning and warming seasons (of the which vnequall houres a peece, which others seeme to diuide into spzing time, summer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read these verses:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indeed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of forren countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concurre also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humozs, diuide the artificiall daie and night in such wise as these verses doo import, and are indeed a generall rule which each of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinis imas,
Vis choleræ medias lucis sex vendicat horas,
Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tansteter hath giuen them forth in his prolections:

A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus horis
Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora
Post niger humid inest donec sit tertia noctis,
Post hæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.

In English thus in effect:

Three houres yer sun doo rise,
and so manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the swaie,
Euen so to nine at night,
swart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
six houres ech one I saie.

In

other catch-eth the birds, as we maie in batfowling.

Priuileges doo sometimes harme.

Night. In like ſort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wher as the Latins diuide the ſame into 7 parts, as *Veſper* or *Veſperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vſeth the word *Heſper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the ſetting of the ſun. *Veſper.* *Crepuſculum.* *Crepuſculum* the twilight (which ſome call *Prima fax*, becauſe men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkeneſſe, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium.* *Concubium* the ſtill of the night, when euerie one is laid to reſt. *Intempeſtum.* *Intempeſtum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their firſt or dead ſléepe. *Gallicinium.* *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium.* *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum.* *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum.* *Diluculum ſiue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or ſhining colour, ſéene immediatlie before the riſing of the ſun, and is oppoſite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.

Watches. Other there are which do reckon by watches, diuiding the night after ſun ſetting into foure equall parts. Of which the firſt beginneth at euening called the firſt watch, and continueth by three vnequall houres, and ſo forth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, becauſe it concurreth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the riſing of the ſun.

Houre. As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not ſo old as that of the watch, whereof we ſhall read abundantlie in the ſcriptures, which was deuiſed firſt among ſouldiors for their better ſafegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almoſt vſed among our ſeafaring men, which they call clearing of the glaſſe, and performed from time to time with great héed and ſome ſolemnitie. Herevnto the word *Hora* among the Greciáns ſignified ſo well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, and limits of anie ſorme. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things to let my purpoſe ſtaie? To proceed therefore.

Wéeke. Of naturall daies is the wéeke coinpaced, which conſiſteth of ſeauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar ſort either king or worſling, becauſe it is either the faireſt or foulеſt of the ſeauen: albeit that I cannot ghéſſe of anie reaſon whie they ſhould ſo imagine. The firſt of theſe entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that we reſt vpon the ſundaie, which is the ſeauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our ſaturdaie at the ſetting of the ſun: and the Turks in theſe daies with the ſaturdaie, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as the Iews make our laſt daie the firſt of their wéeke, ſo the Turks make the Iewiſh ſabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: becauſe Mahomet their prophet (as they ſaie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and ſo he was indéed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews do reckon their daies by their diſtance from their ſabaoth, ſo that the firſt daie of their wéeke is the firſt daie of the ſabaoth, and ſo forth vnto the ſixt. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the ſeauen planets, chooſing the ſame for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the firſt vnequall houre of the ſame after the ſun be riſen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, ſo the vſe of the ſame is not yet altogither aboliſhed, as may appéere by our ſunday, mondaie, and ſaturdaie. The reſt were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut ſometime their prince, called the ſecond day of the week Theutdach, the third Woden, Mthin, Mthon, or Edon, or Wodenſdach. Alſo of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorſdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the firſt was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amiſſe as I thinke) that ſuppoſe them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Uenus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be ſo, then it is an eaſie matter to find out the german Mars, Uenus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir ſcant a good report, for that ſhe loued one of hir husbands men better than himſelfe, had ſeauen ſonnes by Woden; the firſt, father to Wecca, of whome deſcended thoſe that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the ſecond, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the weſt Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Bzenicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caſer the firſt race of the eaſt Angle race, & Naſcad originall burgeant of the kings of Eſſex. As for the kings of Suſſex, although they were of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame ſtreine, as our old monuments do expreſſe. But to proceed.

As certeine of our daies ſuffered this alteration by the Saxons, ſo in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or of *feries from the ſabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the ſeruice after the Romane vſe was aboliſhed, which cuſtome was firſt receiued (as ſome thinke) by pope Syluеſter, though other ſaie by Conſtantine; albeit another ſort do affirme, that Syluеſter cauſed the ſundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the reſt. *Feriæ.*

Moneth. In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are ſo called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curioſitie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the firſt; or as the Turks, Arabians and Perſians do now: neither ante parcell thereof by the ſaid planet, as in ſome part of the weſt Indies, where they haue neither wéeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thouſands of moones. Therefore if we ſaie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéeks onelie, and not of hir vſuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheleſſe in plées and ſuits is nothing at all allowed of, ſith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure wéeks, that is, vnto the place where ſhe left the ſun: notwithſtanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that ſigne wherin ſhe before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or leſſe number of theſe moneths for whole yeares: and that of theſe ſome accompted but three, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans ſix, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which cauſeth them to make ſuch a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forſomuch as we are not troubled with anie ſuch diſorder, it ſhall ſuffice that I haue generallie ſaid of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender. *Trimethus in Antarico.*

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the courſe of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were alſo the changes of that planet: whereby it came to paſſe, that the daie of the change was the firſt of the moneth, howſoeuer it fell out. But after Julius Ceſar had once corrected the ſame, the ſeuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine ſtred,

but

but alſo the old order in the diuiſion of their parts continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame bée but ſmall, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch times, as the hiſtoriographers and old authors do remember. The reckoning alſo of each of theſe goeth (as you ſée) after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwiſe, as by peruſall of the ſame you ſhall more eaſilie perceiue.

The daies alſo of the change of the moneth of the mone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganiſme were conſecrated to Juno, and ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on the ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewiſe the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were alſo diuerſe other, and thoſe either by reaſon of ſome notable ouerthrow or miſhap that befell vnto the Romans vpon thoſe daies, or in reſpect of ſome ſuperſtitious imagination conceiued of euill ſucceſſe likelie to fall out vpon the ſame. Of ſome they were called *Dies Ægyptiaci*. Wherby it appeareth that this peuiſh eſtimation of theſe daies came from that nation. And as we do note our holie and feſtiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, ſo did the Romans their principall feaſts & circle of the mone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or conſularie tables. This alſo is more to be added, that if anie good ſucceſſe happened afterward vpon ſuch day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would ſolemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke date was turned into white, and therein they not a little reioiſed.

Ferias.

Moneth.

The word *Calendæ* (in Greéke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the firſt day of euerie moneth, the prieſt vſed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither in Calabria, for ſo the place was called where they met, and ſhew them by a cuſtome how manie daies were from the ſaid calends to the nones, & what feaſts were to be celebrated betweéne that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, becauſe that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the mone paſt the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as ſeuenteéne daies, ſixteéne daies, fourteéne daies, &c: as the Greékes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vſe of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calendæ*, dedicated to Juno, who thereof was alſo called *Calendaris*. At the firſt alſo the faſts or feaſt daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the prieſts (as I ſaid) vpon this date, till Flauius Scriba cauſed them to be written & publiſhed in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the ſenat, for the eaſe and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

Trinoctium in Antartico.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or fiue in euerie moneth: and ſo long as the nones laſted, ſo long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ*. In them alſo were neither holie daies more than is at this preſent (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no ſacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his buſineſſe, and kept his market, reckoning the firſt day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or fift date before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non quia in iſdem dij non coluntur*. For as Ouid ſaith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth date before the ides: other becauſe *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I ſuppoſe rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddeſſe far yonger than the name of *Nonæ*) toke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a cuſtome among the Romans, *Luſtrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howſoeuer this be, ſure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, ſold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing elſe.

The ides are ſo named of the Hethruſcan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Ceſar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middeſt. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agrée to the yéere of the ſunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, becauſe he would not alter the celebration of their vſuall feaſts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they ſhort of the middeſt, ſometime by two or thrée daies. In theſe therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leiſure to packe vp and conueie their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calends follow, but in a decreaſing order (as I noted) as the mone doth in light when he is paſt the full. But herein lieth all the myſterie, if you can ſay ſo manie daies before the next change or new mone, as the number there expreſſed doth betoken, as for 16 calends ſo manie daies before the next coniunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of theſe calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find theſe verſes inſuing:

Ianus & Auguſtus denas notémq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipſe Nouember
Ter ſenas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maius Epta decemq;.

In English thus.

December Iune and Auguſt month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twiſe nine they doo deſire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue.
October Maie and Iulie hot
but ſeuenteene doo require.

In like maner do the nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
ſix nones I hight,
The reſt but foure, and as for ides
they keepe ſtill eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq;, Nouémq; tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,
At ſi biſſextus fuerit ſuper additur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the reſt thirtie and one,
but in the leape you muſt ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the mone for obſeruation of certeine moueable feaſts, yet it is reducible to that of the ſunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chieflie had in vſe. Herein onelie I find a ſcruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for moſt of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the firſt of Januarie; ſo that with vs Chriſt is borne before he be conceiued. Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie entrances into their charges of cuſtome, which breédeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Januarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more

certeintie, and leſſe trouble for our hiſtoriographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Athenians began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell nereſt to the entrance of the ſunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter ſolſtice, or his going into the goat, the Jewes in ciuill caſe at the latter equinoctiall, and in eccleſiaſticall with the firſt. They of Calecute begin their yeare ſomewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, ſith they firſt conſult with their wiſards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be moſt happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Oſorius doth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue ſolemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in ſtead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere alſo in September: but ſith we ſeeke herein but for the cuſtome of our countrie onelie, it ſhall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or firſt of Januarie, and from the middeſt of the night which is *Limes* betweens that and the laſt of December, whereof this maie ſuffice. I might ſpeake of the Cynike yeare alſo in this place (for the eaſe of our Engliſh readers) ſometime in vſe amongſt the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whoſe beginning is alwaies reckoned from the riſing of the leſſer dog. The firſt vſe thereof entered the ſelfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were reſtored. And forſomuch as this nation hath no vſe of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, becauſe there are 365 leape yeers in the period, ſo that 1460 Julian yeers do conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be leſſe than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is ſomewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in ſo manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wiſh that the ſame yeare wherein the ſaid intercalation truelie found out ſhould be ouerpaſſed, might be obſerued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and ſouereigne princeſſe now reigning amongſt vs.

I might here ſaie ſomewhat alſo of the prime and his alteration, which is riſen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæſar: and in ſeuen thouſand yeares ſome writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long. But forſomuch as in ſome calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie no more therof. The pope alſo hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the ſame that it was or ſhould haue beene at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath aboliſhed the vſe of the golden number, ſo hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto ſuch generall vſe, as doth now ſerue both the turnes, whoſe reformation had alſo per this time beene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, againſt whom and all whoſe ordinances we haue ſo faithfullie ſworne and ſet our hands.

Certes the next omiſſion is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yeare that ſhall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it ſhall pleaſe God that the world may laſt ſo long, and then may our calender alſo ſtand without anie alteration as it doth alreadie. By this alſo it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be ſupplied from the creation, wherein the firſt equinoctiall is ſeene higher toward the beginning of March than Cæſars calender now extant doth yeld vnto by ſeauen daies. For as in Cæſars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius alſo noteth) either vpon or about the ſixteenth or ſeauentéenth of March, albeit the manifeſt apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by eie-ſight: ſo at the beginning of the world the ſaid entrance of the ſunne into the ram, muſt néeds fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now ſtandeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie ſeuerall names with them, except you will affirme the world age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and ſignifieth in Engliſh ſo much as Seculum or Æuum doth in Latine; neither is it néedfull to remember that ſome of my countrimen do reckon their times not by years but by ſummers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to ſhut vp this chapiter withall, you ſhall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scotiſh maner, which I haue borowed from amongſt our ancient writers, as I haue peruſed their volumes.

The preſent names.

Monday.	Fridaie.
Tueſday.	Saturdaie.
Wedneſday.	Sunday, or the
Thurſday.	Lords daie.

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Frigeſdeg.
Tueſdeg.	Saterdeg.
Wodneſdeg.	Sunnan-
Thunreſdeg.	deg.

The Scotiſh vſage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
Diu Yath.	Diu Se-
Diu Ethamon.	roll.

Of our principall faires and *markets.*

Chap. 15.

I Haue heretofore ſaid ſufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promiſe there made, I ſet downe here ſo manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obſeruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impoſſible for me to come by all, ſith there is almoſt no towne in England, but hath one or more ſuch marts holden yearelie in the ſame, although ſome of them (I muſt néeds confeſſe) be ſcarſe comparable to Lowſe faire, and little elſe bought or ſold in them more than good drinke, pies, and ſome pedlerie traſh: wherefore it were no loſſe if diuerſe of them were aboliſhed. Neither do I ſee whereunto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, ſo much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) muſt néeds repaire vnto them, whereby they often ſpend not onelie the weeke daies, but alſo the Lords ſabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But ſuch hath béene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now aboliſhed, and a further inſight into things growne into the minds of magiſtrates, theſe old er-

rors

rors may be conſidered of, and ſo farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be diſhonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminiſhed. In the meane time, take this table here inſuing in ſtead of a calender of the greateſt, ſith that I cannot, or at the leaſt wiſe care not to come by the names of the leſſe, whoſe knowledge cannot be ſo profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft preiudiciall to ſuch as dwell neere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that reſort vnto the ſame.

Faires in Ianuarie.

The firſt day being Twelfe day at Saliſburie, the fiue and twentith being ſaint Paules day, at Braiſtow, at Grauelend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euerie wedneſday from Chriſtmaſſe vntill June.

Faires in Februarie.

The firſt day at Bromleie. The ſecond at Lin, at Bath, at Paldſtone, at Bickleſworth, at Budworth. The fourteenth at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfield, at Tamworth, at Roiſton, at Exceſter, at Abington, at Ciceſter. The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkeſburie.

Faires in March.

On the twelfth day, at Stamford, Sapeſford, and at Sudburie. The thirteenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The firſt ſunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Saliſburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wiſbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmeſunday euen, at Pumfret. On palmeſunday, at Worceſter. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Walden, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentſunday.

Faires in Aprill.

The firſt day at Wallingford. The ſeuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleſworth, at Belinſworth. On monday after, at Eueſham in Worceſterſhire. On tueſday in Eaſter weeke at Northfleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third ſunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stabford. On ſaint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipſwich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at ſaint Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunniow in Eſſex. The ſix and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

On Maie date at Ripon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Oſeſtrie in Wales, at Lerfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leiceſter, at Chenſford, at Paldſtone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Yenningham, at Elſtow, Waltham, Holicroſſe, and Yedningham caſtell. The ſeuenth at Beuericie, at Newton, at Oxford. On Aſcenſion day at Newcaſtell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhopſtratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitſuneuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitſunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpon Thames, at Ratesdale, at Kirbiſtephin in Weſtmerland. On monday in Whitſunweeke, at Daringtō, at Exceſter, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Aplebie, at Bickleſworth, at Stokeclare. On tueſday in Whitſunweeke, at Lewſe, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Dzmeſkirke, at Perith, at long Milford. On wedneſday in Whitſunweeke, at Sandbarre, at Raiſton. On Trinitie ſunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday, at Yelcote, at Stapford, at ſaint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhop ſtortford, at Roſſe. The ninth at Locheſter, at Dunſtable. The twentie ſeuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambzoke. On monday in Rogation weeke at Rech, and ſunday after Aſcenſion day, at Charſted.

Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Paldſtone. The xj, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Parfield, & Holt. The ſeuenteenth at Hadſtocke. The twentie three at Shrewſburie, at ſaint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horſham, at Bedell, at Strackſtocke, at ſaint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colcheſter, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beſide Cambridge, at Wollerhampton, at Crambzoke, at Glocester, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windſor, at Harſtone, at Lancaſter, at Weſtcheſter, at Halifax, at Aſhborne. The twentie ſeuenth, at Folkeſtone. The twentie eight, at Petcorne, at ſaint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurſt, at Parleborough, at Holleſworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempſter, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Bromleie.

Faires in Iulie.

The ſecond at Congreton, at Aſhton vnder line. The ſunday after the third of Julie, at Raiſton. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftenth, at Pichbacke. The ſeuenteenth, at Winchcombe. The twentith, at Vrbridge, at Cateſbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Parleborow, at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter, at Tetburie, at Coling, at Pealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheſhire, at Cheſwike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The twentie fift, at Braiſtow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipſwich, at Northampton, at Dudlete in Staffordſhire, at ſaint James beſide London, at Reading, at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Chzemhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Malmeſburie, at Bromeleie, at Chicheſter, at Liuerpole, at Altergam, at Rauenglaſſe in the north. The twentie firſt, at Tiptrie. The twentie ſeuenth at Canturburie, at Horſham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

Faires in Auguſt.

The firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham, at Dunſtable, at ſaint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Yeland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Charſted, at Blackemore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The xv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Yeſton in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the ſunday after the fiftenth day of Auguſt, at Hauerhull. On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers buſh beſide Rie, at Teukeſburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the ſunday

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie ſeuenth, and at Alhford.

Faires in September.

The firſt day at S. Giles at the Buſh. The eight day at Woolſpit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recouer, at Giſbourgh both the ladie dales, at Partnete. The three ladie dales at Blackeburne, at Giſborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Utceſter. On Holirode day, at Richmond in Yorkeſhire, at Ripond a horſe faire, at Penhad, at Berſlete, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Cheſterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On ſaint Mathies day, at Harleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Malton, at ſaint Jues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beſide Gilford, at Douer, at Eaſtrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horſe faire, at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter, at Cokermouth, at Alhborne, at Hadlete, at Malden an horſe faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leiceſter.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The firſt day at ſaint Faiths beſide Norwich, at Maidſtone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Biſhop Stortford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiſton, at Grauelend, at Windſor, at Marſhfield. The ninth day at Colcheſter. On ſaint Lukes euen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Vpane, at Thirſk, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Orford, at Tidſale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Ciceſter, at Stokeſleie. The twentie third, at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Ritchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all ſaints euen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in Nouember.

The ſecond at Blechinglie, at Kingſton, at Marfield, at Epping. The firſt day, at Newport pond, at Stanlete, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Leſford, and Wetlhod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Harleborough, at Douer. The thirteenth, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Gilford. The ſeuentæenth day, at Low, at Hide. The ninetæenth, at Horſham. On ſaint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerſtone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On ſaint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warrington in Lancaſhire, at Bedford in Yorkeſhire, at Oſeſtrie in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

Faires in December.

On the firſt day, at Pluckelete. On the firſt, at Caſed, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Excester, at Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheſhire. The ſeuenth day at Sandhurſt. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Malpas in Cheſhire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Saliſburie.

Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Chap. 16.

Thoſe townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and ſumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of ſuch trauellers and ſtrangers as paſſe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of ſome other countries, in which the hoſt or goodman of the houſe doth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his gheſts, but cleane otherwiſe, ſith euerie man may vſe his inne as his owne houſe in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other ſeruice himſelfe ſhall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are alſo verie well furniſhed with naperie, bedding, and tapiſſerie, eſpeciallie with naperie: for beſide the linnen vſed at the tables, which is commonlie waſhed dailie, is ſuch and ſo much as belongeth vnto the eſtate and calling of the gheſt. Euerie commer is ſure to lie in cleane ſheets, wherein no man hath béene lodged ſince they came from the landreſſe, or out of the water wherein they were laſt waſhed. If the traueller haue an horſe, his bed doth coſt him nothing, but if he go on foot he is ſure to paie a penie for the ſame: but whether he be horſeman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne houſe ſo long as he lodgeth there. If he loſe oughts whileſt he abideth in the inne, the hoſt is bound by a generall cuſtome to reſtore the damage, ſo that there is no greater ſecuritie anie where for trauellers than in the greteſt inns of England. Their horſſes in like ſort are walked, dreſſed and loked vnto by certeine hoſtelers or hired ſeruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the houſe, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward appearance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheleſſe are manie of them blameworthie, in that they do not onelie deceiue the beaſt oftentimes of his allowance by ſundrie meanes, except their owners loke well to them; but alſo make ſuch packs with ſlipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is ſure from euill & wicked perſons) that manie an honeſt man is ſpoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat alſo the counſell of the tapſters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not ſeldome behind or wanting. Certes I beléeue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of ſome of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horſſe, the hoſtler forthwith is verie buſſe to take downe his budget or capcaſe in the yard from his ſadle bow, which he peiſeth ſtille in his hand to féele the weight thereof: or if he miſſe of this pitch, when the gheſt hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that loketh to the making of the beds, will be ſure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath ſet it as if it were to ſet it more conuenientlie ſome where elſe, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to ſuch od gheſts as haut the houſe and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honeſt yeoman as he iourneieth by the waie. The tapſter in like ſort for his part doth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the ſhot, to the like end: ſo that it ſhall be an hard matter to eſcape all their ſubtile practiſes. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the houſe: but thereby they oft be-

wraie themſelues. For albeit their monie be ſafe for the time that it is in his hands (for you ſhall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the hoſt can make no warrantiſe of the ſame, ſith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne houſe: and there cannot be a ſurer token vnto ſuch as prie and watch for thoſe booties, than to ſee anie gheſt deliuer his capcaſe in ſuch maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, beere, and ſundrie kinds of wine, and ſuch is the capacitie of ſome of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred perſons, and their horſſes at eaſe, & therto with a verie ſhort warning make ſuch proviſion for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may ſeeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worſe ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the beſt that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumſtances be dulie conſidered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpoſe. I will here ſet downe a table of the beſt thoroughfaires and townes of greateſt trauell of England, in ſome of which there are twelue or ſixteene ſuch innes at the leaſt, as I before did ſpeake of. And it is a world to ſee how ech owner of them contendeth with other for gudneſſe of interteinement of their gheſts, as about fineſſe & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, ſeruice at the table, coſtlineſſe of plate, ſtrength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vſing of horſſes. Finallie there is not ſo much omitted among them as the gorgeouſnes of their verie ſignes at their doores, wherein ſome do conſume thirtie or fortie pounds, a meere vanitie in mine opinion, but ſo vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue ſome outward token of the inne keepers welth, but alſo to procure gud gheſts to the frequenting of their houſes in hope there to be well vſed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I ſhall not need to ſpeake.

The waie from Walſingham to London.

From Walſingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie	10.miles
From Brandonferie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Brabram	10.miles
From Brabram to Barkewaie	20.miles
From Barkewaie to Puchrich	7.miles
From Puchrich to Ware	5.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Anwike	12.miles
From Anwike to Morpit	12.miles
From Morpit to Newcaſtell	12.miles
From Newcaſtell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darington	13.miles
From Darington to Northalerton	14.miles
From Northalerton to Toplife	7.miles
From Toplife to Yorke	16.miles
From Yorke to Tadcaſter	8.miles
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge	12.miles
From Wantbridge to Doncaſter	8.miles
From Doncaſter to Tutford	18.miles
From Tutford to Newarke	10.miles
From Newarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9.miles
From Huntington to Roiſton	15.miles
From Roiſton to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to Cheſter, and ſo to London.

From Carnaruan to Conwaie	24.miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh	12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Cheſter	10.miles
From Cheſter to Wich	14.miles
From Wich to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colſill	12.miles
From Colſill to Couentrie	8.miles

And ſo from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

From Cockermouth to Kiſwike	6.miles
From Kiſwike to Grocener	8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14.miles
From Kendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaſter	8.miles
From Lancaſter to Preſton	20.miles
From Preſton to Wigam	14.miles
From Wigam to Warington	20.miles
From Warington to Newcaſtell	20.miles
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Toceſter	10.miles
From Toceſter to Stoniſtratford	6.miles
From Stoniſtratford to Brichill	7.miles
From Brichill to Dunſtable	7.miles
From Dunſtable to ſaint Albons	10.miles
From ſaint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London.	10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colcheſter, and ſo to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis	8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8.miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge.	8.miles
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich	5.miles
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter	12.miles
From Colcheſter to Eaſtford	8.miles
From Eaſtford to Chelmeſford	10.miles
From Chelmeſford to Brentwood	10.miles
From Brentwood to London	15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter	8.miles
From Rocheſter to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend to Datford	6.miles
From Datford to London	12.miles

The waie from ſaint Burien in Cornewall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12.miles
From ſaint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launſtone	20.miles
From Launſtone to Dcomton	15.miles
From Dcomton to Crokehornewell	10.miles

From Crokehorne well to Exceſter 10.miles
From Exceſter to Honiton 12.miles
From Honiton to Chard 10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne 7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne 10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftſburie 10.miles
From Shaftſburie to Saliſburie 18.miles
From Saliſburie to Andeuor 15.miles
From Andeuor to Baſingſtocke 18.miles
From Baſingſtocke to Hartford 8.miles
From Hartford to Bagſhot 8.miles
From Bagſhot to Stanes 8.miles
From Stanes to London 15.miles

The waie from Briſtowe to London.

From Briſtow to Parfield 10.miles
From Parfield to Chipnam 10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough 15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford 8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie 7.miles
From Newburie to Reading 15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead. 10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke 7.miles
From Colbrooke to London 15.miles

The waie from ſaint Dauids to London.

From ſaint Dauids to Arford 20.miles
From Arford to Carmarden 10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton 10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie 10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke 16.miles
From Brechnocke to Hate 10.miles
From Hate to Harford 14.miles
From Harford to Roſo 9.miles
From Roſo to Glocester 12.miles
From Glocester to Ciceſter 15.miles
From Ciceſter to Farington 16.miles
From Farington to Habington 7.miles
From Habington to Dorcheſter 7.miles
From Dorcheſter to Henleie 12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead 7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke 7.miles
From Colbrooke to London 15.miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Roſcheſter 20.miles
From Roſcheſter to Grauesend 5.miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames, to Horne-don 4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmesford 12.miles
From Chelmesford to Dunmow 10.miles
From Dunmow to Thaxted 5.miles
From Thaxted to Radwinter 3.miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4.miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London 43.miles
From London to Vxbridge or Colbrooke 15.mile
From Vxbridge to Baccanſfield 7.miles
From Baccanſfield to eaſt Wickham 5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetilford 5.miles
From Thetilford to Whatleie 6.miles
From Whatleie to Oxford 4.miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton 6.miles
From Edmondton to Waltham 6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddeſdon 5.miles
From Hoddeſdon to Ware 3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6.miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddeſdon 17.miles
From Hoddeſdon to Hadham 7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10.miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.

From Barwijc to Edenborow.

From Barwijc to Chirneſide 10.miles
From Chirneſide to Coldingham 3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon 6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6.miles
From Linton to Haddington 6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muſkelborow 8.mi.
From thence to Edenborow 8.miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh 5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5.miles
From Lander to Vrſildon 6.miles
From Vrſildon to Dryburg 5.miles
From Dryburg to Carlton 6.miles
From Carlton to Barwijc 14.miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine weſtward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelliſton 6.miles
From Kirkelliſton to Lithco 6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth 6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth 6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbritaine 24.miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eaſtward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Menteth 3.miles
From Downe to Campſkenell 3.miles
From Campſkenell to Alwie vpon Forth 4.miles
From Alwie to Culroſe on Fiffe 10.miles
From Culroſe to Dunfermelin 2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin 2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth 3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth 3.miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Diſſard in Fiffe 3.miles
From Diſſard to Cowper 8.miles

From

Britannia.

From Colwper to S. Andzews 14. miles
From S. Andzews to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie 4. mil.
From thence to Londozes abbeie 4. miles
From Londozes to S. Johns towne 12. miles
From S. Johns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundée 15. miles
From Dundæ to Arbzoth and Muros 24. miles
From Muros to Aberden 20. miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thense to the riuer of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockefozd in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

From Carleill to Whiteherne westward.

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfrées 20. miles
From Dunfrées to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wigton 3. miles
From thence to Whitherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old thozowfaires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue seene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.
De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO
Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia * m. p. xix *Vinouia Vinouium*
Cataractoni m. p. xxii Darington.
Isurium m. p. xxiiii Aldbozow *alias* Topcliffe.
Eburacum legio vi Victrix m. p. xvii Yozke.
Deruentione m. p. vii Tadcaster.
Delgouitia m. p. xiii Wentbzidge.
Prætorio m. p. xxv Tudfozd.

ITEM A VALLO AD
portum Ritupis m. p. 481
491 sic,

Ablato Bulgio * castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 *aliàs* à Blato aliàs à Lugu-valio. Cairleill.
Lugu-vallo * m. p. xii
Voreda m. p. xiiii
Brouonacis * m. p. xiii *Brauoniacis*
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiiii
Cataractone * m. p. xxi *Catuaractonium.* Darington.
Isuriam * m. p. xxiiii *Isoriam.* Aldbozow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum * m. p. xviii *Eboracum.* Yozke.
Calcaria * m. p. ix *Cacaria*
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio * m. p. xviii *Manucio*
Condate m. p. xviii
Deua legio xxiii. c. m. p. xx
Bouio * m. p. x *Bonio*
Mediolano m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio * m. p. xi *Viroconium,* Shzewesburie *propè.*
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
Etoceto m. p. xii
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi
Venonis m. p. xii
Bennauenta * m. p. xvii *Banna venta*
Lactorodo * m. p. xii *Lactodoro*
Maginto * m. p. xviii. 12 *Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. xii Dunstable.
Vero-Lamio m. p. xii S. Albanes.
Sullomacis * m. p. ix Barnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii *Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobrouis m. p. v *Duroprouis.* Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. xvi. 8
Duror-Verno * m. p. xii *Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii *Duraruenno Daruerno*

ITEM A LONDINIO
ad portum Dubris m. p. 56
66, sic:

Dubobrus * m. p. xxvii *Durobrouis Durobrius.* Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiii Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD
portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum * Lemanis m. p. xvi Limming hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p.
443, sic:

Cæsaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxiiii
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianos m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Duroliponte m. p. xxv
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv
Gausennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiiii
Dano m. p. xxi
Lege-Olio * m. p. xvi *Legetium*
Eburaco m. p. xxi
Isubrigantum * m. p. xvi *Isurium Brigantum*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiii
Leuatris * m. p. xviii *Leuatrix*
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Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv, 22

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lindo m. p. 156 sic:

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Duro Cobrius m. p. xii
Magiouinio * m. p. xii { *Maginto*
Lactodoro m. p. xvi { *Magis*
Isanna Vantia * m. p. xii { *Isanna vatia*
Tripontio m. p. xii { *Isanna varia*
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem * m. p. vii *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana * m. p. vii *Crorolana*
Lindo m. p. xii

ITEM A REGNO
Londinio m. p. 116,
96 sic:

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Venta Belgarum m. p. x
Galleua * Atrebatum m. p. xxii { *Gellena,*
Pontibus m. p. xxii Reding. { *Callina,* waltingfozd.
Londinio m. p. xxii

ITEM

ITEM AB EBVRACO Londinium m. p. 227 sic:

Lagecio m. p. xxi	
Dano m. p. xvi	Dancaster.
Ageloco * m. p. xxi	*Segeloco*
Lindo m. p. xiiii	
Crococalano m. p. xiiii	
Margi-duno m. p. xiiii	
Vernemeto * m. p. xii	*Veromeio*
Ratis m. p. xii	
Vennonis m. p. xii	
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Magio Vinio m. p. xxviii	
Durocobrius m. p. xii	Dunstable.
Verolamo m. p. xii	S. Albanes.
Sullomaca m. p. ix	Barnet.
Londinio m. p. xii	London.

ITEM A VENTA ICINORVM Londinio m. p. 128 sic:

Sitomago m. p. xxxi	
Combretouio * m. p. xxii	*Cumbretonio*
Ad Anſam m. p. xv	
Camoloduno m. p. vi	
Canonio m. p. ix	
Cæſaromago m. p. xii	
Durolito m. p. xvi	
Londinio m. p. xv	

ITEM A GLAMOVENTA Mediolano m. p. 150 sic:

Galaua m. p. xviii	
Alone * m. p. xii	*Alauna * Aliona Aliona*
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Bremetonaci m. p. xxvii	
Coccio m. p. xx	
Mancunio * m. p. xviii	*Mamucio vel Manucio*
Condate m. p. xviii	
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ITEM A SEGONCIO DEuam m. p. 74 sic:

Canouio m. p. xxiiii	
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ITEM A CALLEVA *aliàs* MVRIDONO aliàs Viroconiorum.

Per Viroconium

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Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi	
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Soruioduni m. p. ix	
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ITEM AB ISCA CALleua m. p. 109 sic:

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Bleſtio m. p. xi	
Ariconio m. p. xi.	
Cleuo m. p. xv	
Durocornouio m. p. xiiii	
Spinis m. p. xv	
Calleua m. p. xv	

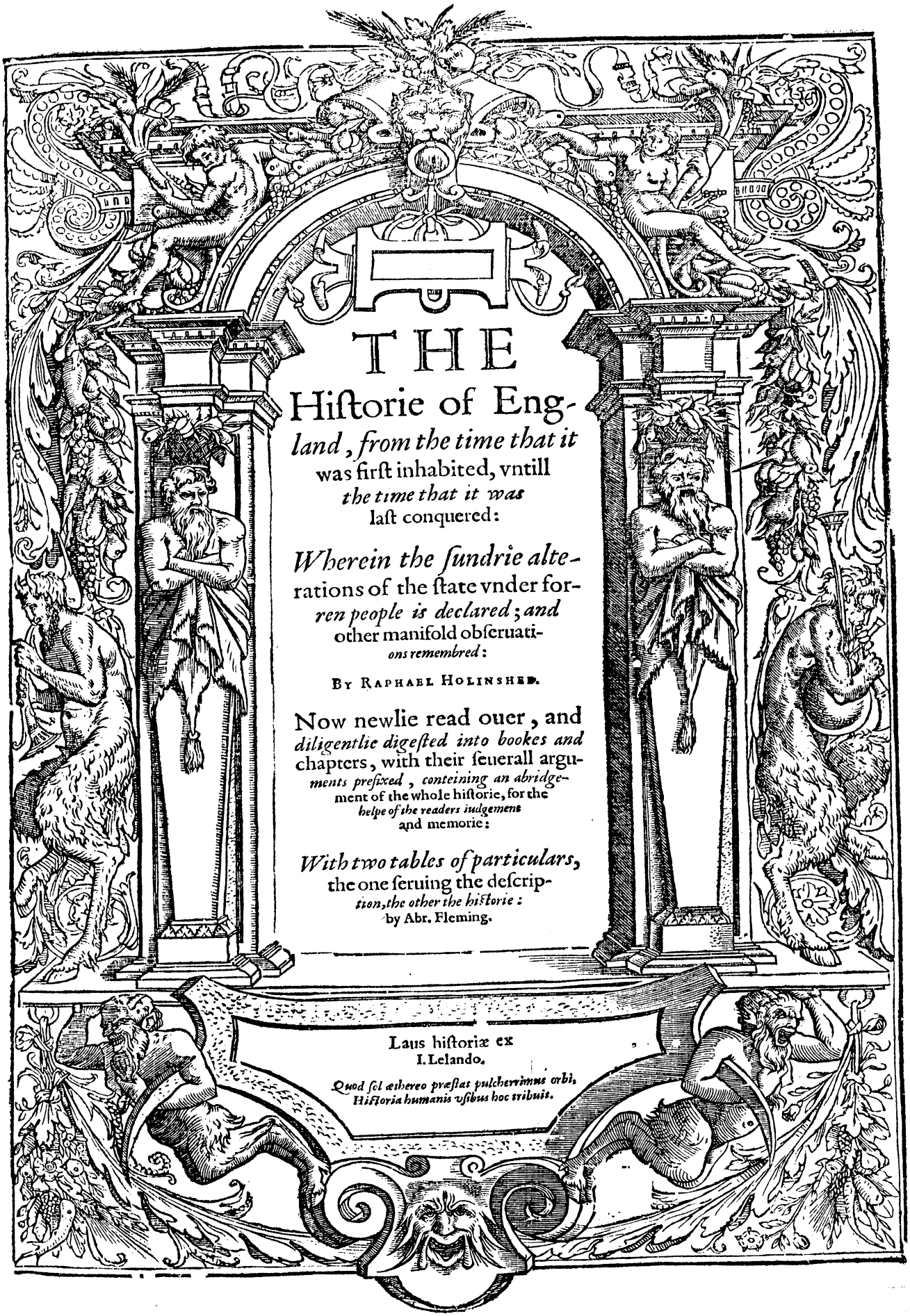
ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB Iſca Calleua m. p. 103 sic:

Venta Silurum m. p. ix	
Abone m. p. ix	
Traiectus m. p. ix	
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ITEM A CALLEVA ISCADVM Nunniorum m. p. 136 sic:

Vindomi m. p. xv	
Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi	
Brige m. p. xi	
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FINIS.



THE Hiſtorie of England, *from the time that it* was firſt inhabited, vntill *the time that it was* laſt conquered:

*Wherein the ſundrie alte-*rations of the ſtate vnder for-*ren people is declared; and* other manifold obſeruati-*ons remembred:*

By Raphael Holinshed.

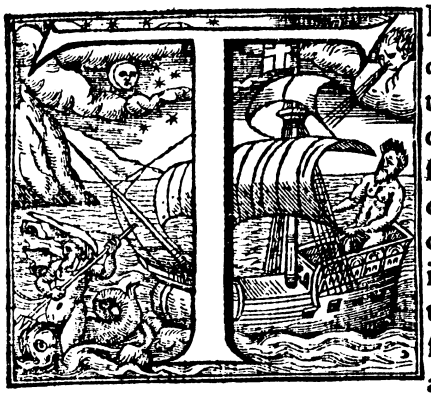
Now newlie read ouer, and *diligentlie digeſted into bookes and* chapters, with their ſeuerall argu-*ments prefixed, conteining an abridge-*ment of the whole hiſtorie, for the *helpe of the readers iudgement* and memorie:

With two tables of particulars, the one ſeruing the deſcrip-*tion, the other the hiſtorie:* by Abr. Fleming.

Laus hiſtoriæ ex
I. Lelando.

Quod ſol æthereo præſtat pulcherrimus orbi,
Hiſtoria humanis vſibus hoc tribuit.

To the Readers ſtudious in hiſtories.



THe order obſerued in the deſcription of Britaine, by reaſon of the neceſſarie diuiſion thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein conteined, ſeemed (in my iudgement) ſo conuenient a courſe deuiſed by the writer, as I was eaſilie induced thereby to digeſt the hiſtorie of England immediatlie following into the like method: ſo that as in the one, ſo likewiſe in the other, by ſummarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as alſo by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the ſaid hiſtorie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is diſcourſed and diſcuſſed in the ſame.

Wherein (ſith hiſtories are ſaid to be the regiſters of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, ſpeciallie hiſtoricall, are aduiſedlie to marke (among other points) the ſeuerall and ſucceſsiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abſtract, but that the ſame is ſufficientlie handled in the firſt booke and fourth chapter of the deſcription of Britaine; whereto if the ſeuenth chapter of the ſame booke be alſo annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that caſe wherof iuſtlie to make complaint.

Pag. 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 28, 29, of the deſcription: and pag. 202 of the hiſtorie of England.

Wherfore by remitting the readers to thoſe, I reape this aduantage, namelie a diſcharge of a forethought & purpoſed labour, which as to reduce into ſome plauſible forme was a worke both of time, paine and ſtudie: ſo ſeeming vnlikelie to be compriſed in few words (being a matter of neceſſarie and important obſeruation) occaſion of tediouſnes is to and fro auoided; ſpeciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertiſed, that the computations of yeares here and there expreſſed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whenſe they were deriued and drawne, is not ſo abſolute (in ſome mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iuſtifiable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vſe of bookes may not be abridged) ſuch diligent care ſhall be had, that in whatſoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaile, there ſhall want no will to vſe the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages ſo many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncerteinties to raiſe certeinties, and to reconcile writers diſſenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpoſſible, ſo is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is againſt reaſon, ſo to vndertake more than may commendablie be atchiued, were fowle follie.

Abraham Fleming.

THE FIRST BOOKE of the hiſtorie of England.

Who inhabited this Iland be-*fore the comming of Brute: of* Noah & his three ſonnes, among *whom the whole earth was di-*uided: and to which of their *portions this Ile of Bri-*taine befell.

The firſt Chapter.

WHat manner of people did firſt inhabite this our country, which hath moſt generallie and of longeſt continuance béene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certeinly knowne; neither can it be decided frō whence the firſt inhabitants there of came, by reaſon of ſuch diuerſitie in iudgements as haue riſen amongſt the learned in this behalfe. But ſith the originall in manner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the ſame for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie ſcriptures) I wiſh not any man to leane to that which ſhall be here ſet downe as to an infallible truth, ſith I do but onlie ſhew other mens coniectures, grounded neuertheleſſe vpon likelie reaſons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certeintie, or rather none at all.

The originall of nations for the moſt part vncerteine.

Whither Britaine were an Iland at the firſt. *Geog. com. lib.*

No Ilands at the firſt, as ſome coniecture.

To fetch therefore the matter from the fartheſt, and ſo to ſtretch it forward, it ſéemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any ſeparation of ſea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vncerteinties) I leaue to be diſcuſſed of by the learned; howbeit for the firſt inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to ſet downe in part, what may be gathered out of ſuch writers as haue touched that matter, and may ſéeme to giue ſome light vnto the knowledge thereof.

In the firſt part of the acts of the Engliſh votaries. Britaine inhabited before the flood. Geneſis. 6.

Firſt therefore Iohn Bale our countrieman, who in his time greatlie trauelled in the ſearch of ſuch antiquities, doth probablie coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the flood, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moſes writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuerſall face of the earth: and therfore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beſide. But when they had once forſaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themſelues, ſuch looſeneſſe of life enſued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuerſall flood, in the which periſhed as well the inhabitants of theſe quarters, as the reſidue of the race of mankind, generallie diſperſed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleaſure of almightie God was preſerued from the rage of thoſe waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man vpon earth. *Beroſus ant. lib. 1*

Noah.

In comment. ſuper 4. lib. Beroſus de antiquit. lib. 1. Annius vt ſupr.

AFter the flood (as Annius de Viterbo recordeth) and reaſon alſo enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the ſame Annius gathereth by the account of Moſes in the 100. yeare after the flood, Noah diuided the earth among his three ſonnes; aſſigning to the poſſeſſion of his eldeſt ſonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Aſia; to his ſecond ſonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Affrica: and to his third ſonne Japhet was allotted all Europa, with all the Iles therto belonging, wherin among other was conteined this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Iles thereto perteining.

Japhet and his ſonnes.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hiſt. cogn. Franciſcus Tarapha.

IAphet the third ſon of Noah, of ſome called Iapetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (becauſe he departed this life in Mauritania) was the firſt (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and conſent of the Hebrue, Greéke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his ſonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdome of Spaine. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Beroſus and diuers other authors agrée) Samothes was the founder of Celtica, which conteined in it (as Bale witneſſeth) a great part of Europe, but ſpecíallie thoſe countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Britaine inhabited ſhortlie after the flood.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled within 200 yéeres after the flood by the children of Japhet the ſonne of Noah: & this is not onlie proued by Annius, writing vpon Beroſus, but alſo confirmed by Moſes in the ſcripture, where he writeth, that of the offſpring of Japhet, the Iles of the Gentiles (wherof Britain is one) were ſorted into regions in the time of Phaleg the ſonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuiſion of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath theſe words: *Cum priſcis temporibus pauci forent homines in Arabia & Chaldæa, poſt linguarum diuiſionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim ſunt: hinc quidam abierunt verſus orientem, quidam conceſſere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti ſunt ad ſeptentrionem ſedes quæſituri, nec priùs deſierunt terram vbiq; occupare, quàm etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus acceſſerint, &c.* That is; *Theophilus epiſcop. Antioch. ad Antol. lib. 2.* The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who liued an. Dom. 160.

When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldæa, it came to passe, that after the diuision of toongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to repleniſh the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole. Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had receiued inhabitants forthwith after the floud.

Of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, *Druis, and Bardus, fiue kings* succeeding each other in regiment *ouer the Celts and Samotheans*, and how manie hundred yeeres *the Celts inhabited* this Iland.

The second Chapter.

Gen.2. SAmothes the first begotten sonne of Japhet called by Moses Mesech, by others Dis, receiued for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lieng betweene the riuer of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called Celtæ. Which name Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by Berosus to haue excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people; namelie, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Greekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & deriued the Greeke characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Iosephus doo constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Greekes and other nations receiued their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saith Annius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skilfull both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arriuall of Albion.

Gen.2. De migr.gen. Cent.1. Anti.lib.1. Bale script. Brit.cent.1. Cæsar.comment. lib.8. In epithet. temp. De æquinoctis contra Appionem. Lib.de Magic. succeff.lib.22. Script.Brit. cent.1. De ant.Cant. cent.lib.1. This Ile called Samothea.

Magus the son of Samothes

MAgus the sonne of Samothes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica, by whome (as Berosus writeth) there were manie townes builded among the Celts, which by the witnesse of Annius did beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueior of the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Noiomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Noiomagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale doth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowmed ouer all the world, that he would haue the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In deed Rauisius Textor, and sir John Prise affirme, that in the daies of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in art magike, that they might be thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, and of what profession the *Magi* were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in briefe, after this maner:

Annius in comment. super nouam. Geogr. De diui. lib.1. De fastis li.5.

Ille penes Persis Magus est, qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,
Persepoli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.

The Persians terme him Magus, that
the course of starres dooth knowe,
The power of herbs, and worship due
to God that man dooth owe,
By threefold knowledge thus the name
of Magus then dooth growe.

H.F.

Sarron the sonne of Magus, De ant.Cant. lib.1. Bale script. Brit.cent.1.

SArron the third king of the Celts succeeded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berosus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restraine the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and void of all ciuilitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: There are (saith he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make anie sacrifice: sith they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are nearest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace.

Lib.6. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

Druis the son of Sarron.

DRuis, whom Seneca calleth Dzyus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended by Berosus to be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and learning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the begining and name of the philosophers called Druides, whome Cæsar and all other ancient Greeke and Latine writers do affirme to haue had their begining in Britaine, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that when there arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of Angleſey (as Humfrey Llhoyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages manie things are written by Aristotle, Secion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briefe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Cæsar saith) the charge of common & priuate sacrifices, the

De mon. Cimb. Anti.lib.5. Annius super eundem. De bello Gallico.lib.9. De bello Gallico.6.

the disculling of points of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men, as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreadlesse of death. Tullie writeth, that partlie by tokens, and partlie by surmises, they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlasting God. All these things they had written in the Greeke tong, insomuch that Wolf. Lazius (vpon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Timagenes from the Druides. And herevpon it commeth also to passe, that the British tong hath in it remaining at this day some smacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembring of them, to diuine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practises, their sect was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue written) and dissolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospell of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receiued among the Britaines, vnder Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our sauior, 179.

Hist. lib. 1. *De diui. lib. 1.* *Hist. Scoti. li. 2.* *De migr. gen. lib. 2. Marcellinus.* *Anna. Boiorum. lib. 22.* *De ant. Cant.*

Bardus the sonne of Druis.

BArdus the sonne of Druis succeeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the fift king ouer the Celtes and Samotheans, amongst whom he was highlie renoumed (as appeareth by Berosus) for inuention of ities and musicke, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should seeme by doctor Caius and maister Bale, that Cæsar found some of them here at his arriuall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first begining in the same. The profession and vsages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir John Prise, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient capteins, and to drawe the pedegrées and genealogies of such as were liuing. They would frame pleasant ities and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hosts had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortuned to enter among them, both the hosts (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, giuen eare vnto them, and ceassed from fight, vntill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

Berosus ant. lib. 2. Annius in commen. super eundem. *Ant. Cant. li. 1. script. Britan. cent. 1.* *Nonnius Marcel. Strabo. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6. Carol. Stepha. in dict. hist. Bale. John Prise.* *Lucan. lib. 1.*

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belló; perempta;
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi

And you ô poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of soules of dreadlesse men, whom rage of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time of later age rebound.

H. F.

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue vnabolished in all ages, insomuch that there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ, Plenidius and Dronius: after Christ (as Prise recounteth) Thalesine, and the two Merlins, Melkin, Elaskirion, and others: and of late dates among the Welshmen, Dauid Die, Jollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day; where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humfrey Llhoyd, there is an Iland neere vnto Wales, called *Insula Bardorum*, and Bardsey, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

John Bale script. Britan. cent. 2. *John Prise defen hist. Brit.* *Caius de ant. Cant. lib. 1.* *John Leland syllab. ant. dict.* *Hum. Lloyd de Mona insula.*

Thus farre the gouernement of the Celts in this Ile.

An appendix to the former chapter.

AFter Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the streict ordinances of their ancient kings, and betaking themselues to pleasure and idlenesse, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, streicted the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue heard, accordinglie as Annius hath gathered out of Berosus the Chaldean, who therein agreeth also with the scripture, the saieng of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and maner of their comming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Cæsar and Tacitus séeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to view the countrie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would haue them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

Bale. *Annius.* *Theophilus.* *Sir Brian Tuke* *Cæsar.* *Tacitus.* *Bodinus.* *Beda.* *Polydor.*

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to proue the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the neerneesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originels do fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicause the Celtike tong is long sithens growne wholie out of vse. Howbeit some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceiued to agrée with the Welsh tong, being the vncorrupted speech of the ancient Britains. In déed Pausanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horsse *Marc*: and by that name do the Welshmen call a horsse to this day: and the word *Trimarc* in Pausanias, signifieth in the Celtike tong, three horsses.

Bodinus. *Pausanias.*

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothes to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares or there abouts. And finallie it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the speech of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, euen vnto this day.

John Bale.

Of the giant Albion, of his comming into this Iland, diuers opinions why it was called Albion: why Albion and Bergion were slaine by Hercules: of Danaus and of his 50. daughters.

The third Chapter.

Bale.

NEptunus called by Moses (as some take it) Nephthuim, the first sonne of Misris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appointed him of his father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the ocean sea: wherefore he furnished himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more redie passage by water, which in the end grew to the number of a full naute: & so by continuall exercise he became so skilfull, and therewith so mightie vpon the waters (as Higinus & Pictonius do write) that he was not onelie called the king, but also esteemed the god of the seas. He had to wife a ladie called Amphitrita, who was also honored as goddesse of the seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and (as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the same vnder his subiection. And herevpon it resteth, that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made mention, that light shippes were first inuented in the Britith seas, and that the same were couered round with the hides of beasts, for defending them from the surges and waues of the water.

Annius de Viterbo. Diodorus Siculus.

Pinnesses or gallies.

Higinus. Pictonius.

Scrip. Bri. cent. 1.

Ioh. Textor. Polydor.

This Albion being put by his father in possession of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued the Samotheans, the first inhabitantes thereof, without finding any great resistance, for that (as before ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practise of all warlike and other painefull exercises, and through vse of effeminate pleasures, whereunto they had giuen themselues ouer, they were become now vnapt to withstand the force of their enimies: and so (by the testimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Philesius, Aristotle, and Humfrey Llhoyd, with diuers other, both forraine & home-writers) this Iland was first called by the name of Albion, hauing at one time both the name and inhabitants changed from the line of Japhet vnto the accursed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perot. Rigmanus Philesius. Aristotle. Hum. Lhoyd.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which signifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupt stature and highnesse naturallie incident to the first age (which Berosus also seemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noah was one of the giants) and were not so called only of their monstrous greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although in deed they exceeded the vsuall stature of men now in these daies) but also for that they toke their name of the soile where they were borne: for *Gigantes* signifieth the sons of the earth: the *Aborigines*, or (as Cesar calleth them) *Indigenæ*) that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Berosus.

what *Gigantes* signifie.

Thus some thinke, but verelie although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maintaine that there should be any Aborigines, or other kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that there haue been men of far greater stature than are now to be found, is sufficientlie proued by the huge bones of those that haue been found in our time, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation it shall not need, sith in the description of Britaine ye shall find it sufficientlie declared.

Against the opinion of the Aborigines.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their cosine Hercules Lybicus hauing finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to passe through Gallia into Italie, against their brother Lotharigo that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Neptune; as well Albion as Bergion assembling their powers togither, passed ouer into Gallia, to stoppe the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to vanquish and destroie those tyrants the sonnes of Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers countries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

Bale. Bergion brother to Albion. Hercules Lybicus.

The cause that moued Hercules thus to pursue vpon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world, was, for that not long before, the greatest part of them had conspired togither and slaine his father Misris, not withstanding that they were nephues to the same Misris, as sonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his slaughter, they diuided his carcase also amongst them, so that each of them got a peece in token of reioising at their murtherous atchiued enterprise.

The cause why Hercules pursued his cosins.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth Laabin) proclamed warres against them all in reuenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Trispon and Busiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, & the Gerions in Spaine, which enterprise atchiued, he led his armie towardes Italie, and by the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited their powers togither, were readie to receiue him with battell: and so neere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhosne, in Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the first there was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them. And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to whether part the glorie of that daies worke would bend. Whereupon when the victorie began outright to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihood of vtter losse of that battell, spectallie for that his men had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood still and were not otherwise occupied, to stoppe downe, and to gather vp stones, whereof in that place there was great plentie, which by his commandement they bestowed so freelie vpon their enimies, that in the end hee obteined the victorie, and did not only put his aduersaries to flight, but also slue Albion there in the field, togither with his brother Bergion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowesse of Hercules, who as one appointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruell & vnmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit of mankind, deliuering the oppressed from the heauie yoke of miserable thraldome, in euerie place where he came.

Pomp. Mela.

Hercules discomfiteth his enimies.

Albion is slaine.

And by the order of this battell wee maye learne whereof the poets had their inuention, when they faine in their writings, that Iupiter holpe his sonne Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen in this battell against Albion and Bergion. Moreouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine called Albion (as before we haue said) after the name of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Misris, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44. yeares,

The occasion of the fable of Iupiters helping his son Hercules. How this Iland was called Albion, of the giant Albion. Iohn Bale.

yeares, till finally he was ſlaine in maner afore remembred by his vncle Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquiſhed and deſtroied his enimies, hée paſſed to and fro thorough Gallia, ſuppreſſing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and reſtoring the people vnto a reaſonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Alexia in Burgongne, nowe called Alize. Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the ſame Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this doth Giraldus write by warrant of ſuch Britons as (ſaith he) haue ſo written themſelues, which thing peraduenture he hath read in Gildas the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confeſſeth in the 5. dialog of his hiſtories of poets) he hath ſeene. The ſame thing alſo is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriuall at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. See more hereof in the deſcription.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called anciently by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie do not allow of this hiſtorie of Albion the giant. But for ſo much as it appertaineth rather to the deſcription than to the hiſtorie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the ſecret myſteries of ſuch matters: and becauſe I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it toke that name of the forſaid Albion, ſonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as ſome of the other, I here paſſe ouer the reſt, & procéd with the hiſtorie.

When Albion chiefe capteine of the giants was ſlaine, the reſidue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or reſtraint of law, in ſo much that they fell to ſuch a diſſolute order of life, that they ſéemed little or nothing to differ from brute beaſts: and thoſe are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were ſo named, as well for the huge proportion of their ſtature (ſithens as before is ſaid, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as alſo for that they were the firſt, or at the leaſt the furtheſt in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gigines, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as ſome take it) is deriued, is a Gréeke word, and ſignifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, ſpecially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were perſuaded, that the firſt inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the deſcents of their predeceſſours, they would name him *Terræ filius*, The ſonne of the earth: and ſo the giants whom the poets faine to haue ſought to make battell againſt heauen are called the ſonnes of the earth: and the firſt inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Gréekes called Gigines, or Gegines, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and comming from no other countrie, but bred within the ſame.

Terræ filius what it ſignifieth.

Aborigines, Indigenæ.

These giants and firſt inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beaſtlie kind of life vnto the arriuall of the ladies, which ſome of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocleſian the king of Aſſyria, whereas in déed they haue béene deceiued, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Diocleſianus: and by the ſame meanes haue diuers words and names béene miſtaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written works. But this is a fault that learned men ſhould not ſo much trouble themſelues about, conſidering the ſame hath bin alreadie found by ſundrie authors ling ſithens, as Hugh the Italian, John Harding, John Rouſe of Warwike, and others, ſpeciallie by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a Britiſh hiſtorie, who recite the hiſtorie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And becauſe we would not any man to thinke, that the hiſtorie of theſe daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpoſe deuiſed, and brought in place of Diocleſianus, to excuſe the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no ſuch hiſtorie (or at the leaſt no ſuch women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue 900. yeares paſt, and maketh mention of the arriuall of ſuch ladies.

The miſtaking of the name of Diocleſianus for Danaus.

Hugh the Italian. Harding. John Rous out of Dauid Pencair.

Nennius.

To be ſhort, the hiſtorie is thus. Belus the ſonne of Epaphus, or (as ſome writers haue) of Neptune and Libies (whome Iſis after the death of Apis married) had iſſue two ſonnes: the firſt Danaus, called alſo Armeus; and Aegyptus called alſo Rameſes: theſe two were kings among the Aegyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the vpper region of Aegypt, had by ſundrie wiues 50. daughters, with whome his brother Aegyptus, gaping for the dominion of the whole, did inſtantlie labour, that his ſonnes being alſo 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by ſome propheſie or oracle, that a ſonne in law of his ſhould be his death, refuſed ſo to beſtow his daughters. Hereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flée his countrie, and ſo prepared a nauie, imbarked himſelfe and his daughters, and with them paſſed ouer into Gréece, where he found meanes to diſpoſſeſſe Geleno (ſonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the aſſiſtance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Geleno, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie déed did ſo farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Gréekes in remembrance of him were after called Danai.

Belus priſcus. *Dictionarium poeticum.*

Danaus. Aegyptus. Higinus.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great diſdaine for that he and his ſonnes were in ſuch ſort deſpiſed of Danaus, ſent his ſonnes with a great armie to make warre againſt their vncle, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either ſlaine Danaus, or obteined his daughters in mariage. The yong gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Greece, made ſuch warre againſt Danaus, that in the end he was conſtrained to giue vnto thoſe his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in mariage, and ſo they were. But as the prouerbe ſaith, In truſt appeared treacherie. For on the firſt night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a ſword, charging them that when their huſbands after their bankets and paſtimes were once brought into a ſound ſléepe, ech of them ſhould ſlea hir huſband, menacing them with death vnleſſe they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeied the will of their father, Hypermneſtra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kinred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers diſpleaſure: for ſhee alone ſpared the life of hir huſband Lynceus, waking him out of his ſléepe, and warning him to depart and flée into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practiſes reuealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and ſo eſcaped.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accompliſhed his commandement, ſauing onelie Hypermneſtra, he cauſed hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for diſobeieng him in a matter wherein both the ſafetie and loſſe of his life reſted: but ſhe was acquitted by the Argiues, &

Pauſanias.

discharged. Howbeit his father kept hir in prison, and seeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeied his pleasure in sleaing their first husbands, long it was yer he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mind. Neuertheless, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no iointures, and euerie suter should take his choise without respect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Howbeit when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he deuised a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whosoeuer got the best price should haue the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should chose next to the first; and so forth, eche one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of foote.

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certeine it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonomes was maried to Architeles, Chrysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Neptunus Equestris, on whome he begat Nauplius.

Higinus. But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wife Hypermnestra preserued, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue Pausanias. knowledge thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heigth beaconwise, accordingly as she had requested him to do at his departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwards toke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Upon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderstand the whole circumstance of the trecherous crueltie vsed by his vncle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vncles handes. Whereupon at time conuenient he was furnished forth with men and ships by his father, for the spedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and most disloiall murder, in which enterprise he sped him forth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vncle Danaus, set his wife Hypermnestra at libertie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argiues.

This done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sent for, whome he thought not worthie to liue, because of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarked and left to the mercy of the seas, Harding and Iohn Rous out of Dauid Pencair. by hap were brought to the coasts of this Ile then called Albion, where they toke land, and in seeking to prouide themselues of victuals by pursute of wilde beasts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and sauage giants mentioned before, whome our historiens for their beastlie kind of life do call diuells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satisfie the motions of their sensuall lust) ioine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the ladies arriuall here, bicause I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whome this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalfe. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall here of those ladies; yet certeine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whome this land might be called Albion. For further assurance whereof, if any Higinus. man be desirous to know all their names, we haue (The names of the daughters of Danaus. thought good here to rehearse them as they be found in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Idea, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Euippe, 6 Demodites, 7 Hyale, 8 Crite, 9 Damone, 10 Hipothoe, 11 Mirmidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Arania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hyppareta, 18 Chrysothemis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoaste, 21 Danaes, 22 Scea, 23 Glaucippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyrena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Monuste, 31 Aminone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helicte, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphilice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedia, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Erato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chrysanta, 50 Hypermnestra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that should arriue in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to vnderstand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedlie was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue See more in the description. said) or by some other occasion.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange aduenture of their arriuall here, as it may seeme to manie (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shall moue him; sith I see not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquitie, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likelie coniectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be deemed to agree with those authors that haue written of their comming into this Ile. But as for an assured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the comming of Brute, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annius de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the comming hither of Diuris, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewise of Ulysses his being here, Ulysses in Britaine. who in performing some vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was ancientlie called Caledonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words Iulius Solinus. doth record.

¶ Upon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, trusting it may be taken in good part, sith we haue but shewed the coniectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all these matters. Neuertheless, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, do relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Berosus, whom most diligent antiquaries do reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to proue the same by a speciall treatise latelie published at Rome.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Of Brute and his deſcent, how *he ſlue his father in hunting, his* baniſhment, his letter to king Pan*draſus, againſt whom he wageth* battell, taketh him priſoner, *and concludeth peace vpon* conditions.

The firſt Chapter.

HItherto haue we ſpoken of the inhabitants of this Ile before the comming of Brute, although ſome will needs haue it, that he was the firſt which inhabited the ſame with his people deſcended of the Troians, ſome few giants onelie excepted whom he vtterlie deſtroied, and left not one of them aliue through the whole Ile. But as we ſhall not doubt of Brutes comming hither, ſo may we aſſuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either with the generation of thoſe which Albion the giant had placed here, or ſome other kind of people whom he did ſubdue, and ſo reigned as well ouer them as ouer thoſe which he brought with him. Humfr. Lhoyd.

This Brutus, or Bryttus [for this letter (Y) hath of ancient time had the ſounds both of V and I] (as the author of the booke which Geffrey of Monmouth tranſlated doth affirme) was the ſonne of Siluius, the ſonne of Aſcanius, the ſonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wife Creuſa, ſometime borne in Troie, before the citie was deſtroied. But as other doo take it, the author of that booke (whatſoeuer he was) and ſuch other as follow him, are deceiued onelie in this point, miſtaking the matter, in that Poſthumus the ſonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauinia, and borne after his fathers deceaſſe in Italie) was called Aſcanius, who had iſſue a ſonne named Julius, who (as theſe other doo coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous leader of thoſe people, which being deſcended (for the more part in the fourth generation) from thoſe Troians that eſcaped with life, when that roiall citie was deſtroied by the Grekes, got poſſeſſion of this worthie and moſt famous Ile. Harding. Alex. Neuil. W. Har.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniuerſall hiſtorie, ſpeaking of Aeneas and his offſpring kings in Italie, ſeemeth to agree, where he ſaith: Siluius (the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a neece of his mother Lauinia, and by hir had a ſonne, of whom ſhe died in trauell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as he grew in ſome ſtature, and hunting in a forreſt ſlue his father vnwares, and thereupon for feare of his grandfather Siluius Poſthumus he fled the countrie, and with a retinue of ſuch as followed him, paſſing through diuers ſeas, at length he arriued in the Ile of Britaine.

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his father Julius was ſonne to Aſcanius the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Creuſa, or ſonne to Poſthumus called alſo Aſcanius, and ſonne to Aeneas by his wife Lauinia, we will not further ſtand. But this, we find, that when he came to the age of 15. yeeres, ſo that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the forreſts and chaſes, he fortuned (either by miſhap, or by Gods prouidence) to ſtrike his father with an arrow, in ſhooting at a deere, of which wound he alſo died. His grandfather (whether the ſame was Poſthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this great miſfortune that had chanced to his ſonne Siluius, liued not long after, but died for verie greefe and ſorow (as is ſuppoſed) which he conceiued thereof. And the yong gentleman, immediatlie after he had ſlaine his father (in maner before alledged) was baniſhed his countrie, and thereupon got him into Grecia, where trauelling the countrie, he lighted by chance among ſome of the Troian offſpring, and aſſociating himſelfe with them, grew by meanes of the linage (whereof he was deſcended) in proces of time into great reputation among them: chiefflie by reaſon there were yet diuers of the Troian race, and that of great authoritie in that countrie. For Pyrrhus the ſonne of Achilles, hauing no iſſue by his wife Hermione, maried Andromache, late wife vnto Hector: and by hir had three ſonnes, Poloſſus, Pileus, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of great power in thoſe places and countries, and their offſpring likewiſe: whereby Brutus or Bryttus wanted no friendſhip. For euen at his firſt comming thither, diuers of the Troians that remained in ſeruitude, being deſirous of libertie, by flocks reſorted vnto him. And amongſt other, Aſſaracus was one, whom Brute intertained, receiuing at his hands the poſſeſſion of ſundrie forts and places of defenſe, before that the king of thoſe parties could haue vnderſtanding or knowledge of any ſuch thing. Herewith alſo ſuch as were readie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on eth ſide, whereupon he firſt placed gariſons in thoſe townes which had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Aſſaracus and the reſidue of the multitude he withdrew into the mountains neere adioining. And thus being made ſtrong with ſuch aſſiſtance, by conſultation had with them that were of moſt authoritie about him, Brute killeth his father. Pauſanias.

him, wrote vnto the king of that countrie called Pandraſus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandraſus, as I *find it ſet downe in Galfride* Monumetenſis.

BRute leader of the remnant of the Troian people, to Pandraſus king of the Greekes, ſendeth greeting. Bicauſe it hath beene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people deſcended of the noble linage of Dardanus ſhould be otherwiſe dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themſelues within the cloſe couert of the woods. For they haue choſen rather (after the maner of wild beaſts) to liue on fleſh and herbs in libertie, than furniſhed with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of ſeruile thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highneſſe, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, ſith euerie captiue priſoner is deſirous to be reſtored vnto his former eſtate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their caſe, vouchſafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and ſuffer them to remaine in quiet within theſe woods which they haue got into their poſſeſſion: if not ſo, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countrie into ſome other parts.

The ſight of theſe letters, and requeſt in them conteined, made Pandraſus at the firſt ſomewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and conſidering their ſmall number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to ſuppreſſe them by force, before they ſhould grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to paſſe, he paſſed by a towne called Sparatinum, & marching toward the woods where he thought to haue found his enimies, he was ſuddenlie aſſalted by Brute, who with three thouſand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie ſetting vpon his enimies, made great ſlaughter of them, ſo that they were vtterlie diſcomfited, & ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues in paſſing a riuer neere hand called Akalon. Brute with his men following faſt vpon the aduerſaries, cauſed them to plunge into the water at aduenture, ſo that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Pandraſus did what he could to ſtay the Grecians from fleeing, and calling them backe againe did get ſome of them togither, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians preaſing vpon him, tooke him priſoner, ſlue and ſcattred his companie, and ceaſed not till they had rid the fields of all their aduerſaries.

This donne, Brute entering the towne, furniſhed it with ſix hundred able ſouldiours, and afterwards went backe to the reſidue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with vnſpeakeable ioy for this proſperous atchiued enterpriſe. But although this euill ſucceſſe at the firſt beginning ſore troubled Pandraſus, as well for the loſſe of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in deſire to ſeeke reuenge, than otherwiſe diſcouraged. And therefore aſſembling his people againe togither that were ſcattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatinum, where he thought to haue found Brute incloſed togither with the priſoners, and therfore he ſhewed his whole endeuour by hard ſiege and fierce aſſaults to force them within to yeeld.

To conclude, ſo long he continued the ſiege, till victuals began to waxe ſcant within, ſo that there was no way but to yeeld, if preſent ſuccour came not to remoue the ſiege: whereupon they ſignified their neceſſitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power ſufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue them a camiſado in the night ſeaſon, and ſo ordered his buſineſſe, that inforſing a priſoner (named Anacletus whome he had taken in the laſt battell) to ſerue his turne, by conſtreining him to take an oth (which he durſt not for conſcience ſake breake) he found means to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie ouerthrowe their whole power, but alſo tooke Pandraſus priſoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and ſhortlie after a perfect peace concluded, vpon theſe conditions following.

First, that Pandraſus ſhould giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent ſumme of gold and ſiluer for hir dowrie.

Secondlie, to furniſh him and his people with a nauie of ſhips, and to store the ſame with victuals and all other neceſſaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people ſhould haue licence to depart the countrie, to ſeeke aduentures whither ſo euer it ſhould pleaſe them to direct their courſe, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all theſe conditions (bicauſe they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdome) Pandraſus did willinglie agree, and likewiſe performed.

Pandraſus taken priſoner.

The conditions of the agreement betwixt Brute & Pandraſus.

Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in *Leogitia, they aske counſell of an oracle* where they ſhall inhabit, he meeteth with *a remnant of Troians on the coaſts* neere the ſhooting downe of the *Pyrenine hills into the ſea.*

Pandraſus prepareth an armie to ſuppreſſe the Troian ofſpring.

Sparatinum.

Peraduenture Achelous

Antigonus, the brother of Pandraſus.

He is taken priſoner.

Brute entreth into Sparatinum.

The ſecond Chapter.

ALl things being thus brought to paſſe according to Brutes deſire, wind alſo and wether ſeruing the purpoſe, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoiſing vp ſailes departed from the coaſts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights ſailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in ſome old written bookes of the Britiſh hiſtorie noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they conſulted with an oracle. Brute himſelfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for ſacrifice full of wine, and the bloud of a white hinde, ſpake in this maner as here followeth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror ſylueſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernáſq; domos, terreſtria iura reſolue,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam ſedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

These verſes (as Ponticus Virunnius and others alſo do geſſe) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Engliſhed:

Thou goddeſſe that dooſt rule
the woods and forreſts greene,
And chaſeſt foming boares
that flee thine awfull ſight,
Thou that maiſt paſſe aloft
in airie skies ſo sheene,

And

And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthlie ſtates,
direct our courſe aright,
And ſhew where we ſhall dwell,
according to thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that ſhall ſound
thy laud with voices ſhrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according to the pagane rite and cuſtome, Brute abiding his anſwer, fell aſléepe: in which ſléepe appeared to him the ſaid goddeſſe vttering this anſwer in the verſes following expreſſed.

Brute, ſub occaſum ſolis trans Gallica regna,
Inſula in oceano eſt, vndiq; clauſa mari,
Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, námq; tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges naſcentur, & ipſis
Totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit.

Brute, farre by-weſt beyond the Gallike land is found,
An Ile which with the ocean ſeas
incloſed is about,
Where giants dwelt ſometime,
but now is deſart ground,
Moſt meet where thou maiſt plant
thy ſelfe with all thy rout:
Make thitherwards with ſpeed,
for there thou ſhalt find out
An euerduring ſeat,
and Troie ſhall riſe anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
ſhall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world ſhall whole ſubdew.

After he awaked out of ſléepe, and had called his dreame to remembrance, he firſt doubted whether it were a verie dreame, or a true viſion, the goddes hauing ſpoken to him with liuelie voice. Whereupon calling ſuch of his companie vnto him as he thought requiſite in ſuch a caſe, he declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtances, whereat they greatlie reioiſing, cauſed mightie bonfires to be made, in the which they caſt wine, milke, and other liquors, with diuers gums and ſpices of moſt ſweet ſmell and ſauour, as in the pagan religion was accuſtomed. Which obſeruances and ceremonies performed and brought to end, they returned ſtreightwaies to their ſhips, and as ſoone as the wind ſerued, paſſed forward on their iournie with great ioy and gladneſſe, as men put in comfort to find out the wiſhed ſeats for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therefore they caſt about, and making weſtward, firſt arriued in Affrica, and after keeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraits of Gibzalterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hand, they found another companie that were likewiſe deſcended of the Troian progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hils ſhot downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon (as ſome ſuppoſe) was named in thoſe daies *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the Britiſh hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhenum*, was ſlightlie put downe in ſtead of *Pyrenæum*.

The miſtaking of thoſe that haue copied the Britiſh hiſtorie putting *Mare Tyrrhenum*, for *Pyrenæum*.

The offspring of thoſe Troians, with whom Brute and his companie thus did meet, were a remnant of them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine hight Corineus, a man of great modeſtie and approued wiſedome, and thereto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe.

Brute with his companie landed in Affrike.

Brute and the ſaid Troians with their *capteine Corineus doo aſſociat, they take* landing within the dominion of king Goſ- *farus, he raiſeth an armie againſt Brute and* his power, but is diſcomfited: of the *citie of Tours: Brutes arriuall in this* Iland with his companie.

The third Chapter.

After that Brute and the ſaid Troians, by conference interchangeablie had, vnderſtood one anothers eſtates, and how they were deſcended from one countrie and progenie, they vnited themſelues togither, greatlie reioiſing that they were ſo fortunatlie met: and hoiſing vp their ſailes, directed their courſe forward ſtill, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike, where they toke land within the dominion of a king called Goffarius, ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon he was deſcended of the people *Agathyrſi*, otherwiſe named Picts, becauſe they vſed to paint their faces and bodies, inſomuch that the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſt he beſtowed in painting himſelfe; and commonlie the haire of their head was red, or (as probable writers ſay) of ſkie colour. Herodotus calleth them χρυσοφόρους, becauſe they did weare much gold about them. They vſed their wiues in common, and becauſe they are all ſuppoſed to be brethren, there is no ſtrife nor diſcord among them. Of theſe *Agathyrſi*, it is recorded by the ſaid Herodotus, that they refuſed to ſuccour the Scythians againſt Darius, giuing this reaſon of their refuſall; becauſe they would not make warre againſt him who had done them no wrong. And of this people doth the poet make mention, ſaieng,

Brute and his companie thus landed in Britaine.

Wzute and Corineus ioin their companies togither.

They arriue on the coaſts of Gallia, now called France.

Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus.

Les annales d Aquitaine.

Agathyrſi, otherwiſe called Piers, of painting their bodies.

Marcellus. Plinie. Herodotus li. 4.

Virg. Aeneid. 4.

Cretéſq; Dryopéſq; fremunt pictiq; Agathyrſi.

To paint their faces not for amiableneſſe, but for terribleneſſe, the Britons in old time vſed, and that with a kind of herbe like vnto plantine. In which reſpect I ſée no reaſon why they alſo ſhould not be called Picts, as well as the Agathyrſi; ſéeing the denomination ſprang of a vaine cuſtome in them both. And here by the way, ſithens we haue touched this follie in two ſeuerall people, let it not ſéeme tedious to read this one tricke of the Indians, among whom there is great plentie of pretious ſtones, wherewith they adorne themſelues in this maner; namelie, in certein hollow places which they make in their fleſh, they incloſe and riuet in pretious ſtones, and that as well in their foreheads as their chéekes, to none other purpoſe, than the Agathyrſi in the vſe of their painting.

Cæſar com. li. 5

P. Mart. com. part. 2. ſect. 60.

The countrie of Poictou (as ſome hold) where the ſaid Goffarius reigned, toke name of this people: likewiſe a part of this our Ile of Britaine now conteined within Scotland, which in ancient time was called Pightland or Pictland, as elſewhere both in this hiſtorie of England, and alſo of Scotland may further appeare. But to our purpoſe.

Pightland or Pictland.

When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtrangers within his countrie, he ſent firſt certeine of his people to vnderſtand what they ment by their comming a land within his dominion, without licence or leaue of him obteined. They that were thus ſent, came by chance to a place where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhips into a forreſt néere the ſea ſide, to kill ſome veneſon for their ſuſtenance:

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brute.

nance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull speach of those Poictouins, he shaped them a round answer: insomuch that one of them whose name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but he auoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poictouins fled therevpon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obteined a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the noble prowesse of Corineus.

Corineus answereth the messengers.

Imbert.

Imbert is slaine by Corineus.

Goffarius raiseth an armie.

Goffarius is discomfited.

Goffarius seeketh aid against Brute.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Gallia, making sute for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers prouinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made hauocke in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a citie named *Turonium*, that is, Tours.

Brute spoileth the countrie.

Turonium or Tours built by Brute.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his comming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euen thirtie times as manie mo as the Troians) were constreined to retire into their campe, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compell them to yéeld themselues vnto their mercie. But Corineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campe, to lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till the morning that Brute should come forth and giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Corineus should breake forth and assaile the Galles on the backes.

Goffarius hauing renewed his forces, fighteth eftsoones with Brute.

This policie was put in practise, and toke such effect as the deuisers themselues wished: for the Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden comming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they toke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed maruellous proofe of his manhood. Of him (as some haue written) the foresaid citie of Tours toke the name, and was called *Turonium*, bicause the said Turinus was there buried.

Theuer.

Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and maintaineth that one Taurus the nephue of Hanniball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the maner of those daies was of fensing their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauiour 197.

3374

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioise, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers dailie decased, and his enimies still increased, and grew stronger: wherevpon resting doubtfull what to do, whether to proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships to seeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he toke it, and as it proued. For whilest the greater part of his armie was yet left aliue, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his naule, and lading his ships with exceeding great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the countrie, he toke the seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at the hauen now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2850, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliuerance of the Israelites from the captiuitie of Babylon 397, almost ended: in the 18 yeare of the reigne of Eneas king of Babylon, 13 of Pelanthus king of Athens, before the building of Rome 368, which was before the natiuitie of our Sauior Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great 783.

Brute in doubt what to doo.

Brute arriueth in the Ile. Anno mundi 2850.

1116

Brute discouereth the commodities of *this Iland, mightie giants withstand him,* Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together *at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the* citie of Trinouant now termed London, *calleth this Iland by the name of* Britaine, and diuideth it into three *parts among his three sonnes.*

The fourth Chapter.

WHEN Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arriuall (as writers do record) he searched the countrie from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and graile, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus trauelled to discouer the state and commodities of the Iland, he was encountred by diuers strong and mightie giants, whome he destroied and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the Iland, which were more in number than by report of some authors it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrestle at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Corineus while they stroue to claspe, and the one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the vpper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, The fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterward it was called The fall of Douer. For this valiant déed, and other the like seruices first and last atchiued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrie of Cornwall. To be briefe, after that Brute had destroied such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subiection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration séemed to be most pleasant and conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aswell for holsomnesse of aire, goodnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie of the riuer, serving as well to bring in as to carrie out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, store, and vse of them that there should inhabit.

Brute encountreth the giants.

Corineus wrestleth with Gogmagog.

Gogmagog slaine.

Cornwall giuen to Corineus.

inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the ſecond yeare after his arriuall, which he named (ſaith Gal. Mon.) Troinouant, or (as Hum. Lhoyd ſaith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part deſcended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Iland fullie vnder his ſubiection, he by the aduiſe of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the firſt bringer of them into the land. In this meane while alſo he had by his wife Ingonne, three ſonnes, the firſt named Locrinus or Locrine, the ſecond Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew néere, to the firſt he betooke the gouernment of that part of the land nowe knowne by the name of England: ſo that the ſame was long after called Loegria, or Logiers, of the ſaid Locrinus. To the ſecond he appointed the countrie of Wales, which of him was firſt named Cambria, diuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne. To his third ſonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the ſaid Albanact: which portion of the ſaid Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had diuided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had gouerned the ſame by the ſpace of 15. yeares, he died in the 24 yeare after his arriuall (as Hariſon noteth) and was buried at Troinouant or London: although the place of his ſaid buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

Brute with his remnant of Troians arriued in the Ile. Anno mundi 2850.

1116

In the daies of this our Brute Samuell gouerned Iſrael.

Brute encountred by the giants.

Cozineus wreſtleth with Gogmagog.

Gogmagog ſlaine.

Cornwall giuen to Cozineus.

Of Locrine the eldeſt ſonne of Brute, *of Albanact his yoongeſt ſonne, and his* death: of Madan, Mempricius, Ebranke, *Brute Greenesheeld, Leill,* Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, *the nine rulers of Britaine ſucceſſiuelie after Brute.*

The fift Chapter.

Locrine the ſecond ruler of Britain

LOcrinus or Locrine the firſt begotten ſonne of Brute began to reigne ouer the countrie called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the countrie that reached from the ſouth ſea vnto the riuer of Humber. While this Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was ſlaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who inuaded that part of Britaine, and got poſſeſſion thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouerie of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming againſt the ſaid king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they diſcomfited him in battell, and chaſed him ſo egerlie, that he himſelfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name of the ſaid king, and was called Humber, and ſo continueth vnto this daie.

Gal. Mon. Mat. Weſt. Fa. out of G. de Co. Gal. Mon. Mat. Weſt.

It ſhould ſeeme that he was come ouer the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

Moreouer in this battell againſt the Hunnes were three yong damſels taken of excellent beautie, ſpecially one of them, whoſe name was Eſtrild, daughter to a certeine king of Scythia. With this Eſtrild king Locrine fell ſo farre in loue, notwithſtanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendoloena, daughter to Cozineus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all ſpéd to marie the ſame Eſtrild. But being earneſtlie called vpon, and in manner forced thereto by Cozineus, hée changed his purpoſe, and married Guendoloena, kéeping neuertheles the aforeſaid Eſtrild as paramour ſtill after a ſecret ſort, during the life of Cozineus his father in law.

Now after that Cozineus was departed this world, Locrine forſooke Guendoloena, and maried Eſtrild. Guendoloena therefore being caſt off by hir huſband, got hir into Cornewall to hir friends and kinred, and there procured them to make warre againſt the ſaid Locrine hir huſband, in the which warres hée was ſlaine, and a battell fought néere to the riuer of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the Citie of Troinouant, leauing behind him a yong ſonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnméete to gouerne. Mat. Weſt.

Guendoloena or Guendoline the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Cozineus duke of Cornewall, for ſo much as hir ſonne Madan was not of yeares ſufficient to gouerne, was by common conſent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yéere of the world 2894, and ſo hauing the adminiſtration in hir hands, ſhe did right diſcreetlie vſe hir ſelfe therein, to the comfort of all hir ſubiects, till hir ſonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then ſhe gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after ſhe had gouerned by the ſpace of fiftéene yeares. Gal. Mon.

She is not numbred amongſt thoſe that reigned as rulers in this land by Mat. weſt.

Madan the third ruler.

MAdan the ſonne of Locrine and Guendoline entred into the gouernement of Britaine in the 2909. of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, ſauing that he vſed great tyrannie amongſt his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares, he was deuoured of wild beaſts, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two ſonnes, Mempricius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Madancaſtre, now Dancaſtre, which reteineth ſtill the later part of his name.

Mempricius the fourth ruler.

MEmpricius the eldeſt ſonne of Madan began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell againſt him, ſo that ſore and deadly warre continued long betweene them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was ſlaine by his brother Mempricius, ſo that then he liued in more tranquillitie and reſt. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into ſlouth, and ſo into vnlawfull luſt of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finallie became ſo beaſtlie, that he forſooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable ſinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was loſt of his people, and deſtroied of wild beaſts, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leauing behind him a noble yong ſonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Fabian. Manlius is ſlaine. Gal. Mon.

Slouth engendzed lecherie.

Mempricius is deuoured of beaſts.

Ebranke the fift ruler.

EBranke the ſonne of Mempricius began to rule ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers do of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. ſonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldeſt hight Gualeſ, or Gualea. Theſe daughters he ſent to Alba Syluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italie, or the firſt king of the Latines, to the end they might be married

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirtie daughters ſent into Italie.

married to his noble men of the bloud of Troians, becauſe the Sabines refuſed to ioine their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the firſt prince of his land that euer inuaded France after Bute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and elſe where. His ſonnes alſo vnder the conduct of Aſſaracus, one of their eldeſt brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their ſiſters thither, inuaded Germanie, being firſt moleſted by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the ſaid Alba ſubdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themſelues. Our hiſtories ſay, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conqueſts, and that he builded the citie of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He builded alſo in Albania now called Scotland, the caſtle of Maidens, afterward called Edenburgh of Adian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewiſe by him (as ſome write) now decaied. After which cities thus builded, he ſailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and ſubduing the Galles as is aforeſaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wiſe by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

Bergomas lib. 6.

The citie of Caerbranke builded. Matth. Weſt.

Fortie yeares hath Math. Weſt. and Gal. Monumine.

Brute Greeneſhield the ſixt ruler.

Iacobus Leſ.

BRute Greeneſhield, the ſonne of Ebranke, was made gouernor of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Aſa reigning in Juda, and Baaſa in Iſraell. This prince bare alwaies in the field a greene ſhield, whereof he toke his ſurname, and of him ſome forraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his ſubiection, which he performed; becauſe his father ſuſteined ſome diſhonor and loſſe in his laſt voiage into that countrie. Howbeit they ſay, that when he came into Henaud, Brinchild a prince of that quarter gaue him alſo a great ouerthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This I borrow out of William Hariſon, who in his chronologie toucheth the ſame at large, concluding in the end, that the ſaid paſſage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the ſouth, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and alſo a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (ſaith he) it ſhould ſeeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the ſaid countrie, whereof Plinie alſo ſpeaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he aſcribe it vnto France after a diſordered maner. More I find not of this foreſaid Brute, ſauing that he ruled the land a certeine time, his father yet liuing; and after his deceaſe the tearme of twelue yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the ſeuenth ruler.

Caerleil builded.

Cheſter repaired.

LEill the ſonne of Brute Greeneſhield, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the ſame time that Aſa was reigning in Juda, and Ambri in Iſraell. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired alſo (as Henrie Bradſhaw ſaith) the citie of Caerleon now called Cheſter, which (as in the ſame Bradſhaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he had to auouch this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his worke intituled Polychronicon, ſaith in plaine wordes, that it is vnknowen who was the firſt founder of Cheſter, but that it toke the name of the ſoiourning there of ſome Romaine legions, by whome alſo it is not vnlike that it might be firſt built by P. Oſtorius Scapula, who as we find, after he had ſubdued Caratacus king of the Ordouices that inhabited the countries now called Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and Salopſhire, built in thoſe parts, and among the Silures, certeine places of defenſe, for the better harborough of his men of warre, and keeping downe of ſuch Britaines as were ſtill readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpoſe concerning K. Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie vpright, and deſirous to ſee iuſtice executed, and aboue all thinges loued peace & quietneſſe; but as yeares increaſed with him, ſo his vertues began to diminiſh, in ſo much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he ſuffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuouſneſſe, and ſo procuring the hatred of his ſubiects, cauſed malice and diſcord to riſe amongſt them, which during his life he was neuer able to appeaſe. But leauing them ſo at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

Lud or Ludhurdibras the eight ruler.

Kaerkin or Canterburie is builded.

Caerguent is builded.

Paladour is builded.

LVd or Ludhurdibras the ſonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, hee ſought to appeaſe the debate that was raiſed in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to hir former quietneſſe, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Kaerkin now called Canterburie: alſo the towne of Caerguent now cleped Wincheſter, and mount Paladour now called Shaftſburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftſburie, Aquila a prophet of the Britiſh nation wrote his prophecies, of which ſome fragments remaine yet to be ſeene, tranſlated into the Latine by ſome ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a ſonne behind him named Baldud.

Baldud or Bladud the ninth ruler.

Gal. Mon.

The king was learned.

Hot bathes.

BAldud the ſonne of Ludhurdibras began to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well ſeene in the ſciences of aſtronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report ſaith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmeſburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Ceſar made thoſe bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Ceſar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came ſo farre within the land that way forward. But of theſe bathes more ſhall be ſaid in the deſcription. Now to proceed. This Baldud toke ſuch pleaſure in artificiall practiſes & magike, that he taught this art throughout all his realme. And to ſhew his cunning in other points, vpon a preſumptuous pleaſure which he had therein, he toke vpon him to flie in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which ſtood in the citie of Troinouant, and there was torne in peces after he had ruled the Britaines by the ſpace of 20. yeares.

Mat. Weſt. The prince did die.

Leir the 10. ruler.

Mat. Weſt. Leiceſter is builded.

LEir the ſonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Juda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and ſubiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leiceſter, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Soſe. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other iſſue, whoſe names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla, which daughters he greatly loued, but ſpecially Cordeilla the youngeſt farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to ware vnweldie through age, he thought to vnderſtand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome he beſt loued, to the ſucceſſion ouer the kingdome. Wherupon he firſt

Gal. Mon.

asked

A triall of loue.

asked Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that she loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most dere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir saiengs with great othes) that she loued him more than tong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

The answer of the yongest daughter.

Then called he his yongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare you, assertaine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are worth, and so much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

The two eldest daughters are maried.

The realme is promised to his two daughters.

Neuertheles it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in mariage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters alreadie. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of denall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

He gouerned the third part of Gallia as Gal. Mon. saith.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir toke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constreined of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore estate, the first sent to him priuilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as apertained to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had beene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to his sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband tooke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeeres, and thereto, fortie yeeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuer of Sore beneath the towne. Matth. West.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla, how she was vanquished, of hir imprisonment and selfe-murther: the contention betweene Cunedag and Margan nephewes for gouernement, and the ende thereof.

The sixt Chapter.

Queene Cordeilla.

Cordeilla the yongest daughter of Leir was admitted Q. and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3155, before the building of Rome 54, Uzia then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam ouer Israell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers decease ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of fiue yeeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about the end of those fiue yeeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against hir, and destroied a great part of the land, and finallie toke hir prisoner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she toke such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue hirselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of fiue yeeres.

Cunedag and Margan.

Cunedagius and Marganus nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Catnesse, and the other part lieng south and by-west, was assigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yeere of the world 3170, before the building of Rome 47, Uzia as then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. Afterwards

wards, these two cousins, Cunedag and Margan, had not reigned thus past a two yeeres, but through some seditious persons, Margan was perswaded to raise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his eare, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Hereupon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entring into the land of Cunedag, he burned and destroied the countrie before him in miserable maner.

Margan inuadeth his cousine Cunedag.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make, and comming with the same against Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he slue a great number of Margans people, and put the residue to flight; and furthermore pursued him from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said Margan gaue him eftsones a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome and slaine in the field; by reason whereof that countrie toke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this daie Glau Margan, which is to meane in our English tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after he had reigned with his brother two yeeres, or thereabouts.

Margan is slaine. Matt. West.

Cunedagus alone.

AFter the death of Margan, Cunedag the sonne of Henninus and Ragaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Vzia still reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. He gouerned this Ile well and honourablie for the tearme of 33 yeares, and then dieng, his bodie was buried at Troinouant or London. Moreouer, our writers do report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

Of Riuallus, Gurgustius, Sysillius, Iago, and Kinimacus, *rulers of Britaine* by succession, and of the accidents *coincident with their times.*

The seuenth Chapter.

Riuallus the 13. *ruler.*

RIuallus, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, Joathan as then being king of Juda, and Phacea king of Israel. This Riuall gouerned the Ile in great welth and prosperitie. In his time it rained bloud by the space of three daies togither; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisome and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeares he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Perdix also a wizard, and a learned astrologian florished and writ his prophesies, and Herene also.

It rained bloud. Matth. West.

Rome builded

Gurgustius the 14. *ruler.*

GVrgustius, the son of the before named Riuall, began to gouerne the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Juda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the sonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeares, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by his father.

Sysillius, or after some writers Syluius, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Manasses still reigning in Juda. This Sysillius in the English chronicle is named Secill. He reigned 49 yeares, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Sysillius the 15. *ruler.*

IAgo or Lago, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Sysillius, toke vpon him the gouernement of Britaine; in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in which time the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar, and the king of Juda, Mathania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 23 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Iago the 16. *ruler.*

KInimacus or Kinmarus the sonne of Sysillius as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britain, in the yere of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Jewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Kinimacus the 17. *ruler.*

Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, *one brother killeth another, the mother slaieth hir sonne, and how Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of issue* legitimate to the gouernment) *of a monarchie became a pentarchie: the end* of Brutes line.

The eight Chapter.

GOrbodug the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the Jews captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the tearme of 62 yeares, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leauing after him two sonnes Ferrer and Porrer, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Gorbodug the 18. *ruler.*

FErrer with Porrer his brother began iointlie to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forsoke their citie in their rebellious mod. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through couetousnesse, and desire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, wherby Ferrer was constreined to flee into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gunhardus or Suardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obteine the dominion of the whole Iland. But his brother Porrer was readie to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrer was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrer was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrer suruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasteriensis writeth, that Porrer deuising waies to kill Ferrer, atchiued his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so euer suruiued, the mother of them was so highlie offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom she most intierlie

Ferrex the 19. *ruler.*

Ferrer fled into Gallia.

Matth. West.

intierlie loued, that ſetting apart all motherlie affec-
tion, ſhe found the meanes to enter the chamber of
him that ſurmized in the night ſeaſon, and as he ſlept,
the with the helpe of hir maidens ſlue him, and cut
him into ſmall peeces, as the writers doo affirme.
Such was the end of theſe two brethren, after they
had reigned by the ſpace of foure or fiue yeares.

The mother killeth hir ſon.

After this followed a troublous ſeaſon, full of cruell warre, and ſeditious diſcord, whereby in the end, and for the ſpace of fiftie yeares, the monarchie or ſole gouernement of the Iland became a pentarchie, that is, it was diuided betwixt fiue kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute (according to the report of moſt writers) tooke an end: for after the death of the two foreſaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left aliue to ſucceed them in the kingdome. The names of theſe fiue kings are found in certeine old pedegrees: and although the ſame be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet theſe vndernamed are the moſt agreeable.

Robert Record

But of theſe fiue kings or dukes, the Engliſh chro-
nicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for moſt rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certeine by report of ancient authors, how long this variance continued amongſt the Britains: but (as ſome ſay) it laſted for the ſpace of 51 yeres, coniecturing ſo much by that which is recorded in Polychron. who ſaith, who it endured euen till the beginning of the reigne of Dulmucius Dunwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute firſt entred Britaine, about the ſpace of 703 three yeares.

Fabian. Ctuill Warres 51. yeares.

¶ Here ye muſt note, that there is difference amongſt writers about the ſupputation and account of theſe yeares, inſomuch that ſome making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the ſame to varie aboue three C. yeares, are brought into further doubt of the truth of the whole hiſtorie: but whereas other haue by diligent ſearch tried out the continuance of euerie gouernors reigne, and reduced the ſame to a likelihood of ſome conformitie, I haue thought beſt to follow the ſame, leauing the credit thereof with the firſt authors.

The pentarchie.

1	Rudacus	king of	Wales.
2	Clotenus		Cornewall.
3	Pinnor		Loegria.
4	Staterus		Albania.
5	Yewan		Northumberland.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

THE THIRD BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Of Mulmucius the firſt king *of Britaine, who was crowned* with a golden crowne, his lawes, *his foundations, with other* his acts and deeds.

The firſt Chapter.

Mulmucius. Matth. Weſt. Polyd.

NOw to proceede with the aforeſaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallo, or as other ſaie Dunuallo Mulmucius, the ſonne of Cloton (as teſtifieth th' engliſh chronicle and alſo Geffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers deceaſſe began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yeere of Darius Artaxerres Longimanus, the firſt king of the Perſians. This Mulmucius Dunuallo is named in the engliſh chronicle Donebant, and prooued a right worthie prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as ſome hold opinion, I wote not vpon what ground) was the ſame which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and ſelling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Molle) builded the two townes Malmeſburie and the Ties. He alſo made manie good lawes, which were long after vſed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the Britiſh ſpeech into the Latine by Gildas Priſcus, and long time after tranſlated out of latine into engliſh by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his ſtatutes. He moreouer gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the ſame, ſo that whoſoeuer fled to them, ſhould be in ſafegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his perſon. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finiſhed by his ſonne Blinus, as after ſhall be declared.

Fabian. See more in the deſcription.

Malmeſburie and the Ties built. Matth. Weſt.

Lawes made.

Caxton and Polychron.

Ferrex fled into Gallia.

Matth. Weſt.

red.

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduise of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in vse: & bicause he was the first that bare a crowne heere in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

The first king that was crowned with a golden crowne.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finallie, after he had guided the land by the space of fortie yeeres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troinouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome should be diuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men do coniecture.)

Polyd. Weights and measures.

Theft punished. Fabian.

The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and *Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius*, their discontentment, the stratagems of *the one against the other, the expulsion* of Brennus out of Britaine.

The second Chapter.

Belinus and Brennus.

BRennus and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3574, after the building of the citie of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the seuenth yeere of Artarerres surnamed Mnemon, the seuenth king of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall: and Brennus all those countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of sir or seuen yeeres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himselfe aid in forreine parties, & therefore by the prouocation and counsell of yong vnquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsung or Elsing, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, townes, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garisons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

3574

Matth. West.

Polyd. saith 5.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elsingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertised hereof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and souldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he tooke his course homewards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, bicause of the yong ladie which Brenne had maried, for whome he had beene a suter to hir father Elsing of long time. When these two fleetes of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a sore battell betwixt them, but finallie the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke the ship wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was she brought aboord the ship of Guilthdacus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guilthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenlie thereupon arose a sore tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish fleete, and put the king in danger to haue beene lost: but finallie within fiue daies after, being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few such ships as kept together with him.

A tempest.

Guilthdacus landed in the north.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, vpon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arriuall, caused him to be staied. Shortlie after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten togither the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfiture, and then newlie rigged and furnished of all things necessarie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore vnto him his wife wrongfullie rauished by Guilthdacus, and also his lands iniuriouslie by him seized into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortlie denied, Brenne made no long delaie, but speedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incountred with his brother Beline nere vnto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfiture did light so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead vpon the ground.

Calater wood is in Scotland.

Hereby Brenne being forced to flee, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus duke of the people called then Allobrogs (as Galfrid of Monmouth saith) or rather Armorica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more truelie maie seeme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, assembling his councell at Caerbranke, now called York, tooke aduise what he should do with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordeined, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himselfe by doing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yeerelie tribute. These couenants being agreed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle saith.

Seguinus or Seginus duke of the Allobrogs, now the Dolphinat or Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britains.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and for so much as the foure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called forth and assembled, whom he set in hand to paue the said waies with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should trauell through the countries from place to place, as occasion should require.

The foure high waies finished.

The first of these foure waies is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Totnesse in Cornewall, and so passing forth by Deuonshire, and Somersetshire, by Tutberie, on Cotteswold, and then forward beside Couentrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plaines towards Newarke, and endeth at the citie of Lincolne. The second waie was named Watling stréete, the which stretcheth ouerthwart the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Douer, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by-west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so forth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Towcester, and Wedon by-south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and so forth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a

The Fosse.

Watling street

place

place called Cardigan, at the Irish sea. The third way was named Ermingstréet, which stretched out of the west northwest, vnto the east southeast, and beginneth at Menecuia, the which is in Saint Dauids land in west Wales, and so vnto Southampton. The fourth and last waie hight Hiknelstréete, which leadeth by Worcester, Winchcombe, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield, and by Yorke, and so forth vnto Tinmouth. After he had caused these waies to be well and sufficientlie raised and made, he confirmed vnto them all such priuileges as were granted by his father.

Erming strét.

Hiknelstrét.

Priuileges granted to the wales.

Brennus marrieth with the duke of Allobrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie against his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they ioine might & munition and haue great conquests, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

The third Chapter.

IN the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the necessarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onelie with 12. persons, bicause he was a goodlie gentleman, and séemed to vnderstand what apperteined to honour, grew shortlie into fauour with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduersitie, and the whole circumstance of his mishap, at length was so highlie cherished of the said Seginus, delighting in such worthie qualities as he saw in him daillie appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in marriage, with condition, that if he died without issue male, then should he inherit his estate & dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue anie heire male behind him, then should he yet helpe him to recouer his land and dominion in Britaine, béereft from him by his brother.

Brenne marrieth the duke of Allobrogs daughter.

These conditions well and surelie vpon the dukes part by the assent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and assured, the said duke within the space of one yéere after died. And then after a certeine time, being knowne that the duches was not with child, all the lords of that countrie did homage to Brenne, receiuing him as their lord and supreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewise for his part in recompense of their curtesie, bestowed a great portion of his treasure.

Shortlie after also, with their assent he gathered an armie, and with the same ships came ouer into Britaine, to make new warre vpon his brother Beline. Of whose landing when Beline was informed, he assembled his people, and made himselfe readie to méete him: but as they were at point to haue ioined battell, by the intercession of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirselfe in all motherlie order, and most louing maner towards them both, they fell to an agréement, and were made friends or euer they parted asunder.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Britaine.

Brenne and Beline made friends by intercession of their mother.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice togither with their peeres and councellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to passe with both their armies into Gallia, to subdue that whole countrie, and so following this determination, they tooke shipping and sailed ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and sword, they wrought such maisteries, that within a short time (as saith Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanie, and brought it to their subiection. In the end they tooke Rome by this occasion (as writers report) if these be the same that had the leading of those Galles, which in this season did so much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had passed the mountaines, & were entred into Tuscan, they besieged the citie of Clusium, the citizens whereof being in great danger, sent to Rome for aid against their enimies. Whereupon the Romanes, considering with themselues that although they were not in anie league of societie with the Clusians, yet if they were ouercome the danger of the next hunt were like to be theirs: with all spéed they sent ambassadours to intreat betwixt the parties for some peace to be had.

Now Clusi.

Ambassadours sent from Rome.

They that were sent, required the capteines of the Galles, in the name of the senat and citizens of Rome, not to molest the friends of the Romans. Whereunto answere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were so that the Clusians would be agréeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwise (said he) there could be no peace granted.

Brennus answere.

The Romane ambassadours being offended with these words, demanded what the Galles had to do in Tuscan, by reason of which and other the like ouerthwart words, the parties began to kindle in displeasure so farre, that their communication brake off, and so they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

The Romane ambassadours also to shew of what prowesse the Romans were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbidding such as came in ambassage about anie treatie of peace to take either one part or other) tooke weapon in hand, and ioined themselues with the Clusians, wherewith the Galles were so much displeased, that incontinentlie with one voice, they required to haue the siege raised from Clusium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good first to send messengers thither, to require the deliuerie of such as had broken the law, that punishment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deserued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambassadors were not onelie not punished, but also chosen to be tribunes for the next yeare.

The Galles then became in such a rage (because they saw there was nothing to be looked for at the hands of the Romans, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceitfull traines) that they turned all their force against them, marching streight towards Rome, and by the waie destroied all that stood before them.

The Galles make towards Rome.

The Romans aduertised thereof, assembled themselues togither to the number of 40. thousand, and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about 11. miles on this side Rome, were slaine and quite discomfited.

The Romans incountring with the Galles are ouerthrowne.

The Galles could scarse beléeue that they had got the victorie with so small resistance: but when they perceiued that the Romans were quite ouerthrowne and that the field was clearelie rid of them, they got togither the spoile, and made towards Rome it selfe, where such feare and terror was striken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in despaire to defend the citie: and therefore the senate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got them into the capitoll, which they furnished with victuals and all things necessarie for the maintenance of the

The Romans in despaire withdraw into the capitoll.

same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell.

The Galles enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Galles to the citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way vnto the market place, marvelling to see the houses of the power sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not over rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reverenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, gravenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

The reverend aspect of the senators.

Marcus Papirius.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Galles on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being provoked, slue Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murthered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Galles attempted in the night season to have entred the capitoll: and in deed ordered their enterprise so secretlie, that they had atchiued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in waking the Romans that were asleepe: & so by that meanes were the Galles beaten backe and repelled.

Rome sacked.

365

The capitoll defended.

Camillus reuoked from exile, made *dictator, and receiueth peremptorie au-* thoritie, he ouerthroweth the Galles in a *pitcht field, controuersie betweene wri-* ters touching Brennus and Belinus left *vndetermined; of diuers foundations, erections* and reparations doone and atchiued *by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his burieng.*

The fourth Chapter.

THe Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselues how to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had vniustlie banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onelie send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power over all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

A composition

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost famished for lacke of vittels) compounded with Brenne and Belinè, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should redeeme their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans name was preserued at that time from such dishonor and ignominie as was likelie to haue insued. For some of the couetous sort of the Galles, not contented with the iust weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: whereupon the Romans refused to make paiment after that weight.

And thus whilest they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agreement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Galles to prepare themselues to battell, wherevnto they lightlie agreed, and togither they went. The battell being once begun, the Galles that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie ouercome, such as stood to the brunt were slaine, and the rest by flight constreined to depart the citie.

Camillus disappointeth the Galles of their paiment.

The Galles ouerthrowne.

Polybius writeth, that the Galles were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoeuer the matter passed, thus much haue we kept from our purpose, to shew somwhat of that noble and most famous capteine Brennus, who (as not onelie our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Belinè (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there abouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Gals inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Llhoyd and sir Iohn Prise doo flatlie denie this same, by reason of some discordance in writers, & namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Belinè was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liuius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: whereupon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through prowesse of his worthie prowesse, atteined to such estimation amongst the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Belinè went ouer with his brother, and finallie returned backe againe, leauing Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilest his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certeintie.

Titus Liu. Polydor.

Matth. West.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie worthie deeds accomplished by Belinè, in repairing of cities decaied, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifieng of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer of Uske falleth into Seuerne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wilske. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable monu-

Polychr. Gal. M. Caerleon. Wilske built by Belinè.

monuments are remaining there till this day, testifieng the great magnificence and rotall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also sith the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Iulius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe see: but after, the same see was translated into Menenia, (that is to say) saint Dauid in Westwales. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Albon.

Fabian. This Belin also builded an hauen with a gate ouer the same, within the citie of Trinouant now called London, in the summitie or highest part where of afterwards was set a vessell of braile, in the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceasse was burnt, as the maner of burieng in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a kastell eastward from this gate (as some haue written) which was long time after likewise called Belins kastell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Belin studying dailie to beautifie this land with godlie buildings and famous workes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.

John Leland.

The tower of London built by Belin.

Of Gurguintus, Guintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding each other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

The fift Chapter.

Gurguintus. GVrguintus the sonne of Belin began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 164 complet, which was about the 33 yeare of Artarerres Mnemon, surnamed Magnus, the seuenth king of the Persians. This Gurguint in the English chronicle is named Cozinbratus, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbirue, the which bicause the tribute granted by Guilthdag king of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the kings of Britaine was denied, he sailed with a mightie naule and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constreined to grant essones to continue the paiment of the aforesaid tribute.

Matth. West. Gal. M.

Titus Liu. Polydor.

Gurguint constrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

Matth. West.

After he had thus atchiued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountred with a naule of 30 ships beside the Iles of Orkenies. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Valenses or Baselenses, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subiects, & hold of him as of their soueregne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduise of his barons granted to them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of some authors) lay waste and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Hiberienses, of Hiberus their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine. Polychron.

Matth. West. Gal. Mon.

Valques.

See more hereof in Ireland.

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordeined that the lawes made by his ancestors should be duelie kept and obserued. And thus administring iustice to his subiects for the tearme of 19 yeares, he finallie departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caerleon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare. Caius.

Guintolinus. GVintolinus or Quintilius the sonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3614, after the building of the citie of Rome 389, and second yere of the 206 Olimpiad. This Guintolinus was a wise prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wisedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernement and equall administration of iustice after hir husbands deceasse, during hir sonnes minoritie, it most manifestlie appeared.

It is thought that in an happie time this Guintolinus came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissentions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he carefullie accomplished: for hauing once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iustice, lawes and good orders, the Britith common wealth, by other kings not so framed as stood with the quietnesse thereof. But afore all things he vtterlie remoued and appeased such ciuill discord, as seemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of those seditious factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewith, death tooke him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeares, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius. SIcilius the sonne of Guintoline, being not past seuen yeares of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 3659, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the first after the death of Alexander. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and person committed to hir charge.

Queene Martia gouerneth in hir sonnes roome.

She was a woman expert and skilfull in diuers sciences, but chiefelie being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, she studied to preserue the common wealth in good quiet and wholsome order, and therefore deuised and established profitable and conuenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preseruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the Britith tong, into the English Saxon speech, and then were they called after that translation Marchenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minoritie of hir sonne right politikelie; and highlie to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir sonne came to lawfull age, she deliuered vp the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some anouch but seuen yeares, though other

She maketh lawes.

Matth. West.

Matt. West.

Cæsarius disappointeth the Galles of their paiment.

The Galles ouerthrowne.

Polychr. Gal. M. Caerleon wisse built by Belin.

other affirme 15. which agréeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

Of Kimarus and his sudden end, of Elanius and his short regiment, of Morindus and his beastlie crueltie, all three immediatlie succeeding each other in the monarchie of Britaine, with the exploits of the last.

The sixt Chapter.

Kimarus. KImarus the sonne of Scilius began to reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3657, and after the building of Rome 442, & in the first yeare of the 117. Olimpiad. This Kimarus being a wild yong man, and giuen to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine by some that were his enimies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned scarselie three yeares.

Fabian.

Elanius. ELanius the sonne of Kimarus, or (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the building of Rome 445, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleucians, after which account the bookes of Machabees do reckon, which began in the 14. after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the English chronicle is named also Haran; by Mat. Westm. Danius; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus should seeme to be one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

Matth. West.

Morindus. MOrindus the bastard sonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Callander K. of Macedonia, which hauing dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders sonne into his hands, vsurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15 yéeres. This Morindus in the English chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and martiall doings, but so cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could scarse be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was also beautifull and comelie of personage, liberall and bounteous, and of a maruellous strength.

G. Mon.

In his daies, a certeine king of the people called Pictani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitants. But Morindus aduertised heerof, assembled his Britains, came against the enimies, and in battell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships, and tooke a great number of them prisoners, whome to the satisfieng of his cruell nature he caused to be slaine euen in his presence. Some of them were headed, some strangled, some panched, and some he caused to be slaine quicke.

The like may be thought of those Mureis or Moreanians of whom H.B. speaketh. Fabian.

¶ These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Pictani) I take to be either those that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or some other people of the Galles or Germaines, and not as some esteeme them, Morauians, or Merhenners, which were not known to the world (as Humfrey Lhoyd hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the emperour Mauricius, which misconstruction of names hath brought the British historie further out of credit than reason requireth, if the circumstances be dulie considered.

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monster that was come a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he would néeds fight, he was deuoured of the same, after he had reigned the terme of 8 yeeres, leauing behind him fiue sonnes, Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Eliodurus, Vigenius or Pigenius, and Peredurus.

Of Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Eliudurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus, the fiue sons of Morindus, the building of Cambridge, the restitution of Archigallus to the regiment after his depriuation, Elidurus three times admitted king, his death and place of interrement.

The seuenth Chapter.

Gorbomen or Gorbonianus. GOrbonianus the first son of Morindus succéeded his father in the kingdome of Britain, in the yeare of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yeare of the 121. Olimpiad. This Gorbonianus in the English chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his gouernment, and verie deuout (according to such deuotion as he had) towards the aduancing of the religion of his gods: and therupon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected some new.

A righteous and religious prince.

He also builded the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their necessities. In his time was more plentie of all things necessarie for the wealthfull state of man, than had béene before in anie of his predecessors daies. He died without issue, after he had reigned (by the accord of most writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

Cambridge by whome it was built.

Some write that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Grantham, but some thinke that those which haue so written are deceiued, in mistaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by that meanes it might be that Gorbonian built onlie Grantham, and not Cambridge, namelie because other write how that Cambridge (as before is said) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

The said Cantaber also obteining licence of Gurguntius, builded a towne vpon the side of the riuer called Canta, which he closed with walles, and fortified with a strong tower or castell, and after procuring philosophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed them there, and so euen then was that place furnished (as they saie) with learned men, and such as were readie to instruct others in knowledge of letters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whome or in what time soeuer it was built, certeine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the comming of the Saxons, called by the Britaines

taines Caergrant, and by the Saxons Grancheſter.

This towne fell ſo to ruine by the inuaſion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left deſolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But nere thereunto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigebert and Felix a Burgundian, that was biſhop of Dunwich, a ſchole was erected, as in place conuenient ſhall appeare.

Archigallus.

ARchigallus, the ſecond ſonne of Pozindus, and brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 255, and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the Engliſh chronicle called Artogaill) followed not the ſteppes of his brother, but giuing himſelfe to diſſention and ſtrife, imagined cauſes againſt his nobles, that he might diſplace them, and ſet ſuch in their romes as were men of baſe birth and of euill conditions. Alſo he ſought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie ſubiects of their goods and riches, ſo to inrich himſelfe and impoueriſh his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his nobles conſpired againſt him, and finallie depriued him of all his honor and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeare.

He is giuen to nourish diſſention.

Elidurus.

ELidurus the third ſonne of Pozindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one conſent of the Britains choſen to reigne ouer them in his brothers ſtead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 256, & in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the Engliſh chronicle named Heſſder, or Eſoder, proued a moſt righteous prince, and doubting leaſt he ſhould doo otherwiſe than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus eſtate, a man might wonder what diligence he ſhewed in trauelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother reſtored to the crowne againe.

By this it ſhould ſeeme that Acliud ſhould not be in Scotland, contrarie to the Scotiſh authors.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Pozke, he found his brother Archigall wandering there in the thickeſt of that wildernelſe, whom in moſt louing maner he ſecretlie conueied home to his houſe, being as then in the citie of Aloud, otherwiſe called Acliud. Shortlie after he feined himſelfe ſicke, and in all haſt ſent meſſengers about to aſſemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priuie chamber, and there handled them in ſuch effectuous ſort with wiſe and diſcreet words, that he got their good wils to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdome eftſones into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

After this he aſſembled a councell at Pozke, where he ſo vſed the matter with the commons, that in concluſion, when the ſaid Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourablie the ſpace of three yeares, he reſigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britaines againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is ſaid. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man ſhall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate deſire remaineth amongſt moſtall men to atteine to the ſupreme ſouereintie of ruling, and to keepe the ſame when they haue it once in poſſeſſion. He had well learned this leſſon (as may appeare by his contentation and reſignation) namelie, that

Nec abnuendum ſi dat imperium Deus,
Nec appetendum,

Sen. in Thieſt.

otherwiſe he would not haue beene led with ſuch an equabilitie of mind. For this great good will and brotherlie loue by him ſhewed thus toward his brother, he was ſurnamed the godlie and vertuous.

In example of brotherlie loue.

Archigallus again.

WHen Archigallus was thus reſtored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he muſt turne the leafe, and take out a new leſſon, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in quiet: he became a new man, bſing himſelfe vprightlie in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and behauing himſelfe ſo worthilie in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his ſubiects. And ſo continuing the whole tearme of his life, finallie departed out of this world, after he had reigned this ſecond time the ſpace of ten yeares, and was buried at Pozke.

Elidurus againe.

ELidurus brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by conſent of all the Britaines, 3700 of the world. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuieng the happie ſtate of this worthie prince, ſo highlie for his vertue and good gouernance eſteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conſpired againſt him, and aſſembling an armie, leuied warre againſt him, and in a pitcht field toke him priſoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept cloſe priſoner, after he had reigned now this laſt time the ſpace of one yeare.

Matt. Weſt. Brother againſt brother.

Elidure committed to priſon.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

VIgenius and Peredurus, the yongeſt ſonnes of Pozindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne iointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 266 complet, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Gonatas, the ſonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. Theſe two brethren in the Engliſh chronicles are named Higanius and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. teſtifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, ſo that all the land from Humber weſtward fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredure held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in priſon by his owne conſent, forſomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

Britaine diuided into two realmes.

But Gal. Mon. ſaith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus ſeized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with ſuch ſobrietie and wiſedome, that he was praiſed aboue all his brethren, ſo that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and vſed himſelfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, whereupon they rebelled and ſlue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall ſickneſſe, he finallie departed this life, after the conſent of moſt writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leauing no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the gouernance of the kingdome. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried.

Marlerie in writers.

Caxton. Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the third time.

ELidurus then, as ſoone as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of priſon, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vſed himſelfe (as before) verie orderlie in miniſtring to all perſons right and iuſtice all the daies of his life, and laſtlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after moſt concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleill.

He is buried at Caerleill.

A Chapter of digreſsion, ſhewing the *diuerſitie of writers in opinion, touching* the computation of yeares from the beginning *of the Britiſh kings of this Iland downewards*; ſince Gurguintus time, till the death of Elidurus; *and likewiſe till king Lud reigned in his roialtie*, with the names of ſuch kings as ruled betweene the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the firſt of Lud.

The eight Chapter.

HEre is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Britiſh kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuerſitie amongeſt writers, both touching the names, and alſo the times of their reignes, ſpeciallie till they come to the death of the laſt mentioned king Elidurus. Inſomuch that Polydor Virgil in his hiſtorie of England, finding a manifeſt error (as he taketh it) in thoſe writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the ſacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hiſtories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of thoſe kings which reigned after Brute, till the daies of the ſame Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, leaſt one error ſhould follow an other, and ſo of one error making manie, he hath placed thoſe kings which after other writers ſhould ſeeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallo and Pulmucius, father to the ſaid Beline and Brenne, and thoſe fiue kings which ſtroue for the gouernement after the deceaſſe of the two brethren, Ferrex and Porrex, putting Guintoline to ſucceed after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia, during the minoritie of hir ſonne, then hir ſaid ſonne named Sicilius.

Polydor.

After him ſucceeded theſe whoſe names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Morindus, Gorboniaus, Archigallo, who being depoſed, Elidurus was made king, and ſo continued till he reſtored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftſoones admitted, and within a while againe depoſed by Vigenius and Peredurus, and after their deceaſſes the third time reſtored. Then after his deceaſſe followed ſucceſſiuelie Veginus, Morganus, Ennanus, Idmallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coillus, Porrex the ſecond of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Urianus and Eliud, after whom ſhould follow Dunuallo Molmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, & the courſe of time ſhould be obſerued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to thoſe kings that reigned before and after Dunuallo, according to thoſe authours whom (as I ſaid) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Galles to Rome be the ſame that was ſonne to the ſaid Dunuallo Pulmucius, and brother to Beline.

But ſith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agreement in the account of yeares, and ſucceſſion of thoſe kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the ſacking of Rome; and alſo another ſuch as it is after the ſame, and before the Romans had anie perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euerie man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge ſhall ſerue him in a thing ſo doubtfull and vncertaine, ſith reaſon of variance amongſt the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers ſince Gurguintus, till the death of Elidurus, ſo is there as great or rather greater after his deceaſſe, ſpeciallie till king Lud atteined the kingdome: But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth do write, there paſſed aboue 185 yeares betwixt the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned 32, or 33, kings, as ſome writers haue mentioned, whoſe names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are theſe immediatlie here named; Regnie the ſonne of Gorbolian or Gorbonian, a worthie prince, who iuſtlie and mercifullie gouerned his people; Margan the ſonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewiſe, and guiding his ſubiects in good quiet; Emerian brother to the ſame Margan, but far vnlike to him in maners, ſo that he was depoſed in the firſt yeare of his reigne; Pdwallo ſonne to Vigenius; Kimo the ſonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the ſonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Wincheſter; Coill that was buried at Nottingham; Porrex a vertuous and moſt gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgeus; theſe three were ſonnes to Cherinus, and reigned ſucceſſiuelie one after another; after them a ſonne of Androgeus; then Eliud, Vrianus. Edaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Bledgabredus an excellent muſician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodiecke, Samuill, Peniſell, Pir, Capoir; after him his ſonne Gligweil an vpright dealing prince, and a good iuſticiarie; whom ſucceeded his ſonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the ſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and ſome againe ſay that he reigned but 7 moneths.

Fabian.

There is great diuerſitie in writers touching the reignes of theſe kings, and not onlie for the number of yeares which they ſhould continue in their reignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maie ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yeares attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, ſince the comming of Brute, who ſhould enter this land (as by the beſt writers is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome 367, which was in the yeare after the creation of the world 2850 (as is ſaid) with their time, there remaineth 182 yeares to be dealt amongſt theſe 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the ſaid Elidure & Lud, which Lud alſo began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yeares, and in the yeare of the world 3895, as ſome that will ſeeme the preciſeſt calculators do gather.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſh kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuelie after Beline and Brenne, reherſeth thoſe that by his coniecture did by likelihod ſucceed, as thus. After the deceaſſe of Beline, his ſonne Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name, ſucceeded in gouernment of the land, and then theſe in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Duinus, Sicilius, Bledgabredus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, and Nennius.

Of

Of king Helie who gaue the name to the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what memorable edifices he made in London sometimes called Luds towne, his bountifulnes, and buriall.

The ninth Chapter.

HEre note by the waie a thing not to be forgotten, that of the foresaid Helie the last of the said 33 kings, the Ile of Elie toke the name, bicause that he most commonlie did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluces, ditches & causies about that Ile, for conueiance awaie of the water, that els would sore haue indamaged the countrie. There be that haue mainteined, that this Ile should rather take name of the great abundance of eeles that are found in these waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llhoyd holdeth, that it toke name of this British word Helig, which signifieth willowes, wherwith those fennes abound.

Whereof the Ile of Elie toke name.

Lud.

After the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son Lud began his reigne, in the yere after the creation of the world 3895, after the building of the citie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72, and before the Romans entred Britaine 19 yeres.

A worthie prince.

This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, abolishing euill customs and maners vsed amongst his people, and repairing old cities and townes which were decaied: but speciallie he delited most to beautifie and inlarge with buildings the citie of Troinouant, which he compassed with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with diuerse faire towers: and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelie drowned in pronuntiation of the word.

London inclosed with a wal iohn Hard.

Fabian. Gal.Mon. Matt.West.

In the same citie also he solorned for the more part, by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and manie habitations were builded to receiue them, and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is the bishop of Londons palace beside Paules at this daie, as some thinke; yet Harison supposeth it to haue bin Bainards castell, where the blacke friers now standeth. He also builded a faire temple nere to his said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules. By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that citie before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner remained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

The bishops palace.

The name of Troinouant changed and called London

Beside the princelie doings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the common wealth by studies apperteining to the time of peace, he was also strong & valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies, bountious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plentifull house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the Britaines. Finallie, when he had reigned with great honour for the space of 11 yeres, he died, and was buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind, Julius Cæsar sendeth Caius Volusenus ouer to suruey the coasts of this land, he lieth with his fleet at Calice, purposing to inuade the countrie, his attempt is bewraied and withstood by the Britains.

The tenth Chapter.

CAssibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3908, after the building of Rome 692, and before the comming of Christ 58 complet. For sith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue written) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by whatsoeuer order) to the administration of the common wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bountious, that his name spred farre and nere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Britaines made small account of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane hauing respect to his honour, least it might be thought that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honourablie; assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent; and to Theomantius the countrie of Cornwall. Thus farre out of the British histories, whereby it maie be gathered, that the yeres assigned to these kings that reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe of 1058.

Cassibellane.

Gal.Mon.

Matt.West.

Polydor.

But whether these gouernors (whose names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the common wealth, or tyrants and vsurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncerteine: for not one ancient writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie remembrance of them: and by that which Julius Cesar writeth, it maie and doth appere, that diuerse cities in his daies were gouerned of themselues, as hereafter it shall more plainlie apere. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the British historie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In deed both he and other Latine writers speake of diuerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and such other like, but in what parts most of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to auouch for certeine truth.

But what Iohn Leland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiquities, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were atchiued by the Britains to be ascribed to his countriemen the Scots, draweth both the Silures and Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Scotish countries. And what particular names soeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and knowne by that generall name (as he would persuade vs to beleeue) saieng that they entred into Britaine out of Ireland 330 yeres before the incarnation of our Sauiour.

Hector Boetius his fault.

Neuertheles, how generall soeuer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall mention

tion of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our ſauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had ſo much adoo with the people thereof, make mention of diuerſe other people, nothing ſo famous as Boetius would make his Scotiſh men euen then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other muſt doo vnto vs our deſcent from Brute and the other Troians, ſith the contrarie doth not plainelie appeare, vnleſſe we ſhall leane vnto preſumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what acts were atchiued, there remaineth more certeine record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our hiſtorie.

More certeintie from hence forth appeareth in the hiſtorie.

In this ſeaſon that Caſſibellane had roiall gouernment heere in Britaine, Caius Julius Ceſar being appointed by the ſenat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpoſe created conſull, and ſent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto ſome frame, he determined to aſſaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwiſe than by report. The cheefeſt cauſe that moued him to take in hand that enterprize, was for that he did vnderſtand, that there dailie came great ſuccours out of that Ile to thoſe Galles that were enimies vnto the Romans. And though the ſeaſon of that yeere to make warre was farre ſpent (for ſummer was almoſt at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpoſe, if he might but paſſe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and diſcouer the places, hauens, and entries apperteining to that Ile.

Julius Ceſar

Ceſar de bello Gall. lib. 4.

Britains vnknowne to the Romans.

Ceſar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Cauſes of the warre.

Ceſars purpoſe.

Hereupon calling togither ſuch merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with ſome trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the ſtate of the Ile: but he could not be throughlie ſatiſfied in anie of thoſe things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderſtand all things by view that might apperteine to the vſe of that warre which he purpoſed to follow: before he attempted the ſame, he ſent one Caius Voluſenus with a gallie or light pineſſe to ſurueie the coaſts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent ſearch made) to returne with ſpeed to him againe. He him ſelfe alſo drew downewards towards Bullenois, from whence the ſhorteſt cut lieth to paſſe ouer into Britaine.

Caius Voluſenus ſent ouer into Britaine.

In that part of Gallia there was in thoſe daies an hauen called *Itius Portus* (which ſome take to be Calice) and ſo the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great number of ſhips. Vnto this hauen got Ceſar all the ſhips he could out of the next borders & parties, and thoſe ſpeciallie which he had prouided and put in a readineſſe the laſt yeare for the warres (againſt them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he cauſed to be brought thither, there to lie till they ſhould heare further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all ſuch as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the ſea ſide, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of ſo great danger of inuaſion.

Iohn Leland. Polydor.

Vannes in Britane.

¶ Ceſar in his commentaries agreeth not with our hiſtoriographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambaſſadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themſelues to be ſubiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hoſtages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he ſent home againe, and with them alſo one Comius gouernor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to ſubmit themſelues to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Caſſibellane, till the ſecond iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the ſaid Caſſibelane was choſen (as ye ſhall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole adminiſtration of the warre for defenſe of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the Britiſh hiſtorie it is conteined, that Ceſar required tribute of Caſſibelane, and that he anſwered how he had not learned as yet to liue in ſeruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he ſhould well perceiue, if (blinded through couetouſneſſe) he ſhould aduenture to ſeeke to diſquiet the Britains.

Comius.

which is more likelie as this behalfe as appeareth by the ſequel.

Caius Voluſenus diſcouereth to Cæſar *his obſeruations in the Ile of Britaine, he* maketh haſte to conquere it, the Britains de*fend their countrie againſt him, Ceſar after* conſultation had changeth his landing place, *the Romans are put to hard ſhifts, the Britains* begin to giue backe, the courage of a Roman enſigne-bearer, a ſharpe encounter betweene both armies.

The eleuenth Chapter.

CAius Voluſenus within fiue daies after his departure from Ceſar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had ſeene touching the view which he had taken of the coaſts of Britan. Ceſar hauing got togither ſo manie ſaile as he thought ſufficient for the tranſporting of two legions of ſouldiers, after he had ordered his buſineſſe as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpoſe, did embarke himſelfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horſſemen ſhould take ſhip at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they ſomewhat ſlacked the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coaſt of Britaine, where he might behold all the ſhore ſet and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Ceſar ment verie ſhortlie to come againſt them, were aſſembled in armour to reſiſt him: and now being aduertiſed of his approch to the land, they prepared themſelues to withſtand him.

Voluſenus returneth.

Ceſar with two legions of ſouldiers paſſeth ouer into Britan.

The Britons readie to defend their countrie.

Ceſar perceiuing this, determined to ſtaie till the other ſhips were come, and ſo he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marſhals and chiefe capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Voluſenus, and alſo further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reaſon of warre required. And becauſe he perceiued that this place where he firſt caſt anchor was not meete for the landing of his people, ſith (from the heigth of the cliffes that cloſed on ech ſide the narrow creeke into the which he had thruſt) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and dartes, before they could ſet foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he diſanchored from thence, and drew alongſt the coaſt vnder the downes, the ſpace of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the ſhore more flat and plaine, he approched neere to the land, determining to come to the ſhore.

Ceſar calleth a councell.

This was 8 bont day.

The Britains perceiuing Ceſars intent, with all ſpeed cauſed their horſſemen and charets or wagons, which

which Ceſar calleth Eſſeda, out of the which in thoſe daies they vſed to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they ſaw Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, inforced yet to land with his people, though he ſaw that he ſhould haue much adoo. For as the Britains were in readineſſe to reſiſt him; ſo his great and huge ſhips could not come néere the ſhore, but were forced to keepe the déepe, ſo that the Romane ſoldiers were put to verie hard ſhift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ſhips, and being peſkered with their heauie armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues, ſtood either vpon the drie ground, or elſe but a little waie in the ſhallow places of the water; and being not otherwiſe encumbred either with armour or weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir themſelues at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horſſes (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more eaſilie, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romans, who wanting experience in ſuch kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themſelues, nor to keepe order as they vſed to doo on land: wherfore they fought nothing ſo luſtilie as they were wont to doo. Ceſar perceiuing this, commanded the gallies to depart from the great ſhips, and to row hard to the ſhore, that being placed ouer againſt the open ſides of the Britains, they might with their ſhot of arrows, darts, and ſlings, remoue the Britains, and cauſe them to withdraw further off from the water ſide.

The Romans put to their ſhifts.

The Britans aſtonied.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little aſtonied at the ſtrange ſight of thoſe gallies, for that they were driuen with oares, which earſt they had not ſéene, and ſhrewdlie were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romans diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhrinke and retire ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſaw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, firſt beſéeching the gods that his enterpriſe might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voice theſe words to his fellowes that were about him; Leape forth now euen you worthie ſouldiers (ſaith he) if you will not betraie your enſigne to the enimies: for ſurelie I will acquit my ſelfe according to my ductie both towards the common wealth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies. The Romans douting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſore reencounter: and that which troubled the Romans moſt, was becauſe they could not keepe their order, neither find anie ſure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne which he firſt met withall after their firſt comming forth of the ſhip.

The valiant courage of an enſigne bearer.

The Britains that were inured with the ſhelues and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romans thus diſorderlie come out of their ſhips, ran vpon them with their horſſes, and fiercelie aſſailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compaſſe in and incloſe ſome one companie of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhore beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and ſo troubled them verie ſore.

The fiercenes of the Britains.

The Romans get to land on the Engliſh coaſt, the Britains ſend to Cæſar for a treatie of peace, they ſtaie the Romane ambaſſadour as priſoner; Cæſar demandeth hoſtages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempeſt, the Britiſh princes ſteale out of Cæſars campe and gather a freſh power againſt the Romans, their two armies haue a ſharpe encounter.

The twelfe Chapter.

Ceſar perceiuing the maner of this fight, cauſed his men of warre to enter into boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commanded to go to ſuch places where moſt need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new ſupplies, at length the Romans got to land, and aſſembling togither, they aſſailed the Britains a freſh, and ſo at laſt did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, becauſe they wanted their horſſemen which were yet behind, & through lacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing ſeemed onelie to diſappoint the luckie fortune that was accuſtomed to follow Ceſar in all his other enterpriſes.

The Romans get to land.

The want of horſſemen.

The Britains after this flight were no ſoner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtand vnto that order that Ceſar ſhould take with them in anie reaſonable ſort. With theſe ambaſſadours came alſo Comius, whome Ceſar (as you haue heard) had ſent before into Britaine, whome notwithſtanding that he was an ambaſſadour, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions ſufficientlie furniſhed, yet had they ſtaied him as a priſoner. But now after the battell was ended, they ſet him at libertie, and ſent him backe with their ambaſſadours, who excuſed the matter, laieng the blame on the people of the countrie, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what apperteined to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

The Britans ſend to Ceſar.

Comius of Arras.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemenor, not onelie for impriſoning his ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrarie to their promiſe made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre: yet in the end he ſaid he would pardon them, and not ſéeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promiſe that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, crauing ſome reſpit for performance of the ſame, becauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Ceſar demandeth hoſtages.

Peace being thus eſtabliſhed after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britaine, the 18 ſhips which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horſſemen ouer, loſed from the further hauen with a ſoft wind. Which when they approched ſo néere the ſhore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Ceſars campe might ſée them, ſuddenlie there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to keepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onelie driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward) but alſo the other ſhips that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifullie beaten, toſſed and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onelie loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of wind into the high ſea;

the reſt being likewiſe ſo filled with water, that they were in danger by ſinking to periſh and to be quite loſt. For the mone in the ſame night was at the full, & therefore cauſed a ſpring tide, which furthered the force of the tempeſt, to the greater perill of thoſe ſhips and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of thoſe ſhips were ſo bruiſed, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would ſerue to no vſe of ſailing. This was a great diſcomfort to the Romans that had brought ouer no proviſion to liue by in the winter ſeaſon, nor ſaw anie hope how they ſhould repaſſe againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the Britiſh princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiuing how greatlie this miſhap had diſcouraged the Romans, and again by the ſmall circuit of their campe, gelling that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels ſore oppreſſed them, they ſtale priuilie away one after another out of the campe, purpoſing to aſſemble their powers againe, and to foreſtall the Romans from vittels, and ſo to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might dò (vanquiſhing theſe or cloſing them from returning) they truſted that none of the Romans from thenceforth would attempt eſtſoones to come into Britaine. Ceſar miſtruſting their dealings, becauſe they ſtaid to deliuer the reſidue of their hoſtages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adioining, and not hauing other ſtuffe to repaire his ſhips, he cauſed 12 of thoſe that were vtterlie paſt recouerie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempeſt, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which ſome recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

The maner of the Britains fighting in *charets, the Romans giue a freſh ſallie to* the Britains and put them to flight, they ſue to *Cæſar for peace; what kings and their powers* were aſſiſtants to Caſſibellane in the battell *againſt Cæſar, and the maner of both peoples* encounters by the report of diuers Chronologers.

The xiij. Chapter.

WHileſt theſe things were a doing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the ſeuenth, was ſent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adioining (as their cuſtome was) no warre at that time being ſuſpected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: thoſe that warded before the campe, informed Ceſar, that there appeared a duſt greater than was accuſtomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Ceſar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded thoſe bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and appointed other two bands to come into their romes, and the reſidue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might ſée where his people were ouermatched by the enimies, and had much a do to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them ſore with arrowes and darts on ech ſide: for ſithens there was no forrage left in anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themſelues within the woods in ambuſhes the night before; on the morrowe after when they ſaw the Romans diſperſed here & there, and buſie to cut downe the corne, they ſet vpon them on a ſudden, and ſlaing ſome few of them, brought the reſidue out of order, compaſſing them about with their horſſemen and charets, ſo that they were in great diſtreſſe.

The maner of fight with theſe charets was ſuch, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the ſides and skirts of the enimies hoſt, and beſtow their darts as they ſate in thoſe charets, ſo that oftentimes with the braieng of the horſſes, and craking noiſe of the charet wheles they diſordered their enimies, and after that they had wonne themſelues in amongſt the troops of horſſemen, they would leape out of the charets and fight on foot. In the meane time thoſe that guided the charets would withdraw themſelues out of the battell, placing themſelues ſo, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies, they might eaſilie withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the ſame againe, by meanes wherof they were as readie to remoue as the horſſemen, and as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battell as the footmen, and ſo to ſuplie both duties in one. And thoſe charetmen by exerciſe and cuſtome were ſo cunning in their feat, that although their horſſes were put to run and gallop, yet could they ſtay them and hold them backe at their pleaſures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithſtanding that the place were verie ſteepe and dangerous: and againe they would run vp and downe verie nimblie vpon the cops, and ſtand vpon the beame, and conuey themſelues quicklie againe into the charet.

Ceſar thus finding his people in great diſtreſſe and readie to be deſtroied, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approch with new ſuccors, gaue ouer to aſſaile their enimies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they ſtood before his comming. Furthermore, Ceſar conſidering the time ſerued not to aſſaile his enimies, kept his ground, and ſhortlie after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While theſe things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the reſt that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a ſore ſeaſon of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and ſtaid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they ſent meſſengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the ſmall number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great ſpoile to be gotten, and occaſion to deliuer themſelues from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Hereupon a great multitude both of horſſemen and footmen of the Britains were ſpedilie got togither, and approched the Romane campe.

Ceſar although he ſaw that the ſame would come to paſſe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulſe, they would eaſilie eſcape the danger with ſwiftneſſe of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horſſemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was ſent from Ceſar as an ambaſſador vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and ſo comming to ioine with the Britains, they were not able to ſuſteine the violent impreſſion of the armed men, and ſo fled. The Romans purſued them ſo farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and ſo ſlaieng manie of them, & burning vp all their houſes

houses all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie whereupon, euen the same day, they sent ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace, who gladlie accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he should be returned thither, hostages in number duble to those that were agreed vpon at the first. After that these things were thus ordered, Cesar because the moneth of September was well-neare halfe spent, and that winter hasted on (a season not meet for his weake and bruised ships to brooke the seas) determined not to staie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpose, got himselfe aboord with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Cæsar de bello Gallico lib. 4.

¶ Thus writeth Cesar touching his first iournie made into Britaine. But the British historie (which Polydor calleth the new historie) declareth that Cesar in a pitcht field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. Beda also writeth, that Cesar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called Morini inhabited (which are at this day the same that inhabit the diocesse of Terwine) from whence lieth the shortest passage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got togither 80 saile of great ships and row galles, wherewith he passed ouer into Britaine, & there at the first being wearied with sharpe and sore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempest, he lost the greater part of his nauie, with no small number of his souldiers, and almost all his horsemen: and therwith being returned into Gallia, placed his souldiors in steeds to sojourne there for the winter season. Thus saith Bede. The British historie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder-kings that aided Cassibellane in this first battell fought with Cesar, as Cridiorus *alias* Ederus, king of Albania, now called Scotland: Guitethus king of Venedocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Demetia, at this day called Southwales.

The same historie also maketh mention of one Belinus that was generall of Cassibellanes armie, and likewise of Nenius brother to Cassibellane, who in fight happened to get Cesars sword fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar stroke at him. Androgeus also and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Cassibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cesars hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue Labienus one of the Romane tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the needeles circumstances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

Hector Boet.

Againe, the Scotish historiographers write, that when it was first knowne to the Britains, that Cesar would inuade them, there came from Cassibellane king of Britaine an ambassador vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Cassibellane required aid against the common enimies the Romains, which request was granted, and 10 thousand Scots sent to the aid of Cassibellane. At their comming to London, they were most ioifullie receiued of Cassibellane, who at the same time had knowledge that the Romans were come on land, and had beaten such Britains backe as were appointed to resist their landing. Whereupon Cassibellane with all his whole puissance mightilie augmented, not onlie with the succours of the Scots, but also of the Picts (which in that common cause had sent also of their people to aid the Britains) set forward towards the place where he vnderstood the enimies to be.

At their first approch togither, Cassibellane sent forth his horsemen and charets called Esseda, by the which he thought to disorder the araie of the enimies. Twice they incountred togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puissance against puissance, and fought a verie sore and cruell battell, till finally at the sudden comming of the Welshmen and Cornishmen, so huge a noise was raised by the sound of bels hanging at their trapers and charets, that the Romans astonied therewith, were more easilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chase without order or araie, so that by reason the Romans kept themselues close togither, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did scarse so much harme to the enimies as they themselues receiued. But yet they followed on still vpon the Romans till it was darke night.

Cesar after he had perceiued them once withdrawne, did what he could to assemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to seeke his reuenge of the former daies disaduantage. But forsomuch as knowledge was giuen him that his ships (by reason of a sore tempest) were so beaten and rent, that manie of them were past seruice, he doubted least such newes would incourage his enimies, and bring his people into despaire. Wherfore he determined not to fight till time more conuenient, sending all his wounded folks vnto the ships, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, keeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without issuing forth, he shortlie drew to the sea side, where his ships laie at anchor, and there within a strong place fortified for the purpose he lodged his host, and finallie without hope to atchieue anie other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the sea with such ships as were apt for sailing, and so repassed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the spoile and baggage for want of vessels and leisure to conueie it ouer. ¶ Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane histories, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it heere, that the diuersitie of writers and their affections may the better appeere.

Of this sudden departing also, or rather fleeing of Julius Cesar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the saieng of Pompeius in an oration made by him vnto his souldiers, wherin he reprochfullie and disdainfullie reprooued the doings of Cesar in Britaine, saieng:

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

Cæsar taketh a new occasion to make warre against the Britains, he arriueth on the coast without resistance, the number of his ships, both armies incounter, why Cæsar forbad the Romans to pursue the discomfited Britains, he repaireth his nauie, the Britains choose Cassibellane their cheefe gouernour, and skirmish afresh with their enimies, but haue the repulse in the end.

The xiiij. Chapter.

NOw will we returne to the sequele of the matter, as Cesar himselfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that sent ouer their hostages according to their couenant, which gaue occasion to Cesar to picke a new quarrell against them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not)

Dion Cassius.

C.ij.

not) haue found ſome other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conqueſt of that Ile. Therefore purpoſing to paſſe againe thither, as he that had a great deſire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane eſtate, he cauſed a great number of ſhips to be prouided in the winter ſeaſon and put in a readineſſe, ſo that againſt the next ſpring there were found to be readie rigged ſix hundred ſhips, beſide 28 gallies. Hereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his abſence, about the beginning of the ſpring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him preſcribed) all his ſhips were come, except 40 which by tempeſt were driuen backe, and could not as yet come to him.

Cæſar *de bello Gallic.* 5.

After he had ſtaied at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certeine daies, at length when the weather ſo changed that it ſerued his purpoſe, he toke the ſea, & hauing with him fiue legions of ſouldiers, and about two thouſand horſſemen, he departed out of Calice hauen about ſun ſetting with a ſoft ſouthweſt wind, directing his courſe forward: about midnight the wind fell, & ſo by a calme he was carried alongſt with the tide, ſo that in the morning when the day appeared, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the ſtreame as the courſe of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the ſhore vpon that part of the coaſt, which he had diſcouered, and tried the laſt yeere to be the beſt landing place for the armie. The diligence of the ſouldiers was ſhewed heere to be great, who with continuall toile droue forth the heauie ſhips, to keepe courſe with the gallies, & ſo at length they landed in Britaine about none on the next day, finding not one to reſiſt his comming athore: for as he learned by certeine priſoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being aſſembled in purpoſe to haue reſiſted him, through feare ſtriken into their harts, at the diſcouering of ſuch an huge number of ſhips, they forſoke the ſhore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were in deed of veſſels one and other, what with victellers, & thoſe which priuat men had prouided and furniſhed forth for their owne vſe, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the leaſt eight hundred ſaile, which appearing in ſight all at one time, made a wonderfull muſter, and right terrible in the eies of the Britains.

But to proceed: Cæſar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the priſoners, into what part the enimies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the ſafegard of the naule, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horſſemen: and anon after midnight marched forth himſelfe with the reſidue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got ſight of his enimies hoſt, who ſending downe their horſſemen and charets vnto the riuer ſide, ſkirmiſhed with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being aſſailed of the Romane horſſemen, they were repelled, & toke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie ſtrong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had beene fortified before, in time of ſome ciuill warre amongſt them: for all the entries were cloſed with trees which had beene cut downe for that purpoſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers of the 7 legion caſting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenſes, and ſo entring vpon them, droue them out of the woods. But Cæſar would not ſuffer the Romans to follow the Britains, becauſe the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre ſpent, ſo that he would haue the reſidue thereof beſtowed in fortifieng his campe.

The next day, as he had ſent forth ſuch as ſhould haue purſued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his naule by rigour of a ſore and hideous tempeſt was greeuouſlie moleſted, and throwne vpon the ſhore, ſo that the cabels and tackle being broken and deſtroied with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maiſters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cæſar calling backe thoſe which he had ſent forth, returned to his ſhips, and finding them in ſuch ſtate as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of thoſe that were not vtterlie deſtroied, and cauſed them ſo to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might ſo compaſſe in a plot of ground, that might ſerue both for defenſe of his ſhips, and alſo for the incamping of thoſe men of warre, which he ſhould leaue to attend vpon the ſafegard of the ſame. And becauſe there were at the leaſt a fortie ſhips loſt by violence of this tempeſt, ſo as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he ſaw yet how the reſt with great labour and coſt might be repaired: wherefore he choſe out wrights among the legions, ſent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to ſuch as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to prouide ſo manie ſhips as they could, and to ſend them ouer vnto him. He ſpent a ten daies about the repairing of his naule, and in fortifieng the campe for defenſe thereof, which done, he left thoſe within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enimies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to reſiſt him, hauing their numbers hugelie increaſed: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with ſuch a mightie number of ſhips aſſembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general conſent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Caſſiuellane or Caſſibelane, whoſe dominion was diuided from the cities ſituat neere to the ſea coaſt, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles diſtant from the ſea coaſt. This Caſſibellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, choſe him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defenſe of their countrie againſt the Romans onelie to him. Their horſſemen and charets skirmiſhed by the waie with the Romans, but ſo as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adioining: yet the Britains ſlue diuers of the Romans as they followed ante thing egerlie in the purſute.

Caſſibellane as ſhould ſeeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordſhire, Warkſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Bedfordſhire.

Alſo within a while after, as the Romans were buſie in fortifieng their campe, the Britains ſuddenlie iſſued out of the woods, and fierſelie aſſailed thoſe that warded before the campe, vnto whoſe aid Cæſar ſent two of the chiefeſt cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a litle diſtance one from another, when the Romans began to be diſcouraged with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burſt through their enimies, and came backe from thence in ſafetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was ſlaine. At length Cæſar ſending ſundrie other cohorts to the ſuccour of his people that were in fight, and throwlie handled as it appeared, the Britains in the end were put backe. Neuertheleſſe, that repulſe was but at the pleaſure of fortune; for they quited themſelues afterwards like men, defending their territories with ſuch munition as they had, vntill ſuch time as either by policie or inequalitie of power they were vanquiſhed; as you ſhall ſee after in the courſe of the hiſtorie. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and vtterlie ſubdued, but not without much bloudſhed and ſlaughter.

The

The Romans heauie armor their great hinderance, the maner of the Britains fighting in warre, their incounter with their enimies, their discomfiture, the worthie stratagems or martiall exploits of Cassibellane, the Troinouants submission to Cæsar, and their fute touching Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and slaine. of the Romans.

The xv. Chapter.

IN all this maner of skirmishing and fight which chanced before the campe, euen in the sight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reason of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or so bold as to depart from their ensignes, except they would runne into danger of casting themselues awaie) were nothing meete to match with such kind of enimies: and as for their horsemen, they fought likewise in great hazard, because the Britains would oftentimes of purpose retire, and when they had trained the Romane horsemen a little from their legions of footmen, they would leape out of their charrets and incounter with them on foot. And so the battell of horsemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they pursued or retired.

The Romans heauie armour

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

This also was the maner of the Britains: they fought not close togither, but in sunder, and diuided into companies one separated from another by a good distance, and had their troopes standing in places conuenient, to the which they might retire, and so releeue one another with sending new fresh men to supplie the roomes of them that were hurt or wearie. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they shewed themselues aloft on the hills, and began to skirmish with the Romane horsemen, but not so hotlie as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Cæsar had sent forth three legions of footemen and all his horsemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they suddenlie brake out on euerie side, and set vpon the forragers. The Romans so far forth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor going from their ensignes or guidons, gaue the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, so that the horsemen hauing the legions of footemen at their backs, followed the Britains so long as they might haue the said legions in sight readie to succour them if need were: by reason whereof, they slue a great number of the Britains, not giuing them leasure to recouer themselues, nor to staie that they might haue time to get out of their charrets. After this chase and discomfiture, all such as were come from other parties to the aid of their fellowes departed home, & after that day the Britains aduentured to fight against Cæsar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the riuer of *Thames, determined to stop the enimies from passing the same, if by anie meanes they might: and whereas there was but one ford by the which they might come ouer, Cassibellane caused the same to be set full of sharpe stakes, not onlie in the middest of the water, but also at the comming forth on that side where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the passage. Cæsar learning by relation of prisoners which he tooke, what the Britains intended to do, marched forth to the riuer side, where the ford was, by the which his armie might passe the same on foot though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further side to impeach his passage, and how that the banke at the comming forth of the water was right full of sharpe stakes, and so likewise was the channell of the riuer set with piles which were couered with the water.

Cassibellane as should seeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Cassius saith, that the Britains vanquished the Roman footmen at this time, but were put to the worst by the horsemen.

*(which is to be supposed was at Kingston) or not far from thence.

These things yet staied not Cæsar, who appointing his horsemen to passe on before, commanded the footemen to follow. The souldiers entring the water, waded through with such speed and violence (nothing appearing of them aboue water but their heads) that the Britains were constreined to giue place, being not able to sustaine the brunt of the Romane horsemen, and the legions of their footemen, and so abandoning the place betwixt them to fight. Cassibellane not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell, sent awaie the most part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thousand charretmen or wagoners, and still watched what waie the Romans tooke, coasting them euer as they marched, and kept somewhat aside within the couert of woods, and other cumbersome places. And out of those quarters through which he vnderstood the Romans would passe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forrests, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horsemen did come abroad into the countrie to seeke booties, he sent out his charrets vnto the knowne waies and passages to skirmish with the same horsemen, so much to the disaduantage of the Romans, that they durst not straie farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cæsar permit them (least they might haue beene vtterlie distressed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footemen kept pace with them, by reason whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and spoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

Troinouants where they inhabited.

In the meane time, the Troinouants which some take to be Middlesex & Essex men, whose citie was the best fenced of all those parties, and thought to be the same that now is called London, sent ambassadours vnto Cæsar, offering to submit themselues vnto him, and to obeie his ordinances, and further besought him to defend Mandubratius from the iniuries of K. Cassibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cæsar into France, after that Cassibellane had slaine his father named Imanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinouants, and so now by their ambassadors the same Troinouants requested Cæsar, not onelie to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but also to send him vnto them, that he might take the gouernment and rule of their citie into his hands. Cæsar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hostages, and graine for his armie, and therewith sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Troinouants accomplished his commandements with all speed, sending both the appointed number of hostages, and also graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preserued from iniurie of the souldiers, the people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, submitted themselues vnto Cæsar, by whom he vnderstood that the towne of Cassibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fenced with woodes and marishes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other substance was withdrawne. The Britains in those daies (as Cæsar writeth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke cumbersome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they vsed to get themselues for the auoiding of inuasion.

Imanuentius.

Some take the Troinouants to be Londoners.

Cæsar with his legions of souldiers therfore marched thither, and finding the place verie strong both

by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enimies were not. Within this place a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Britains taken by the Romans that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send vnto the foure *kings of Kent for aid against Cæsars host*, he offereth submission to Cæsar, the Britains *become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia* with the remnant of his armie: the differing report *of Cæsars commentaries and our historiographers touching* these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloudshed and manslaughter vpon a light occasion; Cæsar taketh oportunitie to get the conquest of the land by the diuision betweene Cassibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains subiection to the Romans.

The xvj. Chapter.

Foure kings in Kent.

NOw whilest these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that side of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Caruilius, Tarimagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling togither their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certeine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for safegard of the naule. They according to his appointment came suddenlie thither, and by the Romans that sailed forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans tooke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie most discouraged, for that diuers cities had yeelded vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadours by means of Comius of Arras vnto Cesar, offering to submit himselfe.

Cæsar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yerelie send vnto the Romans. He also forbad and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or indamage Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he appointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good successe about the middest of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conuete, were driuen so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cesar was constreined to fraught those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good spéd as he could haue desired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him, knowing that if he should so do, they were in danger to be cast awaie. And so because he could not well remaine there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, sith he had done sufficientlie for the time, least in coueting the more, he might haue come in perill to lose that which he had alreadie obteined.

Dion Cassius.

Thus according to that which Cesar himselfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cesar. ¶ But our historyes farre differ from this, affirming that Cesar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and specially by meanes that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trées piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuer, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flee into Gallia with those ships that remained. For ioy of this second victorie (saith Galfrid) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two yong gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at discord about wrestling, and after multiplieng of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore fraie, in the which diuerse were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hirilda the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeied the summons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Julius Cesar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Julius Cesar ioyfull of this message, prepared his naule, and with all spéd with a mightie host imbarked in the same, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and ioining with Androgeus, came into a vallie néere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortlie after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselues in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and take themselues to flight. The which flight so discomforted them, that finallie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slue them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being enuironed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seuen thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in couenanting to paie a yearelie tribute

of

of three thouſand pounds. When Ceſar had ordered his buſineſſe as he thought conuenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the diſpleaſure of Caſſibellane.

So ſaith Campion, but Galfrid Mon. ſaith fiue thouſand.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, ſaith thus: After that Ceſar being returned into Gallia, had placed his ſouldiors abroad in the countrie to ſoiourne for the winter ſeaſon, he cauſed ſhips to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repaſſing into Britaine, whileſt he marched forth with a mightie armie againſt the enimies, his ſhips that lay at anchor being taken with a ſore tempeſt, were either beaten one againſt another, or elſe caſt vpon the flats and ſands, and ſo broken; ſo that fortie of them were vtterlie periſhed, and the reſidue with great difficultie were repaired. The horſſemen of the Romans at the firſt encounter were put to the worſſe, and Labienus the tribune ſlaine. In the ſecond conflict he vanquiſhed the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was paſſable by foord onelie in one place and not elſe, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Caſſibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pitcht and ſet the banke, and almoſt all the foord vnder the water full of ſharpe ſtakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be ſeene, and it ſeemeth to the beholders that euerie of theſe ſtakes are as big as a mans thigh, ſticking faſt in the bottome of the riuer cloſed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to ſuſteine the violent impreſſion of the Roman legions, hid themſelues in the woods, out of the which by often iſſues, they greeuouſlie and manie times aſſailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane time the ſtrong citie of Troinouant with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hoſtages, yeelded vnto Ceſar, whoſe example manie other cities following, allied themſelues with the Romans, by whoſe information Ceſar with ſore fight tooke at length the towne of Caſſibellane, ſituat betwixt two marches, fenſed alſo with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Ceſar returned into France, and beſtowed his armie in places to ſoiourne there for the winter ſeaſon.

The ſtakes remained to be ſeene in Bedes daies.

The Scotiſh writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the firſt time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refuſed to receiue the aid of the Scotiſh men the ſecond time, and ſo were vanquiſhed, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may ſee more at length expreſſed. Thus much touching the war which Julius Ceſar made againſt the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie ſubiection was hardlie mainteined for a ſeaſon.

¶ Now here is to be noted, that Ceſar did not vanquiſh all the Britains: for he came not amongſt the northerne men, onlie diſcouering and ſubduing that part which lieth towards the French ſeas: ſo that ſith other of the Roman emperors did moſt earneſtlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their ſubiection (which were euer redie to rebell ſo manie ſundrie times) Ceſar might ſeeme rather to haue ſhewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the poſſeſſion of the ſame. This ſubiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what maner of one ſoeuer it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our ſauior 53, the firſt and ſecond yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brute 1060, before the conqueſt made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this preſent yere of our Lord 1585, after Harifons account.

Cornelius Tacitus, In vit. Agr.

Dion Caſſius.

The ſtate of Britaine when Cæſar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diuerſe authors report the ſame in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be obſerued.

The xvij. Chapter.

After that Julius Ceſar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Caſſibellane reigned 7 yeares, and was vanquiſhed in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began firſt to reigne ſo that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as ſome haue 17 yeares, and then died, leauing no iſſue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he ſaw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is conteined, that this Caſſibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldeſt ſonne to him: for otherwiſe as may be thought (ſaith he) Ceſar hauing the vpper hand, would haue diſplaced him from the gouernement, and ſet vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as ſonne to the ſaid Lud. But whatſoeuer our chronicles or the Britiſh hiſtories report of this matter, it ſhould appere by that which Ceſar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in thoſe daies was not gouerned by one ſole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were eſtates of themſelues, ſo that the land was diuided into ſundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where ſome cities are gouerned by one onelie prince, ſome by the nobilitie, and ſome by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in thoſe daies here in this land were called kings, thoſe had more large ſeigniories than the other, as Caſſibellane, who was therefore called a king.

Fabian.

Cæſar.

Caſſibellane a king.

And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brute entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his poſteritie manie yeares after, and yet at length before the comming of Ceſar, through ciuill diſſention, might happilie be broken, and diuided into parts, and ſo remained not onelie in the time of this Caſſibellane, but alſo long after, whileſt they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finallie they were ſubdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the diſcord, negligence, or rather vnaduiſed raſhnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings that are ſaid to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Caſſibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namelie Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times paſt were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawne ſo by princes into ſundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common ieopardie, ſcarſelie would two or three cities agree togither, and take weapon in hand with one accord, ſo that while they fought by parts, the whole was ouercome. And after this ſort they ſay that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernors vnder the name of legats and procurators were ſent that had the rule of it.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Iu. Agr.

But yet the ſame authors make mention of certeine kings (as hereafter ſhall appeare) who while the

the Romane emperors had the moſt part of the earth in ſubiection, reigned in Britaine. The ſame witneſſeth Gildas, ſaieng: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the ſame are wicked, oftentimes ſpoiling and tormenting the innocent people. And Ceſar (as ye haue heard) ſpeaketh of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Praſutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Britaine: and Iuuenal ſpeaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing rule vnder the Romane emperors.

Gildas *in epiſt.*

Some take Praſutagus and Aruiragus to be one man.

Gal. Mon.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe gouernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane ſenat receiuing a yearelie tribute, ſent at certeine times (*Ex officio*) their emperors and lieutenants into this Ile, to repreſſe the rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the inuaſion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus would theſe writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeied their king, till at length they were put beſide the gouernement by the Saxons. But whereas in the common hiſtorie of England, the ſucceſſion of kings ought to be kept, ſo oft as it chanceth in the ſame that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane emperors are placed in their ſteads, and another while their lieutenants, and are ſaid to be created kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were inferiors vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not by preſcript of the ſenat or emperours, adminiſtred the prouince.

This may ſuffice here to aduertiſe you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go forth in following our hiſtorie, as we haue done heretofore, ſauing that where the Romane hiſtories write of things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants, it ſhall be ſhewed as reaſon requireth, ſith there is a great appearance of truth oftentimes in the ſame, as thoſe that be authoriſed and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares *that he reigned, and where he was interred*; of Kymbeline, within the time of whoſe *gouernment Chriſt Ieſus our ſauiour was borne*, all nations content to obeie the Romane em-*perors and conſequentlie Britaine, the cuſtomes that* the Britaines paie the Romans as Strabo reporteth.

The xviij. Chapter.

Theomãtius.

After the death of Caſſibellane, Theomantius or Temantius the yongeſt ſonne of Lud was made king of Britaine in the yeere of the world 3921, after the building of Rome 706, & before the comming of Chriſt 45. He is named alſo in one of the Engliſh chronicles Dormace: in the ſame chronicle it is conteined, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geffrey of Monmouth & others teſtifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued ſtill at Rome, becauſe he knew the Britains hated him for treaſon he had committed in aiding Julius Ceſar againſt Caſſibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Caſſibellane had granted, and finallie departed this life after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Kymbeline.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the ſonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the deceaſſe of his father, in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauiour 33. This man (as ſome write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Auguſtus Ceſar, vnder whome he ſerued in the warres, and was in ſuch fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his doings, except that during his reigne, the Sauiour of the world our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the onelie ſonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octauius Auguſtus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the world 3966, in the ſecond yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the vniuerſall flood 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Iſraelits out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arriuall of Brute 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, ſome writers do varie, but the beſt approued affirme, that he reigned 35 years and then died, & was buried at London, leauing behind him two ſonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Fabian cut of Guido de Columna.

Chriſt our ſauiour borne.

3966

¶ But here is to be noted, that although our hiſtories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as alſo his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continuallie to them paied the tributes which the Britains had couenanted with Julius Ceſar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Julius Ceſars death, when Auguſtus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refuſed to paie that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Auguſtus (being otherwiſe occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit, through earneſt calling vpon to recouer his right by ſuch as were deſirous to ſee the vttermoſt of the Britiſh kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Julius Ceſar, which was about the thirteenth yeare of the ſaid Theomantius, Auguſtus made proviſion to paſſe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iournie into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie ſaie, into theſe hither parts of France.

Cor Tacitus, *in vita Iu. Agr.*

Dion Caſſius.

But here receiuing aduertiſements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thought it beſt firſt to ſubdue thoſe rebells nære home, rather than to ſeeke new countries, and leaue ſuch in hazard whereof he had preſent poſſeſſion, and ſo turning his power againſt the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie inuaſion to be made by the Romans, till the yeare after the building of the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Auguſtus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to paſſe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his comming into Gallia, when the Britains ſent to him certeine ambaſſadours to treat with him of peace, he ſtaied there to ſettle the ſtate of things among the Galles, for that they were not in verie good order. And hauing finiſhed there, he went into Spaine, and ſo his iournie into Britaine was put off till the next yeare, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our ſauiour 25, about which time Auguſtus cæſars meant the third time to haue made a voiage into Britaine, becauſe

because they could not agrée vpon couenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had afore time staied him, when (as before is said) he meant to haue gone against the Britans: so euen now the Salassians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switzerland) the Cantabrians and Asturians by such rebellious sturrs as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed iournie. But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britans and Augustus, was occasioned by Cymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Cymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chiefly was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be depriued of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselues like ciuill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

He kept not promise with the Romans.

Those of Calice and Bissaie,

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. What this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as followeth. At this present (saith he) certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the emperour Augustus, haue offered in the capitoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with sore customs which they paie for wares, either to be sent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie puorie vessels, sheres, ouches, or eare rings, and other conceits made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no need of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some wing of horsemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if ante violence should be vsed, it were dangerous least they might be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Strab. Geog.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both sides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischiefe: Aulus Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arriue on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselues.

The xix. Chapter.

Guiderius.

GUiderius the first sonne of Cymbeline (of whom Harison saieth nothing) began his reigne in the seuentéenth yeere after th'incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gyldas saith. Whereupon the emperour Caligula (as some thinke) tooke occasion to leauie a power, and as one vtterlie misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the vttermost bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Caligula.

Great prouision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yeere of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the forren enimies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceassed not dailie to looke for the comming of the emperour, whome he ment to receiue with hard entertainment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But see the sequele: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yeere after the building of the citie, and marching forth, at length came vnto the Belgike shore, from whence they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing vpon with great admiration and wonder.

Dion Cassius lib. 59.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraie vpon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a readinesse to withstand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a flight shot or two from the shore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the shore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he séemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines sustéined in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had done him some notable péece of seruice. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore verie earnestlie of haue a triumph decreed vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterprise.

The spoile of the Ocean.

But when he saw the senat grudge at the free & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refused to attribute diuine honors vnto him, in recompense of so foolish an enterprise, it wanted little that he had not slaine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throne or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should haue béene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowesse, he to increase their clamour, caused great quantities of gold & siluer to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were preséd to death, and diuers also slaine with the inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same monie, of purpose to doo mischiefe, the same caltrops being in some small & sharp, so that by reason of the preasse of people, much hurt was done by them per they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitiues as

Suetonius.

were

were fled from thence, were not againe reſtored when requeſt was made for the ſame.

Dion Caſſius. Dion Caſſius writeth, that one Bericus, being expelled out of Britaine, perſuaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time againſt the Britains, ſo that one Aulus Plautius a ſenatour, and as then prætor, was appointed to take the armie that ſoiourned in France then called Gallia, and to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Britaine. The ſouldiers hearing of this voiage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delaied time, till at length one Narciſſus was ſent from Claudius, as it were to appeaſe the ſouldiers, & procure them to ſet forward. But when this Narciſſus went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cauſe of his comming, the ſouldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *O Saturnalia*, as if they ſhould haue celebrated their feaſt daie ſo called.

When the ſeruants apparelled in their maiſters robes, repreſented the rome of their maiſters, and were ſerued by them, as if they had béene their ſeruants, and thus at length conſtreined, through verie ſhame, they agréed to follow Plautius. Hereupon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ſhips ſuffered ſome impeachment in their paſſage by a contrarie wind that droue them backe againe: but yet the marriners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather becauſe there was ſéene a fierie leame to ſhoot out of the eaſt towards the weſt, which way their courſe lay, made forwards againe with their ſhips, and landed without finding anie reſiſtance. For the Britains loked not for their comming: wherefore, when they heard how their enimies were on land, they got them into the woods and mariſhes, truſting that by lingering of time the Romans would be conſtreined to depart, as it had chanced in time paſt to Julius Ceſar aforeſaid.

The end of the third booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

The Britains diſcomfited, ſore *wounded, ſlaine, and diſabled by* Plautius and his power, Claudius the *Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbe-* beline the king of Britaine, he bereaueth *the Britains of their armour, and by* vertue of his conqueſt ouer part *of the land is ſurnamed* Britannicus.

The firſt Chapter.

NOw Plautius had much adoo to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and couerts; howbeit when he had traced them out, firſt he vanquiſhed Cataractacus, and after Togodumnus the ſonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. Theſe therefore fléeing their waies, Plautus receiued part of the people called Boduni (which were ſubiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) into the obeiſſance of the Romans: and ſo leauing there a garriſon of ſouldiors, paſſed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be paſſed without a bridge: whereupon the Britains toke ſmall regard to defend the paſſage, as though they had béene ſure enough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being vſed to ſwim ouer riuers, although neuer ſo ſwift) to get ouer, which they did, ſleaing and wounding the Britains horſſes, which were faſtened to their wagons or chariots, ſo that the Britains were not able to do anie péece of their accuſtomed ſeruice with the ſame.

Boduni. Catuellani.

Herewithall was Flauius Veſpaſianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabinus ſent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further ſide, ſlue a great number of the enimies. The reſidue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in the which they fought ſo ſtoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sidius Geta being almoſt at point to be taken, did ſo handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were beſtowed vpon him, although he was no conſull.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, néere to the place where it falleth into the ſea, and knowing the ſhallowes and firme places thereof, eaſilie paſſed ouer to the further ſide, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the marſh grounds, and ſo came to loſe manie of their

their men, namelie of the Germans, which were the firſt that paſſed ouer the riuer to follow the Britains, partlie by a bridge which lay within the countrie ouer the ſaid riuer, and partlie by ſwimming, and other ſuch ſhift as they preſentlie made.

The Britains hauing loſt one of their rulers, namelie Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing diſcouraged, but rather more egerlie ſet on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their fierceneſſe, went no further, but ſtaid and placed garriſons in ſtedes where need required, to keepe thoſe places which he had gotten, and with all ſpéd ſent aduertiſement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie vrgent neceſſitie ſhould ſo moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readineſſe, ſtraightwaies vpon the receiuing of the aduertiſement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Oſtia, and from thence vnto Maſſilia, and ſo through France ſped his iournies till he came to the ſide of the Ocean ſea, and then imbarking himſelfe with his people, paſſed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his comming néere the Thames ſide, where being ioined, they paſſed the riuer againe, fought with the Britains in a pitcht field, and getting the victorie, tooke the towne of Camelodunum (which ſome count to be Colcheſter) being the cheefeſt citie apperteining vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced alſo manie other people into his ſubiection, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was againſt the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener than once in anie one voiage. Moreouer, Claudius tooke from the Britains their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeuour himſelfe to ſubdue the reſidue.

Togodumnus.

Dion Caſſius.

Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine, and hauing made his abode therin not paſt a ſixtene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the firſt month after his ſetting forth from thence, giuing after his returne, to his ſonne, the ſurname of Britannicus. This warre he finiſhed in maner as before is ſaid, in the fourth yéere of his reigne, which fell in the yéere of the world 4011, after the birth of our Sauiour 44, and after the building of Rome 79.

Catuellani.

Suetonius.

The diuerſe opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partile conqueſt of this Iland by the Romans, the death of Guiderius.

The ſecond Chapter.

HEre he that write, how Claudius ſubdued and added to the Romane empire, the Iles of Orknie ſituate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accompliſhed either by Plautius, or ſome other his lieutenant: for Plautius indeed for his noble proweſſe and valiant acts atchiued in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the ſonne of Veſpaſian alſo wan no ſmall praiſe for deliuering his father out of danger in his time, being beſet with a companie of Britains, which the ſaid Titus bare downe, and put to flight with great ſlaughter. Beda following the authoritie of Suetonius, writeth brieflie of this matter, and ſaith, that Claudius paſſing ouer into this Ile, to the which neither before Julius Ceſar, neither after him anie ſtranger durſt come, within few daies receiued the moſt part of the countrie into his ſubiection without battell or bloudſhed.

Gyldas alſo writing of this reuolting of the Britains, ſaith thus: When information thereof was giuen to the ſenate, and that haſt was made with a ſpéedie armie to reuenge the ſame, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the ſea to fight valiantlie for the defenſe of the countrie, no ſquare battell, no right wing, nor anie other preciſion appointed on the ſhore to be ſéene, but the backes of the Britains in ſtead of a ſhield are ſhewed to the perſecutors, and their necks readie to be cut off with the ſword through cold feare running through their bones, which ſtretched forth their hands to be bound like womanlie creatures; ſo that a common prouerbe followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were neither valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and ſo the Romans fleaing manie of the rebels, reſeruing ſome, and bringing them to bondage, that the land ſhould not lie altogither vntilled and deſert, returned into Italie out of that land which was void of wine and oile, leauing ſome of their men there for gouernors to chaſtiſe the people, not ſo much with an armie of men, as with ſcourge and whip, and if the matter ſo required, to applie the naked ſword vnto their ſides: ſo that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And that coine either of braſſe, ſiluer or gold there was, the ſame to be ſtamped with the image of the emperour. Thus farre Gildas.

In the Britiſh hiſtorie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming aland at Rochester, beſieged that towne, to the reſcue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the worſe, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans ſide, changed his ſhield and armour, apparelling himſelfe like a Britaine, and ſo entring into the thickeſt preaſe of the Britiſh hoſt, came at length where the king was, and there ſlue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this miſchiefe, to the end the Britains ſhould not be diſcouraged therewith, cauſed himſelfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armor, and other abiliments, and ſo as king continued the fight with ſuch manhood, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ſhips, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus purſued, and at length droue him vnto the ſea ſide, and there ſlue him yer he could take the hauen which was there at hand; ſo that the ſame tooke name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of ſpeach it was called Hampton, and ſo continueth vnto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southhampton. Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his end, which chanced (as ſome write) in the 28 yéere of his reigne.

Gal. Mon. Matth. Weſt.

Hampton, why ſo called.

Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo incounter, a compoſition concerning marriage concluded betweene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

The third Chapter.

ARuiragus the youngeſt ſon of Kymbeline, and brother to Guinderius (becauſe the ſame Guinderius left no iſſue to ſucceed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

Aruiragus.

Hector Boet.

This

This Aruiragus, otherwiſe called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Pzaſutagus, is alſo named Armiger in the Engliſh chronicle, by which chronicle (as appeareth) he bare himſelfe right manfullie againſt Claudius and his Romans in the war which they made againſt him: in ſo much that when Claudius had renewed his force and woone Pozcheſter, and after came to beſiege Wincheſter (in the which Aruiragus as then was incloſed) Aruiragus aſſembling his power, was readie to come forth and giue Claudius battell: wherevpon Claudius doubting the ſequele of the thing, ſent meſſengers vnto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and ſo by compoſition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius ſhould giue his daughter Geniſſa in marriage vnto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus ſhould acknowledge to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Caxton.

Gal.Mon.

Ranulfus Cestrenſis.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant pzoweſſe which he ſaw & found in Aruiragus, honozed not onlie him with the mariage of his daughter the ſaid Geniſſa, but alſo to the end to make the towne moze famous where this marriage was ſolemnized, he therefore called it Claudioceſtria, after his name, the which in the Britiſh tong was called before that daie Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a duke that ruled in Demetia that hight Glunie, but now it is called Gloceſter.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquiſhed in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the ſaid Aruiragus to giue vnto him his ſaid daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Suetonius maie ſéeme to repzoue this part of the Britiſh hiſtozie, which in the life of Claudius witneſſeth, that he had by three wiues onlie three daughters, that is to ſaie, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, cauſed hir to be caſt downe at the doze of his wife Pzerculanilla, whome he had forſaken by waie of diuozcement: & that he beſtowed his daughter Antonia firſt on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Fauſtus Silla, verie noble yong gentlemen; and Octauia he matched with Nero his wiues ſon. Whereby it ſhould appéere, that this ſuppoſed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale.

Suetonius.

¶ And héere to ſpeake my fanſie alſo what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Galfrid and ſuch as haue followed him doo regiſter in ozder, to ſucceed one after another) I will not denie but ſuch perſons there were, and the ſame happilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as abſolute kings ouer the whole, or that they ſucceeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the ſame writers, it ſeemeth moſt vnlike to be true: for rather it maie be geſſed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approued Romane writers haue written, that diuerſe of theſe kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from thoſe times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, ſith this ozder of the Britiſh kinglie ſucceſſion in this place is moze eaſie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie repzoued, than either wiſelie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming therof vnto thoſe that haue perhaps ſéene moze than I haue, or moze déepelie conſidered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I haue thought good, both to ſhew what I find in our hiſtozies, and likewiſe in forren writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whileſt the Romans gouerned there) we maie ſafelie giue moſt credit, doo we otherwiſe neuer ſo much content our ſelues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To pzoceed yet with the hiſtozie as we find it by our writers ſet forth: it is repozted, that after the ſolemnization of this marriage, which was done with all honour that might be deuiſed, Claudius ſent certeine legions of ſouldiers forth to go into Ireland to ſubdue that countrie, and returned himſelfe to Rome.

Legions of ſouldiers ſent into Ireland.

Aruiragus denieth ſubiection to the *Romans*, *Veſpaſian is ſent to repreſſe him* and his power, the Romane hoſt is kept backe *from landing*, *queene Geniſſa pacifieth them* after a ſharpe conflict: & what the Ro... *mane writers ſay of Veſpaſians being in* ... Britaine, the end of Aruiragus.

The fourth Chapter.

THen did king Aruiragus ride about to view the ſtate of his realme, repairing cities and townes decaied by the warre of the Romans, and ſaw his people gouerned with ſuch iuſtice and good ozder, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: ſo that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reaſon thereof fell into pzide, ſo that he denied his ſubiection to the Romans. Wherevpon Claudius appointed Veſpaſian with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine. This iournie was to him the beginning of his aduancement to that honour, which after to him moſt luckilie befell. But if we ſhall credit our Britaine writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands, for where he would haue landed at Sandwich or Richborough, Aruiragus was readie to reſiſt him, ſo as he durſt not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there ſuch a puiſſant number of armed men, that the Romans were afraid to approch the land.

Veſpaſian in Britaine. Cornel. Tacit. *in vit. Agr. lib. 5. & li. 6.* Gal. Mon. Rutupium.

Veſpaſian therefore withdrew from thence, and coaſting weſtward, landed at Totneſſe, and coming to Exceſter, beſieged that citie: but about the ſeuenth day after he had planted his ſiege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the armies ſuſteined great loſſe of men, and neither part got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow after quéene Geniſſa made them friends, and ſo the warres ceaſſed for that time, by hir good mediation.

¶ But ſéeing (as before I haue ſaid) the truth of this hiſtozie maie be greatlie miſtruſted, ye ſhall heare what the Romane writers ſaie of Veſpaſianus being héere in Britaine, beſide that which we haue alreadie recited out of Dion in the life of Guiderius.

In the daies of the emperor Claudius, through fauour of Narciſſus (one that might doo all with Claudius) the ſaid Veſpaſian was ſent as coronell or lieutenant of a legion of ſouldiers into Germanie, and being remoued from thence into Britaine, he fought thirtie ſeuerall times with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romane obeiſance two moſt mightie nations, and aboue twentie townes, togither with the Ile of Wight; and theſe exploits he atchiued, partlie vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Britaine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder the ſame emperor himſelfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credit, he came firſt ouer into Britaine with the ſaid Aulus Plautius, and ſerued verie valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue partlie touched. By Tacitus it appeareth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britaine

Veſpaſian. Suetonius. Sabellicus.

Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appeered to what estate of honour he was predestinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Aruiragus: when he perceiued that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should striue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subiection from the necks of the Britains, he made a finall peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastlie ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yéeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yéere of Grace 73, as one author affirmeth, and was buried at Glocester.

Gal. Mon.

73. Matth. West.

Ioseph of Arimathia came into Britane *and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian religion*, Britaine gouerned by Lieute*nants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the* exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Ox*fordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen*, appeaseth the Yorkshiremen, and brideleth the rage of the Silures.

The fift Chapter.

IN the daies of the said Aruiragus, about the yeare of Christ 53, Ioseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauiour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale following the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other godlie christian men, & preaching the gospell there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, conuerted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholsome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obteining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellowes began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or néere thereunto) was afterward erected the abbeie of Glastenburie.

Polydorus.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospell to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the patriarch of Ierusalem witnesse. Tertullian also maie be a witnesse of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approch, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others. ¶ Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortlie after Christes time, although it certeinlie appeareth not, who were the first that preached the gospell to the Britains, nor whether they were Grécks or Latins.

Treasurers or receiuers.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legats and procurators, thereby to kéepe the vnrulie inhabitants the better in order.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuous, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vnacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be hastie to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hasted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he slue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come togither againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he tooke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Auon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in camps fortified néere to the same. But the Orfordshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fenced with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not haue anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certeine bands of aids, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercie at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

Aulus Plautius.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Orfordshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangi, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuilie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsids of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Wherevpon he marched straight to their campe and giuing them battell, vanquished them: and vsing the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approched néere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Yorkshire men, whome forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *ciuica corona*.

Cangi.

In the meane time, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared

Cor. Tacitus. lib. 12.

pared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with anie courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Ostorius peopled a towne neere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to such maner as was vsed in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching *the situation of Camelodunum supposed to* be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken *of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene* Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius *the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselues to their enimies.*

The sixt Chapter.

BVt now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situat more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romane souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the repressing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or neere the Welsh marshes.

Camelodunum, Colchester.

Silures where they inhabited.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caermalet, which stood in the marshes of Summersetshire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happilie some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be doon by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer seene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Werford, might in taking forth a copie of some writing easilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester in deed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certeinelie Colchester taketh the Iceni men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoeuer we shall take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to seeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whome (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that misliked of the Romane gouernment, he ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermost hazard of battell.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. Annal.

Hu. Lhoyd

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hils. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon anie side, the same was shut vp with mightie huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine ford to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On three sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be sustained. He rehersed also specially by name those their elders, which had resisted Julius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children safe and vndefiled. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, ech one for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to shrinke for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

This chéerefulnesse of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romane lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all set full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afore him, but that which seemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. But the souldiers yet seemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowes. Herewith the capteins and tribunes discoursing the like, pricked forward the earnest willes which their

souldiers

souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing vndone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And hauing aduisedlie considered which waies were hard and vnpossible to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them forth, being most earnestlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselues with their targets, came once close togither, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued alway the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched togither, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wracke of them on ech side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yelded themselues. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, *the maner how he and his alies were led* captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage *and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius*, whereby he and his obteine mercie and pardon: *the Britains vndertake a new reuenge* against the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

The seuenth Chapter.

THe name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie spred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yeres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilest he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him also that was banquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had beene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratakes name renowmed.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vttered this speach as followeth.

„ If there had beene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a capteine: neither should I haue thought scorne, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by waie of ioining with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horsses, men, armor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall loke to gouerne all men, it must needs follow that all men must be your slaues. If I had at the first yelded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had beene set forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I should straight haue beene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your mercifull clemencie.

The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being losed from their bands, went also to the place where the empresse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperour. After this the senat was called togither, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchiued by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Syphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had banquished.

Syphax. L. Paulus.

Hereupon it was determined, that Ostorius should enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or bicause the Romans (as though the warre had beene finished) loked negligentlie to themselues, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Hereupon they incompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next townes and castels, the Romans had beene destroied by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortlie after they set vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horssemen as were appointed to gard them. Hereupon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horssemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whose force they were staid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the date was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage

in woods and bogs, as hap or force ministred occasion vpon malice conceiued, or in hope of prey, sometimes by commandement, and sometimes without either commandement or knowledge of capteine or officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent forth to forreie abroad vnaduisedlie, through couetousnesse of the capteins. This feat was atchiued by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebell against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of words which the emperor Claudius had vttered in their disfauour, as thus: that euen as the Sicambres were destroied and remoued into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguished. These words being blowne abroad, and knowne ouer all, caused the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, or to die in defense thereof vpon the enimies swords.

In the meane time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by litle & litle insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accomplished.

W.H. in his chronologie. There be some led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the citie of Chester after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in those parties he fortified sundrie holds, and placed a number of old souldiers either there in that selfe place, or in some other neere therevnto by waie of a colonie. And forsomuch (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planted the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards vse to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enimies.

In deed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those vaults or tauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with some part of the castell. And verelie as Ran. Hig. *alias* Cestrensis. Ranulfe Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man seene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Caer leon ardour deuy, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Dee, prooueth it sufficientlie enough.

Corn. Tacit. But to returne vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old receiued custom of the people of Rome, to haue both subiects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and deeds of the Roman emperours from C. Julius Cesar (who chased Pompeie out of Italie, and was the first that obteined the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succeeding him were called Cesars) to Octauian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie easilie marke and obserue. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, greedie of honour and renowme, and not vnaptlie termed *Romani rerum domini, &c.*

Cogidune a king in Britaine.

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius *his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and le-* cherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius kee-*peth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what* meanes their confines in this Ile were inlarged; *the error of Hector Boetius and others touching* the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull ouerthrow.

The eight Chapter.

A Didius lieutenant.

After the decease of Ostorius Scapula, one A. Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquished the legion whereof Pantius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the vttermost, that with the bruit thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperour after the largest manner, to the end that if he appeased the matter, he might win the more praise; or if he were put to the worst, and should not preuaile, that then his excuse might seeme the more reasonable and worthie of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a fowle stur ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

But herewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skilfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Iugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants or Yorkeshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby ministring matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure she wed to the Romans, the increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satisfie hir wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with hir husband, married Vellocatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. Heere vpon insued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enimie also to the Romans. But first they tugged togither betwixt themselues, & the queene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and cosens of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceassed not to go forward with their purpose.

Venutius ruler of the Iugants.

Cartimanda.

Vellocatus.

Manie of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so retected hir husband, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet the queenes sensuall lust mixed with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the reuolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romans forseeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horsemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerse incounters with the enimies at the first, with doubtfull successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the queene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were

Venutius keepeth the kingdome in despite of the Romans.

were conſtreined ſtill to maintеine warre.

About the ſame time, the legion alſo which Ceſius Naſica led, got the vpper hand of thoſe Britains againſt whom he was ſent. For Didius being aged, and by victories paſt inough renowmed, thought it ſufficient for him to make warre by his capteins, ſo to ſtaie and kеepe off the enimie. Certеine caſtels and holds in deed he cauſed to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had bеene afore attempted by anie of his predeceſſors, and ſo thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile ſomewhat inlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what ſucceſſe the Britains mainteined warre in defenſe of their libertie againſt the Romans, whileſt Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Romane writers.)

The error of Hector Boetius.

¶ But here you muſt note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & alſo of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants, ſo farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of thoſe countries which the Scots haue now in poſſeſſion, and were euen then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partlie by the Scots, and partlie by the Picts (as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may ſее more at large) ſo that what notable feat ſoeuer was atchiued by the old Britains againſt the Romans, the ſame by him is aſcribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole hiſtorie, whereas (in verie truth) forſomuch as may be gathered by coniecture and preſumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkſhire, the Silures Wales and the Marches, and the Nouants the countrie of Cumberland.

But forſomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were mainteined by thoſe people againſt the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finiſhed thorough their ſtoutneſſe and valiancie, ye may there read the ſame, and iudge at your pleaſure what people they were whome he ſo much praiſeth: aduertiſing you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expreſſed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Conſtantius, father of Conſtantine the great: ſo that if they had bеene in this Ile then ſo famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the ſame Boetius; maruell might it ſeеme, that the Romane writers would ſo paſſe them ouer with ſilence.

A note to be conſidered in the reading of Hect. Boetius

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero ſucceeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the ſeuenth yeere of whoſe reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great ouerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Gallus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Auitus) could during the time of his rule doo no more but hold that which was alreadie gotten, beſide the building of certeine caſtels (as before ye haue heard) neither his ſucceſſor Veranius, beating and forreieng the woods, could atchiue anie further enterpriſe, for he was by death preuented, ſo as he could not proceed forward with his purpoſe touching the warres which he had ment to haue followed, whoſe laſt words (in his teſtament expreſſed) detected him of manifeſt ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wiſhed to haue liued but two yeeres longer, in which ſpace he might haue ſubdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, ſauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Angleſey, and winneth it, a ſtrange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miſerie and ſeruitude, and take aduiſe by weapon to redreſſe it againſt the Romans their enimies.

The ninth Chapter.

P. Suetonius lieutenant.

BVt now when this great loſſe chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man moſt plentifullie furniſhed with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right skilfull warrior.

Angleſey inuaded.

This Suetonius therefore wiſhing to tame ſuch of the Britains as kept out, prepared to aſſaile the Ile of Angleſey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certeine brigantins with flat keеles to ſerue for the ebbes and ſhallow ſhelues here and there, lieng vncertеinlie in the ſtraits which he had to paſſe. The footmen ferried ouer in thoſe veſſels, the horſſemen following by the fords, and ſwimming when they came into the deepe, got likewiſe to the ſhore, where ſtood in order of battell an huge number of armed men cloſe togither, redie to beat backe the Romans, and to ſtaie them from comming to land. Amongſt the men, a number of women were alſo running vp and downe as they had bеene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their ſhoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was alſo a companie of their prieſts or philoſophers called Druides, who with ſtretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curſſings againſt the Romans in moſt bitter wiſe.

A ſtrange maner of women.

The Druids.

The ſouldiers were ſo amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of this ſight, that (as men benummed of their lims and ſenſes) they ſuffred themſelues to be wounded and ſlaine like ſenſeleſſe creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one incouraging other in no wiſe to ſeare a ſort of mad & diſtract women, they preaſſed forward vnder their enſignes, bearing downe ſuch as ſtood in their way, and with their owne fire ſmoldered and burnt them to aſhes.

Angleſey won by the Romans.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got poſſeſſion of the whole Ile, wherein he placed gariſons of men of warre to kеepe the people there in ſubiection. He alſo cauſed their woods to be cut downe, that were conſecrated to their gods, within the which they were accuſtomed to ſacrifice ſuch as they tooke priſoners, and by the view of their intrailes, in diſmembring them, to learne of their gods ſome oracles and ſuch other things as ſhould come to paſſe.

Woods cut downe.

But now in the meane time, whileſt Paulinus was abroad about this enterpriſe, the Britains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miſeries, of their grieuous ſtate of ſeruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they dailie ſuſtеined: how that by ſufferance they profited nothing, but ſtill were oppreſſed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie in times paſt had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenent by his capteins and ſouldiers ſpilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and ſubſtance. The concord or diſcord betwixt thoſe that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the ſubiects, the lieutenant oppreſſing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force

Lieutenant & procurator.

and repꝛochfull demeanours, polling them by inſuſ-
ſerable exactions.

There was nothing free from the couetous extoꝛ-
tion and filthie concupiſcence of theſe inſatiable per-
ſons, foꝛ in theſe daies (ſay they) the greateſt ſpoiler is
the valianteſt man, and moſt commonlie our houſes
are robbed and ranſacked by a ſoꝛt of cowardlie ra-
ſkals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats
at all. Our childꝛen are taken from vs, we are foꝛ-
ced to go to the muſters, and are ſet foꝛth to ſerue in
foꝛren parties, as thoſe that are ignoꝛant which
way to ſpend our liues in the quarell of our owne
countrie. What a number of ſouldiers haue bene
tranſpoꝛted ouer from hence to ſerue in other lands,
if a iuſt account were taken thereof? The Germans
by manhod haue caſt (ſaid they) from their ſhoul-
ders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defen-
ded as we are with the maine Ocean ſea, but onelie
with a riuer. Where the Bꝛitains haue their coun-
trie, their wiues and parents, as iuſt cauſes of waꝛ
to fight foꝛ: the Romans haue none at all, but a co-
uetous deſire to gaine by rapine, and to ſatiſfie their
exceſſiue luſts.

They might eaſilie be compelled to depart the
countrie, as Julius Ceſar was, if the Bꝛitains
would ſhew ſome pꝛoofe of the noble pꝛoweſſe that
was euidentlie found in their woꝛthie anceſtoꝛs, and
not thꝛinke oꝛ quaile in courage foꝛ the miſaduen-
ture that ſhould happilie chance by fighting one bat-
tell oꝛ two. Greateſt foꝛce and conſtancie alwaies
remaineth with thoſe that ſeek to deliuer themſelues
from miſerie. Now appeared it that the gods had ta-
ken ſome pitie of the pooꝛe Bꝛitains, who by their
diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the
Romans with his armie, as it were baniſhed in an
other Iland. Let vs then (ſaid they) take the opoꝛtu-
nitie of time and good occaſion offered, and foꝛthwith
pꝛoceed in our buſineſſe: foꝛ leſſe danger it is man-
fullie to aduenture, and to go foꝛward with our pur-
poſe, than to be bewꝛaied and taken in theſe our
conſultations. Thus hauing taken aduiſe togither,
and wholie miſliking their pꝛeſent ſtate, they deter-
mined to take weapon in hand, and ſo by foꝛce to
ſeeke foꝛ reformation.

Occaſion not to be neglected.

A catalog of cauſes or greeuances in-
citing the Britains to rebell againſt the
Romans, wherein is ſhewed what iniuries they
ſuſteined: of diuers ſtrange wonders and apparitions;
the chiefe cauſe of the Britains inſurging
againſt the Romans, they admitted as well women
as men to publike gouernement. A deſcription of queene Voadicia, hir perſonage and maner of attire.

The tenth Chapter.

Cor. Tac. lib. 14

THe Bꝛitains indeed were occaſioned to doo as they pur-
poſed, thoꝛough manie euill
parts pꝛactiſed by the Ro-
mans greatlie to their griefs
and diſpleaſures. Foꝛ where-
as Pꝛaſutagus (who is ſuppo-
ſed by Hector Boetius to be
Aruiragus, king of the people called Icent) had
made the emperour and two of his owne daughters
his heires, ſuppoſing by that meane to haue his king-
dome and familie pꝛeſeꝛued from all iniurie: it
happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. Foꝛ
his kingdome was ſpoiled by the Romane capteins,
his wife named Voadicia beaten by the ſouldiers,
his daughters rauiſhed, the peeres of the realme be-
reft of their goods, and the kings friends made and
reputed as bondſlaues.

Pꝛaſutagus.

The Oxfoꝛd-ſhire and Glo-ceſterſhire men.

Voadicia *alias* Bunduica.

There was alſo an other great cauſe that ſtiꝛred
the Bꝛitains to this rebellion, which was the confiſ-
cating of their goods: foꝛ whereas Claudius himſelfe
had pardoned the chiefeſt perſons of the foꝛfeitures,
Decianus Catus the pꝛocuratoꝛ of that Ile main-
teined that the ſame ought to be renewed againe. To
this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca
had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundꝛed ſe-
ſtercies, ech hundꝛed being 500000 pounds ſtarling,
oꝛ thereabout, vpon great intereſt, he required the
whole ſumme togither by great rigoꝛ and violence,
although he foꝛced them at the firſt to take this mo-
nie to vſurie.

Dion Caſſ.

Vſurie.

Alſo ſuch old ſouldiers as were placed by waie of a
colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, ex-
pelled manie of the Bꝛitains out of their houſes,
dꝛoue them out of their poſſeſſions and lands, and ac-
counted the Bꝛitains as ſlaues, and as though they
had bene captiue pꝛiſoners oꝛ bondmen. Beſides
this, the temple there that was built in honoꝛ of
Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouern-
ment, was ſerued with pꝛieſts, the which vnder co-
lour of religion did ſpoile, conſume and deuoure the
goods of all men.

Moꝛeouer, ſuch ſtrange ſights and wonders as
chanced about the ſame time, pꝛicked the Bꝛitains
the rather foꝛward. Foꝛ the image of the goddeſſe
Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, ſlipping
downe, turned hir backe (as who ſhould ſaie ſhe
gaue place as vanquiſhed) to the enimies. Alſo in
the hall where the courts of iuſtice were kept, there
was a maruellous great noiſe heard, with much
laughing, and a ſturre in the theatre, with great
weeping and lamentable howling, at ſuch time as
it was certeinlie knowne that there was no crea-
ture there to make anie noiſe. The ſea at a ſpꝛing
tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide
was gone backe, there were ſeene on the ſands the
ſhapes & figures of mens bodies. Women alſo as
rauiſhed of their wits, and being as it were in a fu-
rie, pꝛophecied that deſtruction was at hand, ſo that
the Bꝛitains were put greatlie in hope, and the
Romans in feare.

Dion Caſſius.

Strange wonders.

Dion Caſſius.

But thoſe things, whether they chanced by the craft
of man, oꝛ illuſion of the diuell; oꝛ whether they pꝛoce-
ded of ſome naturall cauſe, which the common peo-
ple oftentimes taketh ſuperſtitiouſlie, in place of
ſtrange wonders ſignifieng things to follow, we
would let paſſe, leaſt we might be thought to offend
religion; the which teaching all things to be doone
by the pꝛouidence of God, deſpiſeth the vaine pꝛe-
dictions of haps to come, if the oꝛder of an hiſtoꝛie
(ſaith Polydor Virgil) would ſo permit, the which
requireth all things to be written in maner as they
fall out and come to paſſe.

Polydor.

But the Bꝛitains were chiefelie moued to rebel-
lion by the iuſt complaint of Voadicia, declaring
how vnſeemelie ſhe had bene vſed and intreated at
the hands of the Romans: and becauſe ſhe was moſt
earneſtlie bent to ſeeke reuenge of their iniuries,
and hated the name of the Romans moſt of all o-
ther, they choſe hir to be capteine (foꝛ they in rule
and gouernement made no difference then of ſex,
whether they committed the ſame to man oꝛ wo-
man) and ſo by a generall conſpiracie, the moꝛe part
of the people hauing alſo allured the Eſſex men vn-
to rebellion, roſe and aſſembled themſelues togither
to make warre againſt the Romans. There were
of them a hundꝛed and twentie thouſand got toge-
ther in one armie vnder the leading of the ſaid Voa-
dicia, oꝛ Bunduica (as ſome name hir.)

Cor. Tacitus. Voadicia by Dion Caſſius is called Bunduica.

The ancient Bꝛitains admitted as well women as men to publike gouern-ment.

She therefoꝛe to encourage hir people againſt the
enimies,

enimies, mounted vp into an high place raiſed vp of turfes & ſods made for the nonce, out of the which ſhe made a long & verie pithie oration. Hir mightie tall perſonage, comelie ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voice, with hir long and yellow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kirtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft therevpon ſhe had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of *prudence and ſpirit to the Britains*, for their encouragement againſt the Romans, *wherein ſhe rippeth vp the vile ſeruitude and* ſhamefull wrongs which their enimies inflicted *vpon them, with other matters verie motiue,* both concerning themſelues and their enimies, hir ſupplication and praier for victorie.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) ſet forth with ſuch maieſtie, that ſhe greatlie incouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, ſhe vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

I do ſuppoſe (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene anie of you ſo deceiued with the Romane perſuaſions, that ye did not for a time ſee a difference betweene them, and iudged whether of both is moſt to be deſired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, and forſake your former error. Againe, in that a number of you haue raſhlie preferred an externall ſouereigntie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your owne countrie, you do at this time (I doubt not) perfectlie vnderſtand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto ſeruitude is annexed; and much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forren magiſtrats, whereupon ſlauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beſeech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?

Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & poſſeſſions? Do not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcaſes? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedome? How much is it more commendable to loſe our liues in defenſe of our countrie, than to carie about not ſo much as our heads toll free, but dailie oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end do I remember and ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they will not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he doth well vnderſtand. Among other nations ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwaies by death diſcharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead do ſtill liue, and all to increaſe their commoditie and gaine.

If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we ſhould come by anie) then are we left naked, & ſpoiled of that which remaineth in our houſes, & we our ſelues as men left deſolate & dead. How ſhall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncourteouſlie with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wild beaſt, but at the firſt he will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie? But we our ſelues (to ſaie the trueth) are authors of our owne miſchiefe, which ſuffered them at the firſt to ſet foot within our Iland, and did not by and by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did ſometime to Auguſtus and Caligula.

We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean ſea, diuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a ſeuerall heauen: we, euen we (I ſaie) whoſe name hath beene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them all, are now contemned and troden vnder foot, of them who ſtudie nothings elſe but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinſfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I ſaie, becauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) ſticke togither, and performe that thing which doth perteine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue beene liberallie and in honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterlie forget our paſſinate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucced vs, and are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome?

I do not make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I know you abhorre it ſufficientlie alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likelie to fall hereafter (becauſe you do feare and ſee them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to helpe both me and your ſelues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puiſſance.

If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſilie appeare by the baſſinets, habergeons, & greaues wherewith you be armed; and alſo by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your own defenſe, to keepe off their excurſions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and martiall diſcipline doth require. Wherefore we do ſo farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walls, and one of our targets worth all the armour that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhall ſone make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſilie eſcape the danger.

Further-

"Furthermore, if after the flight we shall indeuour "to meet anie where, we haue the marishes here be- "neath to hide vs in, and the hils round about to keepe "them off, so that by no meanes they shall haue their "purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with "heauie armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we "flee; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to "flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as "desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to "their appointed places, where we maie take them as "birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they "are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they "can not indure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunne- "shine, as we can doo.

"In their houses also and tents, they make much ac- "count of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abroad "of the shadow, that if anie of these doo faile them, "they either die forthwith, or else in time they lan- "guish and consume: whereas to vs euerie hearbe and "root is meat, euerie iuice an oile, all water plea- "sant wine, and euerie tree an house. Beside this, there "is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet "vnfriendlie to succour vs at need; whereas to the "Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and "altogither dangerous, if they should stand in need: "we can with ease swim ouer euerie riuer both naked "and clad, which they with their great ships are scarse "able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good "lucke let vs set vpon them couragiouslie, and teach "them to vnderstand, that since they are no better "than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match, "when they indeuour to subdue the greehounds and "the woolues. With which words the queene let an "hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue pro- "gnostication of hir successe, which comming well to "passe, all the companie showted, and cried out vpon "such as not long before had done such violence to so "noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Bo- "adicia calling them togither againe, proceeded for- "ward with hir praier, which she made before them "all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

"I giue thee thanks O Adrasse, and call vpon thee "thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the "burthen-bearing Aegyptians, as Nitocris; neither "ouer their merchants, as doth Semiramis, for these "trifles we haue learned latelie of the Romans: nei- "ther ouer the people of Rome, as a litle heretofore "Messalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is "called by the name of a man, but is in deed a verie "woman, as doth appeare by his voice, his harpe, and "his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a god- "desse which gouernest the Britains, that haue learn- "ned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men, "but to lead their liues in the warres after the best "manner: who also as they haue all other things, so "haue they likewise their wiues and children com- "mon, whereby the women haue the like audacitie "with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres "than they.

"Therefore sithens I haue obteined a kingdome a- "mong such a mightie people, I beseech thee to grant "them victorie, health, and libertie, against these con- "tentious, wicked, and vnsatiable men (if they maie "be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate "fare, hot wines, sweet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke, "and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogither giuen to "couetousnesse and crueltie, as their doings doo de- "clare. Let not I beseech thee, the Neronian or Domi- "tian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to "saie truth) vpon thee, but let them rather serue thee, "whose heauie oppression thou hast borne withall a "long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper on- "lie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O "noble ladie, I hartilie beseech thee.

Queene Voadicia marcheth against the *Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull* and bloudie ouerthrow without anie *motion of mercie, dredfull examples* of the Britains crueltie indiffe- *rentlie executed without excep-* tion of age or sex.

The twelfe Chapter.

When Voadicia had made an end of hir praier, she set forward against hir enimies, who at that time were destitute in deed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Anglesey (as before ye haue heard.) Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there was no great garrison of able men. Whereupon the procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon or armour. Corn. Tacit. Catus Decianus procurator.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampire or ditch for defense, such as happilie were prouide to the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men nor women sent awaie, whereby the yong able personages might without trouble of them the better attend to the defense of the citie: but euen as they had been in all suertie of peace, and free from suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went to spoile and fire that could be found without the inclosure of the temple, into the which the Romane souldiers (striken with sudden feare by this sudden comming of the enimies) had thronged themselues. Where being assieged by the Britains, within the space of two daies the place was wonne, and they that were found within it, slaine euerie mothers sonne.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this victorie, went to meet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incountering with the same legion, gaue the Romans the ouerthrow, and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis with much adoo escaped with his horsemen, and got him backe to the campe, and saued himselfe within the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertised of these doings, came backe out of Anglesey, and with maruellous constancie marched through the middest of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prouided of victels: he was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether he might best staie there as in a place most conuenient, or rather seeke some other more easie to be defended. At length considering the small number of his men of warre, and remembring how Cerealis had sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with the losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to put all in danger of irrecouerable losse. And therewith nothing moued at the praier & teares of them which besought him of aid and succour, he departed,

and

and thoſe that would go with him he receiued into his armie, thoſe that taried behind were oppreſſed by the enimies: and the like deſtruction happened to them of Verolamium, a towne in thoſe daies of great fame, ſituat nére to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Britains leauing the caſtels and fortreſſes vnaſſaulted, followed their gaine in ſpoiling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, vſing their victorie with ſuch crueltie, that they ſlue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thouſand Romans, and ſuch as tooke their part in the ſaid places by the Britains thus won and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes, and ſuch like, ſo earneſtlie were they ſet on reuenge. They ſpared neither age nor ſex: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, ſowed them to their mouthes, that they might ſéeme as if they ſucked and fed on them; and ſome of their bodies they ſtretched out in length, and thruſt them on ſharpe ſtakes. All theſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrificed in their temples, and made feaſts, namelie in the wood conſecrated to the honour of Andates, for ſo they called the goddeſſe of victorie whom they worſhipped moſt reuerentlie.

30000. ſaith Dion.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a freſh power aſſalteth the Britains, whoſe armie conſiſted as well of women as men: queene Voadicia incourageth hir ſouldiers, ſo dooth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a ſharpe conflict, the Britains are diſcomfited and miſerablie ſlaine, the queene dieth, Penius Poſthumus killeth himſelfe, the Britains are perſecuted with fire, ſword, and famine, the grudge betweene Caſſicianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is ſent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

The xiij. Chapter.

IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the 14, and other bands of ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, whereupon (chieflie becauſe vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and choſe out a plot of ground verie ſtrong within ſtraits, and backed with a wood, ſo that the enimies could not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceiued by their late proſperous ſucceſſe, the Britains vnder the conduct of queene Voadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witneſſes of the victorie, whome they placed in charrets at the vttermoſt ſide of their field.

The Britains were at that time 230000. men, (as Dion writeth.)

Voadicia, or Boudicia (for ſo we find hir written by ſome copies, and Bonuica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of ech ſundrie countrie, told them it was a thing accuſtomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of women; but ſhe was not now come forth as one borne of ſuch noble anceſtors as ſhe was deſcended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meaner ſort, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hir ſelfe of the enimie, for their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, and ſhamefull deflouring of hir daughters: for the licentious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpred and increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old nor yong, but were readie moſt ſhamefullie to abuſe them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie concupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the gods are at hand readie to take iuſt reuenge.

Corn. Tacit. li. 15. Dion Caſſius.

The legion that preſumed to incounter with vs is ſlaine and beaten downe. The reſidue keepe them cloſe within their holds, or elſe ſéeke waies how to flée out of the countrie: they ſhall not be once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe and clamor of ſo manie thouſands as we are héere aſſembled, much leſſe the force of our great puiſſance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (ſaid ſhe) would wey and conſider with your ſelues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the cauſes why ye haue mooued this warre, ye would ſurelie determine either in this battell to die with honour, or elſe to vanquiſh the enimie by plaine force, for ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fullie reſolued, as for you men ye male (if ye liſt) liue and be brought into bondage.

Neither did Suetonius ceaſſe to exhort his people: for though he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battels, ſo did he make vnto ech of them a ſeuerall oration, willing them not to feare the ſhrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, ſith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no ſkill in warrelike diſcipline, and héereto being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith giue place when they ſhould féele the ſharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had ſo often béene put to flight. In manie legions (ſaith he) the number is ſmall of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore ſhould be the more, for that they being a ſmall number ſhould win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging together) beſtow their weapons freelie, and with their ſwords and targets preaſſe forward vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regard to the ſpoile, they might aſſure themſelues when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleaſures.

Such forwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himſelfe ſo readilie to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſound to the battell. The onſet was giuen in the ſtraits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in compariſon to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrownéſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, ſo that they were conſtreind to giue backe, and ſo being diſordered were put to flight, and vtterlie diſcomfited.

80000. Britains ſlaine.

There were ſlaine of the Britains that day few leſſe than 80000 thouſand, as Tacitus writeth. For the ſtraits being ſtopped with the charrets, ſtaied the flight of the Britains, ſo as they could not eaſilie eſcape: and the Romans were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neither man nor woman, ſo that manie were ſlaine in the battell, manie amongſt the charrets, and a great number at the woods ſide, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken priſoners. Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceaſſed of a naturall infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius writeth, but other ſay that ſhe poiſoned hir ſelfe, and ſo died, becauſe ſhe would not

not come into the hands of hir bloodthirſtie enimies. There died of the Romans part in this moſt notable battell 400, and about the like number were grieuouſlie hurt and moſt pitifullie wounded.

Penius Poſthumus maiſter of the campe of the ſecond legion, vnderſtanding the proſperous ſucceſſe of the other Romane capteins, becauſe he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refuſed to obeie the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the vſe of warre, ſlue himſelfe.

Penius Poſthumus ſleeth himſelfe.

After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the reſidue of the warre. And the emperour cauſed a ſupplie to be ſent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie ſouldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horſſemen, by whoſe comming the bands of the ninth legion were ſupplied with legionarie ſouldiers, and thoſe bands and wings of horſſemen were appointed to places where they might winter; and ſuch people of the Britains as were either enimies, or elſe ſtood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies in deed, were perſecuted with fire and ſword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whileſt euerie man gaue himſelfe to the warre, and purpoſed to haue liued vpon the proviſion of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themſelues to tillage, nor to anie huſbanding of the ground, and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reaſon that Julius Calliſtianus, who was ſent into Britaine as ſucceſſor to Catus, fell at ſquare with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the proſperous ſucceſſe of publike affaires. He ſticked not to write to Rome, that except an other were ſent to ſucceed in the rome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Herevpon one Polycletus, which ſometime had béene a bondman, was ſent into Britaine, as a commiſſioner, to ſurueie the ſtate of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & alſo to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

Julius Calliſtianus procurator.

The port which Polycletus bare was great, for he was furniſhed with no ſmall traine that attended vpon him, ſo that his preſence ſeemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great ſcorne to ſee ſuch honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were to, ſubmit themſelues to the order of ſuch a one as had béene a bondſlaue.

In what ſtate the Iland ſtood whiles Aruiragus reigned; the diſſolute and looſe gouernement of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontinus who vanquiſhed the Silures.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.

IN place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had latelie béene conſull) appointed to haue the gouernance of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor being of the enimie in anie wiſe troubled or prouoked, did colour ſlouthfull reſt with the honeſt name of peace and quietneſſe, and ſo ſat ſtill without exploiting anie notable enterpriſe.

Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewiſe with courteous demeanour ſought to keepe the Britains in reſt rather than by force to compell them. And now began the people of the Ile to beare with pleaſant faults and flattering vices, ſo that the ciuill warres that chanced in thoſe daies after the death of the emperour Nero at home, might eaſilie excuſe the ſlouthfulneſſe of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreouer, there roſe diſſention amongeſt the men of warre, which being vſed to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; ſo that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himſelfe from the ſight of the ſouldiers being in an vproare againſt him, till at length humbling himſelfe vnto them further than became his eſtate, he gouerned by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courteſie. And ſo was the commotion ſtaied without bloudſhed, the armie as it were hauing by couenant obteined to liue licentiouſlie, and the capteine ſuerte to liue without danger to be murthered.

Victius Volanus lieutenãt.

NEither Victius Volanus that ſucceeded Maximus whileſt the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vſing the ſame ſlackneſſe and ſlouth that the other lieutenants had vſed before him, and permitted the like licence to the preſumptuous ſouldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himſelfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: ſo that he purchaſed fauour, although authoritie wanted.

But after that the emperour Veſpaſianus had ſubdued his aduerſaries, and atteined the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were ſent hither right noble capteins, with diuers notable bands of ſouldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by inuading the Brigants the mightieſt nation of all the whole Iland, and fighting manie battels, and ſome right bloudie with thoſe people, he ſubdued a great part of the countrie at the laſt. Cor. Tacitus.

Iulius Frontinus lieutenãt.

After him ſucceeded as lieutenant of Britaine, one Julius Frontinus, who vanquiſhed and brought to the Romane ſubiection by force of armes the people called Silures, ſtriuing not onelie againſt the ſtout reſiſtance of the men, but alſo with the hardneſſe & comberſome troubles of the places.

¶ Thus may you perceiue in what ſtate this Ile ſtood in the time that Aruiragus reigned in the ſame, as is ſuppoſed by the beſt hiſtories of the old Britains: ſo that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not hauing ſo reduced the countrie into the forme of a prouince, but that the Britains bare rule in diuerſe parts thereof, and that by the permiſſion of the Romans, which neuertheleſſe had their lieutenants and procuratours here; that bare the greateſt rule vnder the aforeſaid emperours.

The ſtate of this Iland vnder Marius the ſonne of Aruiragus, the comming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall aliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie ouer the Picts, his death and interrement.

The xv. Chapter.

Marius

AFter the deceaſe of Aruiragus, his ſonne Marius ſucceeded him in the eſtate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old Engliſh chronicle he is ſondrie called Weſtmer, & was a verie wiſe man, gouerning the Britains

Hector Boetius ſaith this Marius was a Romane.

Britains in great proſperitie, honour and wealth.

In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts inuaded this land, who are iudged to be deſcended of the nation of the Scithians, neare kinſmen to the Goths, both by countrie and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres. This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as ſome name him) Londorike, entering the Ocean ſea after the maner of rouers, arriued on the coaſts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new ſeats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as ſome thinke) were alſo deſcended of the Scithians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it ſhould not be for their profit to receiue ſo warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendſhip, and ercuſing the matter by the narrowneſſe of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counſelled them to go thither, promiſing vnto them all the aid that might be.

Of theſe yon maie reade more in pag. 9.

Matth. Weſt.

The Picts more deſirous of ſpoile than of rule or gouernment, without delaie returned to the ſea, and ſailed towards Britaine, where being arriued, they firſt inuaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabiters, they began to waſt and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was aduertiſed, with all ſpeed he aſſembled his people, and made towards his enimies, and giuing them battell, obteined the victorie, ſo that Roderike was there ſlaine in the field, and his people vanquiſhed.

Roderike king of Picts ſlaine.

Vnto thoſe that eſcaped with life, Marius granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catneſſe, being as then a countrie in maner deſolate without habitation: whereupon they withdrew thither, and ſetled themſelues in thoſe parties. And becauſe the Britains diſdained to grant vnto them their daughters in mariage, they ſent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to haue wiues of their nation. The Scots agreed to their requeſt, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull iſſue of the kings linage to ſucceed in the kingdome of the Picts, then ſhould they name one of the womans ſide to be their king: which ordinance was receiued and obſerued euer after amongſt the Picts, ſo long as their kingdome endured.

Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the firſt of anie ſtrangers that came into this land to inhabit as moſt writers affirme, although the Scotiſh chronicles auouch the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteined againſt their king Roderike, chanced in the yeare after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marius cauſed a ſtone to be erected in the ſame place where the battell was fought, in which ſtone was grauen theſe words, Marij victoria. The Engliſh chronicle ſaith that this ſtone was ſet vp on Staneſmore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Weſtmaria, now called Weſtmerland.

King Marius hauing thus ſubdued his enimies, and eſcaped the danger of their dreadfull inuaſion, gaue his mind to the good gouernement of his people, and the aduancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the reſidue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finallie departed this life, after he had reigned (as moſt writers ſay) 52, or 53 yeares. Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yeare of our Lord 78, and ſo reigned not paſt fiue or ſix yeares at the moſt. He was buried at Caerleill, leauing a ſonne behind him called Coill.

Matt. Weſt. Thus find we in the Britiſh and Engliſh hiſtories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhoyd ſeemeth to take this man and his father Aruiragus to be all one perſon, whether moued thereto by ſome catalog of kings which he ſaw, or otherwiſe, I cannot affirme: but ſpeaking of the time when the Picts and Scots ſhould firſt come to ſettle themſelues in this land, he hath theſe words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Veſpaſianus time, about the yeare of the incarnation 72: at what time Meurig or Maw, or Aruiragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales do report, that a certeine kind of people liuing by piracie and rouing on the ſea, came forth of Sueden, or Norwaie, vnder the guiding of one Rhithercus, who landed in Albania, walking all the countrie with robbing and ſpoiling ſo farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquiſhed in battell, and ſlaine by Arragus, with a great part of his people; the reſidue that eſcaped by flight, fled to their ſhips, and ſo conueied themſelues into the Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to ſhew of the foreſaid Lhoyds booke, for that it ſeemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the hiſtorie of the Picts, which vndoubtedlie I thinke were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather firſt placing themſelues in the Iles of Orkney, made inuaſion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occaſion was offred. In the Britiſh tong they are called Pightiaid, that is Pightians, and ſo likewiſe were they called in the Scotiſh, and in their owne tong. Now will we ſhew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foreſaid Marius his ſuppoſed reigne, as is found in the Romane hiſtories.

Iulius Agricola is deputed by Veſpaſian to gouerne Britaine, he inuadeth the Ile of Angleſey, the inhabitants yeeld vp themſelues, the commendable gouernement of Agricola, his worthie practiſes to traine the Britains to ciuilitie, his exploits fortunatelie atchiued againſt diuerſe people, as the Irith, &c.

The 16. Chapter.

Iulius Agricola lieutenant

After Iulius Frontinus, the emperor Veſpaſian ſent Iulius Agricola to ſucceed in the gouernement of Britaine, who comming ouer about the midſt of ſummer, found the men of warre thorough want of a lieutenant negligent inough, as thoſe that looking for no trouble, thought themſelues out of all danger, where the enimies neuertheleſſe watched vpon the next occaſion to worke ſome diſpleaſure, and were readie on ech hand to moue rebellion. For the people called Ordonices, that inhabited in the countrie of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire and part of Shropſhire, had latelie before ouerthrowne, and in maner vtterlie deſtroied a wing of ſuch horſſemen as ſojourned in their parties, by reaſon whereof all the prouince was brought almoſt into an aſſured hope to recouer libertie.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agr. The firſt yeare of Agricola his gouernement.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though ſummer was now halfe paſt, and that the ſouldiers lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more diſpoſed to take reſt, than to ſet forward into the field againſt the enimies, determined yet to reſiſt the preſent danger: and therewith aſſembling the men of warre of the Romans, and ſuch other aids as he might make, he inuaded their countrie that had doone this foreſaid diſpleaſure, and ſlue the moſt part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the ſteps of fauourable

rable fortune, and knowing that as the begining proued, so would the whole sequele of his affaires by likelihood come to passe) he purposed to make a full conquest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest whereof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard.

The Ile of Anglesey.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to supplie that defect: for choosing out a piked number of such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the fords and shallow places of the streames there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to passe ouer on the sudden into the Ile, onelie with their horsses, armor, and weapon: which enterprise they so spéedilie, and with so good successe atchiued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that doing (which looked for a naule of ships to haue transported ouer their enimies by sea, and therefore watched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended against such kind of warriors that got ouer into the Ile after such sort and maner.

Anglesey yéelded to Agricola.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by these victories dailie much increased, as of one that tooke pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchiue dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecessors had delighted, to shew the maiesties of their office by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the prosperous successe of his procéedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increased it to the vttermost, among them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchiued, which with silence kept secret these his so worthie doings.

Moreouer, perceiuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and sufficientlie taught by other mens example, that armor should little auaile where iniuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he thought best to take away and remoue all occasions of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his souldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne houshold, yéelding nothing to fauor, but altogither in respect of vertue, accounting them most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought to know all things, but not to doo otherwise than reason moued, pardoning small faults, and sharpelie punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet deliting alwaies in punishment, but oftentimes in repentance of the offendor. Exactions and tributes he lessened, qualifieng the same by reasonable equitie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he wan him great praise in time of peace, the which either by negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants, was euer feared, and accounted worse than open warre. This was his practise in the winter time of his first yeare.

Agricola his good gouernment.

But when summer was come, he assembled his armie, and leading forth the same, trained his souldiers in all honest warlike discipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnrulie. He himselfe to giue example, tooke vpon him all dangers that came to hand, and suffered not the enimies to line in rest, but wasted their countries with sudden inuasions. And when he had sufficientlie chastised them, and put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spared them, that they might againe conceiue some hope of peace. By which meanes manie countries which vnto those daies had kept themselues out of bondage, laid rancor aside, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to suffer castels to be builded within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that no part of Britaine was free from the Romane

His diligence.

power, but stood still in danger to be brought vnder more and more.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercenesse and apt disposition to warre, they might through talting pleasures be so inured therewith, that they should desire to liue in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhorted them priuilie, and holpe them publikelie to build temples, common halls where plées of law might be kept, and other houses, commending them that were diligent in such doings, and blaming them that were negligent, so that of necessitie they were driuen to striue who should preuent ech other in ciuilitie. He also procured that noble mens sonnes should learne the liberall sciences, and praised the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, bicause they studied to atteine to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the vse of good and commendable manners, and sorted themselues to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustome themselues to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the readie prouokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselues in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which amongst the vnskilfull was called humanitie or courtesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and seruitude, namelie being too excessiuelie vsed.

The second yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

The wonderfull practises of Agricola to traine the Britains to ciuilitie.

In the third yeare of Agricola his gouernment in Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (vnknowne till those daies of the Romans) being the same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted the countrie vnto the water of Tay, in such wise putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the same was verie sore disquieted and vexed by tempest and rage of weather. Whereupon finding no great let or hinderance by the enimies, he builded certeine castels and fortresses, which he placed in such conuenient steeds, that they greatlie annoied his aduersaries, and were so able to be defended, that there was none of those castels which he builded, either won by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that the same bëing furnished with competent numbers of men of warre, were safelie kept from the enimies, the which were dailie vexed by the often issues made forth by the souldiers that late thus in garrison within them: so that where in times past the said enimies would recouer their losses susteined in summer by the winters aduantage, now they were put to the worse, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the summer.

The third yeare.

The water of Tay.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder subiection those people, the which before time he had by incursions and forreies sore vexed and disquieted: and thereupon comming to the waters of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortresses to defend the passages and entries there, driuing the enimies beyond the same waters, as it had bëne into a new Iland.

The fourth yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

Clota.

Bodotria.

In the fift summer, Agricola causing his ships to be brought about, and appointing them to arriue on the north coasts of Scotland, he passed with his armie ouer the riuer of Clide; and subdued such people as inhabited those further parts of Scotland, which till those daies had not bëne discouered by the Romans. And bicause he thought it should serue well to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which bordereth on the Irish

The fift yeare

seas

sons might be kept in due obedience, he placed garrisons of souldiers in those parties, in hope verelie vpon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the more easie aduancement of his purpose therein, he interteined with honourable prouision one of the kings of Ireland, which by ciuill discord was expelled and driuen out of his countrie. In deed Agricola perceiued, that with one legion of souldiers, and a small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he iudged verie necessarie to be exploited, for better keeping of the Britains in obedience, if they should see the iurisdiction of the Romans euerie where extended, and the libertie of their neighbours suppressed.

In Irish king expelled out of his countrie.

In the first summer of Agricola his gouernment, he proceeded in subduing the furthermost parts of Scotland northwards, causing his nauie to keepe course against him by the coast as he marched forth by land, so that the Britains perceiuing how the secret hauens and creekes of their countries were now discouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cut off from them, were in maruellous feare. On the other part the Romans were sore troubled with the rough mounteins and craggie rocks, by the which they were constreined to passe beside the dangerous riuers, lakes, woods, streicts, and other combersome waies and passages.

The first yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

The danger also of them that were in the ships by sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests, and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoiled their vessels verie cruellie: but by the painfull diligence of them that had beene brought vp and inured with continuall trauell and hardnesse, all those discommodities were ouercome to their great reioising, when they met and fell in talke of their passed perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped so by the shore, that those which kept the sea came on land to make merrie in the campe, and then ech one would recount to others the aduentures that had happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

The Britains of Calenderwood assalt *the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie battels* fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine *on both sides, the villanous dealing of certeine* Dutch souldiers against their capteins and fellowes *in armes, the miserie that they were driuen vnto by famine* to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betweene the Romans and Britains, with the losse of manie a mans life, and effusion of much bloud.

The xvij. Chapter.

Calenderwood.

THe Britains that inhabited in those daies about the parts of Calenderwood, perceiuing in what danger they were to be vtterlie subdued, assembled themselues together, in purpose to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertised, marched forth with his armie diuided in three battels, so that the enimies doubting to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be most feeble and weake, trusting by a camisado to distresse the same: and first sleaing the watch, they entred the campe, where the said legion laie, and finding the souldiers in great disorder, betwixt sleepe and feare, began the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent, and therefore with all speed hasted forth to come to the succours of his people, sending first his light horsemen, and certeine light armed footmen to assaile the enimies on their backs, and shortlie after approched with his whole puissance, so that the Romane standards beginning to appeere in sight by the light of the daie that then began to spring, the Britains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renewing their force, fiercelie prealled vpon them, so that euen in the entrie of the campe, there was a sore conflict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and chased, so that if the marshes and woods had not saued them from the pursute of the Romans, there had beene an end made of the whole warre euen by that one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romane soldiers, but by occasion, and the prudent policie of their capteine, were nothing abashed with that their present losse, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and thereupon they remoued their wiues and children into safe places, and then assembling the chiefest gouernours togither, concluded a league amongst themselues, ech to aid other, confirming their articles with doing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies was.)

The seuenth yeere.

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Germaine souldiers as had beene leuied in Germanie & sent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans, attempted a great and wonderfull act, in sleaing their capteine, and such other of the Romane souldiers which were appointed to haue the training and leading of them, as officers and instructors to them in the feats of warre: and when they had committed that murther, they got into three pinesses, and became rouers on the coasts of Britaine, and incountring with diuerse of the Britains that were readie to defend their countrie from spoile, oftentimes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chased awaie, insomuch that in the end they were brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that they did eate such amongst them as were the weakest, and after, such as the lot touched, being indifferentlie cast amongst them: and so being caried about the coasts of Britaine, & losing their vessels through want of skill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, first by the Suaueners, and shortlie after by the Frizers, the which sold diuerse of them to the Romans and other, whereby the true vnderstanding of their aduentures came certeinlie to light.

The eight yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

In summer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the mounteine of Granziben, where he vnderstood that his enimies were incamped, to the number of 30 thousand and aboue, and dailie there came to them more companie of the Britisli youth, and such aged persons also as were lustie and in strength, able to weld weapon and beare armour. Amongst the capteins the chiefest was one Galgagus whom the Scotish chronicles name Gald. This man as chiefteine and head capteine of all the Britains there assembled, made to them a pithie oration, to incourage them to fight manfullie, and likewise did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had there in aid with him in the midst, appointing three thousand horsemen to stand on the sides of them as wings. The Romane legions stood at their backs in steed of a bulworke. The Britains were imbattelled in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though they had risen on heigth one ranke aboue another. The midst of the field was couered with their charets

Galgagus whome the Scots name Gald and will needs haue him a Scotish man.

Corn. Tacit. rets and horſſemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enimies, leaſt his people ſhould be aſſailed not onlie afront, but alſo vpon euerie ſide the battels, he cauſed the ranks ſo to place themſelues, as their battels might ſtretch farre further in breadth than otherwiſe the order of warre required: but he tooke this to be a good remedie againſt ſuch inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrowneſſe of the fronts of his battels ſhould haue hemmed them in on ech ſide.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horſſe from him, he ſtood before the ſtandards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the firſt they beſtowed their ſhot and darts freelie on both ſides. The Britains aſwell with conſtant manhood, as skilfull practiſe, with broad ſwords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their ſhot and darts, ſo that the Romans were neere hand oppreſſed therewith, bicauſe they came ſo thicke in their faces, till at length Agricola cauſed three cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lukeners to preſſe forward, & ioine with them at hand-ſtrokes, ſo as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the ſword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it ſtood greatlie with their aduantage, ſo to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themſelues with their mightie huge ſwords and ſmall bucklers. Alſo by reaſon their ſwords were broad at the ends, and pointleſſe, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Whereupon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made fowle worke in ſleaing and wounding them in moſt horrible wiſe.

Betant. Congri.

The horſſemen alſo that made reſiſtance they pulled from their horſſes, and began to clime the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands deſirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchiue the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and ſome not once touched with anie weapon, were likewiſe ouerpreſſed, ſuch haſt the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whileſt the Britiſh horſſemen fled, their charets ioined themſelues with their footmen, and reſtoring the battell, put the Romans in ſuch feare, that they were at a ſudden ſtay: but the charets being troubled with preaſe of enimies, & vneuenneſſe of the ground, they could not worke their feat to anie purpoſe, neither had that fight anie reſemblance of a battell of horſſemen, when ech one ſo encumbred other, that they had no rome to ſtirre themſelues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horſſes, that being put in feare with the noiſe and ſtur, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomſoeuer elſe they met withall.

Hollanders.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hils, and had not yet fought at all, deſpiſing the ſmall number of the Romans, began to come downewards and to caſt about, that they might ſet vpon the backs of their enimies, in hope ſo to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no leſſe, but that ſome ſuch thing would come to paſſe, had afore hand foreſéene the danger, and hauing reſerued foure wings of horſſemen for ſuch ſudden chances, ſent them forth againſt thoſe Britains, the which horſſemen with full randon charging vpon them as they raſhlie came forwards, quicklie diſordered them and put them all to flight, and ſo that purpoſed deuiſe and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horſſemen by their capteins appointment trauerſing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, ſet vpon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in thoſe open and plaine places a greeuous & heauie fight it was to behold, how they purſued, wounded, and tooke their enimies: and as they were aduiſed of other to ſlea thoſe that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleeing, taking, and chaſing, ſlaughter, ſpilling of bloud, ſcattering of weapons, grunting and groning of men and horſſes that lay on the ground, gaſping for breath, & readie to die.

The Britains now and then as they ſaw their aduantage, namelie when they approched neere to the woods, gathered themſelues togither, and ſet vpon the Romans as they followed vnaduiſedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than ſtood with their ſuertie, inſomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, and ſent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horſſebacke to cloſe in the enimies, and alſo to beat the wood, ſome greater loſſe would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too raſhlie purſued vpon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they ſlipt awaie and tooke them to flight, ech one ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe, and kept not togither in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chaſe which the Romans had followed till they were throughlie wearied. There were ſlaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a capteine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horſſebacke (through his owne too much youthfull courage, and fierce vnrulines of his horſſe) was caried into the middle throng of his enimies, and there ſlaine.

Ten thouſand Britains ſlaine.

Aulus Atticus ſlaine.

The lamentable diſtreſſe and pitifull *perplexitie of the Britains after their ouerthrow*, Domitian enuieth Agricola *the glorie of his victories, he is ſubtilie* depriued of his deputiſhip, and *Cneus Trebellius ſurrogated* in his roome.

The xviij. Chapter.

THe night inſuing the foreſaid ouerthrow of the Britains was ſpent of the Romans in great ioy & gladnes for the victorie atchiued. But among the Britains there was nothing elſe heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled togither, ſome buſie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dreſſe their hurts; other calling for their ſonnes, kinſfolkes and friends that were wanting. Manie of them forſooke their houſes, and in their deſperate mood ſet them on fire, and chooſing forth places for their better refuge and ſafegard, forthwith miſliking of the ſame, left them and ſought others: herewith diuerſe of them tooke counſell togither what they were beſt to do, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people caſt into vtter deſpaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes moued them to attempt ſome new enterpriſe for the preſeruation of their countrie and liberties. And certeine it is that ſome of them ſlue their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certeine

Britains, as Scots, neither yet Picts.

certeine fond regard of pitie to rid them out of further miserie and danger of thraldome.

The nert day the certeintie of the victorie more plainlie was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noise heard anie where: the houses appeared burning on ech side, and such as were sent forth to discouer the countrie into euerie part thereof, saw not a creature stirring, for all the people were auoided and withdrawne a farre off.

When Agricola had thus ouerthrowne his enimies in a pitcht field at the mountaine of Granzben, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enimies: bicause the summer of this eight yeere of his gouernement was now almost spent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horrestians, which inhabited the countries now called Angus & Merne, and there intended to winter, and toke hostages of the people for assurance of their loialtie and subiection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the nauie to saile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commission in that point receiued, luckilie accomplished his enterprise, and brought the nauie about againe into an hauen called Trutulensis.

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

An hauen called Trutulensis, peradventure Rutupensis.

In this meane time, whiles Julius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperour Vespasianus, and also his brother Titus that succéeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperor, who hearing of such prosperous successe as Agricola had against the Britains, did not so much reioise for the thing well done, as he enuied to consider what glorie and renowme should redound to Agricola thereby, which he perceiued should much darken the glasse of his fame, hauing a priuate person vnder him, who in worthinesse of noble exploits atchiued, farre excelled his doings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to vtter his malice as yet, whilest Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which so much fauoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduct the same had obteined so manie victories, so much honor, and such plentie of spoiles and booties. Wherevpon to dissemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deserued triumphs, but also with the lieutenantship of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Atilius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince vnto his successor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and safegard.

Cneus Trebellius alias Salustius Lucullus as some thinke.

¶ Thus may you see in what state Britaine stood in the daies of king Marius, of whome Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of Chester was builded by this Marius, though other (as before I haue said) thinke rather that it was the worke of Ostorius Scapula their legat. Touching other the doings of Agricola, in the Scotish chronicle you maie find more at large set forth: for that which I haue written here, is but to shew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Picts, onelie naming them Britains, Horrestians, and Calidoneans, who inhabited in those daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the same, is greatlie controuersed among writers; diuerse diuerslie descanting therevpon, some fetching their reason from the etymon of the word which is Greeke, some from the opening of their ancestors as they find the same remaining in records; other some from comparing antiquities togither, and aptlie collecting the truth as nere as they can. But to omit them, and returne to the continuation of our owne historie.

Fabian.

Of Coillus the sonne of Marius, his *education in Rome, how long he reigned*: of Lucius his sonne and successor, what time *he assumed the gouernment of this land, he was an* open professor of christian religion, he and his *familie are baptised, Britaine receiueth the faith*, 3 *archbishops* and 28 bishops at that time in this Iland, westminster church and S. Peters in Cornehill builded, diuers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the christian faith was receiued in this Iland.

The 19. Chapter.

COillus the sonne of Marius was after his fathers decease made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongst the Romans at Rome, where he spent his time not vnprofitablie, but applied himselfe to learning & seruice in the warres, by reason whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and he likewise honored and loued them, so that he paied his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was also a prince of much bountie, and verie liberall, whereby he obteined great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some saie, that he made the towne of Colchester in Essex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Asclepiodotus was the first founder of that towne, but by other it should séeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finallie when this Coill had reigned the space of 54 yeares, he departed this life at Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Lucius, which succéeded in the kingdome.

Coillus.

125

Colchester built.

LUcius the sonne of Coillus, whose surname (as saith William Harison) is not extant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeare of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauiensis saith, although other writers séeme to disagrée in that account, as by the same Fabian in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, whereunto Matthæus Westmonasteriensis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yeare 124, as successor to his father Coillus, which died the same yeare, being of great age per the said Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comming of Cesar into Britaine, and 165 after Christ, whose accounts I follow in this treatise.

Lucius.

165

This Lucius is highlie renowmed of the writers, for that he was the first king of the Britains that receiued the faith of Jesus Christ: for being inspired by the spirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he somewhat leaned to the fauoring of christian religion, being moued with the manifest miracles which the Christians dailie wrought in witnesse and proofe of their sound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of Joseph of Arimathia and his fellowes, or what other godlie men first taught the Britains the gospell of our Sauiour, there remained amongest the same Britains some christians which ceased not to teach and preach the word of God most sincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongst them openlie professed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiuing not onelie some of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to haue

ſubmitted themſelues to that profeſſion, but alſo the emperour himſelfe to begin to be fauorable to them that profeſſed it, he toke occaſion by their good example to giue care more attentiuelie vnto the goſpell, and at length ſent vnto Eleutherius biſhop of Rome two learned men of the Britiſh nation, Eluane and Medwine, requiring him to ſend ſome ſuch miniſters as might inſtruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifullie, and to baptiſe them according to the rules of chriſtian religion.

*Fol. 119. ¶ The reuerend father Iohn Iewell, ſometime biſhop of Salisburie, writeth in his * replie vnto Hardings anſwer, that the ſaid Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme and churches héere, wrote his aduice to Lucius in maner and forme following. "You haue receiued in the kingdome of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Chriſt; ye haue both the new and the old teſtament, out of the ſame through Gods grace, by the aduiſe of your realme make a law, and by the ſame through Gods ſufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine, for in that kingdome you are Gods vicar."

Britaine receiueth the faith.

Herevpon were ſent from the ſaid Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatius, and the other Damianus, the which baptiſed the king with all his familie and people, and therewith remoued the worſhipping of idols and falſe gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worſhip the true and immortall God. There were in thoſe daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 Flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as biſhops and archbiſhops, or ſuperintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whoſe place (they being remoued) were inſtituted 28 biſhops & three archbiſhops of the chriſtian religion. One of the which archbiſhops held his ſée at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwike in Glamorganſhire. Vnto the archbiſhop of London was ſubiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the archbiſhop of Yorke all the north parts of Britaine from the riuer of Humber vnto the furtheſt partes of Scotland. And to the archbiſhop of Caerleon was ſubiect all Wales, within which countrie as then were ſeuen biſhops, where now there are but foure. The riuer of Seuern in thoſe daies diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the meanes of Ioſeph of Arimathia (of whome ye haue heard before) & partlie by the wholeſome inſtructions & doctrines of Fugatius and Damianus, was the firſt of all other regions that openlie receiued the goſpell, and continued moſt ſtedfaſt in that profeſſion, till the cruell furie of Dioceſian perſecuted the ſame, in ſuch ſort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the chriſtian religion was in manner extinguiſhed, and vtterlie deſtroied.

Matth. Weſt.

Ioſephus of Arimathia.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius ſhould build the church of ſaint Peter at Weſtminſter, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the eaſt Saxons, and write how the place was then ouergrowne with thornes and buſhes, and thereof toke the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreouer that Thomas archbiſhop of London preached, read, and miniſtred the ſacraments there to ſuch as made reſort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reueſtrie of ſaint Paules at London, and alſo a table ſometime hanging in ſaint Peters church in Cornehill, it ſhould ſéeme that the ſaid church of ſaint Peter in Cornehill was the ſame that Lucius builded. But herein (ſaith Hariſon *anno mundi* 4174) doth lie a ſcruple. Sure Cornell might ſone be miſtaken for Thorney, ſpecially in ſuch old records, as time, age, & euill handling haue oftentimes defaced.

Polydor. Weſtminſter Church built.

But howſoeuer the caſe ſtandeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioiſing much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderſtanding of the true God, that they néed not to be deceiued anie longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked ſpirits, he aboliſhed all prophane worſhippings of falſe gods, and conuerted all ſuch temples as had béene dedicated to their ſeruice, vnto the vſe of chriſtian religion: and thus ſtudieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his word, without ſeeking the vaine glorie of worldlie triumph, which is got with ſlaughter and bloudſhed of manie a giltleſſe perſon, he left his kingdome; though not inlarged with greater dominion than he receiued it, yet greatlie augmented and inriched with quiet reſt, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be eſteemed than all the reſt) adorned with Chriſtes religion, and perfectlie inſtructed with his moſt holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as ſome write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, ſome teſtifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Polydor. Fabian. Iohn Hard.

Moreouer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Chriſt to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane biſhop, the ſame chanced in the daies of the emperour Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was ſeuen yéere after the death of Lucius Aelius, Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as by ſome chronologies is eaſie to be collected. For Eleutherius began to gouerne the ſée of Rome in the yéere 169, according to the opinion of the moſt diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fiftéene yeares and thirtéene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Gloceſter in the yéere of our Lord 156. Other ſay that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this hiſtorie is brought into doubt by the diſcord of writers, concerning the time and other circumſtances, although they all agrée that in this kings daies the chriſtian faith was firſt by publike conſent openlie receiued and profeſſed in this land, which as ſome affirme, ſhould chance in the twelfe yéere of his reigne, and in the yéere of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to paſſe in the eight yeare of his regiment, and in the yéere of our Lord 188, where other (as before is ſaid) alledge that it was in the yéere of the Lord 179. Nauclerus ſaith, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordea ſuppoſeth, that it was in the yéere of our Lord 169, and in the nintéenth yéere of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the firſt yéere of the emperor Commodus.

Gal. Mon. Matth. Weſt.

Polydor.

Nauclerus. Hen. Herf.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without iſſue, by reaſon whereof after his deceaſſe the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the ſpace of fiftéene yéeres (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old Engliſh chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixt them remained fiftie yéeres, though Harding affirmeth but foure yéeres. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Coilus and Lucius. Now it reſteth to ſpeake ſomewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie thoſe that inhabited beyond Tweed) partlie being weakned of their former ſtrength, and partlie in conſideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certeine yéeres.

Fabian.

Caxton. Iohn Hard.

The Britains after the deceasse of Lucius (*who died without issue*) *rebell* against the Romans, the emperor Adrian *comming in his owne person into Britaine appeaseth* the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie *against the Romans, but are suppressed by Lollius the Romane* lieutenant; the vigilantnesse or wakefulnesie of Marcellus, and his policie to keepe the souldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certaine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing doo falselie accuse him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murthered of his souldiers.

The xx. Chapter.

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.

IN the meane time the Romane lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that succeeded Julius Agricola, could no, foresee all things so precíselie but that the souldiers waring vnrulie by reason of long rest, fell at variance among themselues, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but disquieted the Britains beyond measure. Wherefore the Britains perceiuing themselues sore oppressed with intollerable bondage, and that dailie the same increased, they conspired togither, vpon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes possible, and herewith they toke weapon in hand against the Romans, and boldlie assailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and so, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge vpon necessitie, according to the maner of their countrie. Herevpon diuers slaughters were commited on both parties, and all the countrie was now readie to rebell: whereof when the emperour Adrian was aduertised from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all conuenient speed he passed ouer into Britaine, and quieted all the Ile, vsing great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making small account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either bicause of the barrennesse thereof, or for that by reason of the nature of the countrie he thought it would be hard to be kept vnder subiection, he deuised to diuide it from the residue of Britaine, and so caused a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Eske, which wall conteined in length 30 miles.

The wall of Adrian built. Spartianus.

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romane souldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of seruitude, eftsoones went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertisement being giuen, the emperour Pius Antoninus sent ouer Lollius Urbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by sundrie battels striken, constreined the Britains to remaine in quiet, and causing those that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further off from the confines of the Romane prouince, raised another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be supposed, for the more suertie of the Romane subiects against the inuasion of the enimies. But yet Lollius did not so make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains shortlie after attempted afresh, either to reduce their state into libertie, or to bring the same into further danger.

Lollius Urbicus lieutenant.

Iulius Capitol. Another wall built.

Calphurnius Agricola.

Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scotish chronicle.

Wherevpon Marcus Antonius that succeeded Pius, sent Calphurnius Agricola to succeed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which easilie ouercame and subdued all his enimies. After this there chanced some trouble in the daies of the emperour Commodus the son of Marcus Antonius and his successor in the empire: for the Britains that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the same, and spoiled a great part of the countrie, against whom the Romane lieutenant for that time being come forth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romane souldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and slaine. *Dion Cassius*

With which newes Commodus being sore amazed, sent against the Britains one Vlpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vsed the same kind of diet that the common souldiers did vse. He was a capteine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little sleepe, and desirous to haue his souldiers also vigilant and carefull to keepe sure watch in the night season. Euerie morning he would write twelue tables, such as they vsed to make on the lind tree, and deliuering them to one of his seruants, appointed him to beare them at seuerall houres of the night to sundrie souldiers, whereby supposing that their generall was still watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to sleepe. *Vlpius Marcellus lieutenant.*

And although of nature he could well absteine from sleepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vsed a marueilous spare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himselfe too much with bread, he would eat none but such as was brought to him from Rome; so that more than necessitie compelled him he could not eat, by reason that the staleneesse toke awaie the pleasant tast thereof, and lesse prouoked his appetite. He was a marueilous contemner of monie, so that bribes might not moue him to doo otherwise than dutie required. This Marcellus being of such disposition, sore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great losses: through fame whereof, Commodus enuieng his renowme was after in mind to make him away, but yet spared him for a further purpose, and suffered him to depart.

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperors gard (or pretorian souldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certeine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond substituting of such petie officers to ouersee and ouerrule the people, was to them an occasion of hartgrudge, and to him a meanes of finall mischeefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he beene prouident in his deputation. For the souldiers in the same armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of base degree, in respect of those that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable personages, as senators, and of the consular dignitie, they fell at square among themselues, and about fifteene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint against Perhennis: for whatsoeuer was amisse, the blame was still laid to him. They passed forth without impeachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperour himselfe came forth to vnderstand what they meant by this their comming in such sort from the place where they were appointed to serue. Their answer was, that they were come to informe him of the treason which Perhennis had deuised to his destruction, that he might make his son emperor. To the which accusation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, & beleeued it to be true, namelie, through the setting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he brideled him from doing diuerse vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reason and modestie) to practise; the matter was so handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the souldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and presentlie put him to a pitifull death. *Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.* *Aelius Lampridius.*

Pertinax is ſent as lieutenant into Britaine, *he is in danger to be ſlaine of the* ſouldiers, he riddeth himſelfe of that perilous *office: Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth* againſt Seuerus and his power neere to Lions, *Seuerus is ſlaine in a conflict againſt the Picts, Geta* and Baſſianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regiment of the land, the one is ſlaine, the other ruleth.

The xxj. Chapter.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.

NOw will we ſaie ſomewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought néedfull to ſend ſome ſufficient capteine of autoritie thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had béene conſull and ruler ouer foure ſeuerall conſular prouinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man moſt méet for ſuch a charge, and alſo to ſatiſfie his credit, for that he had béene diſcharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and ſent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue béene ſlaine by a mutinie raiſed by one of the legions: for he was ſtricken downe, and left for dead among the ſlaine carcaſſes. But he worthilie reuenged himſelfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chaſtiſed the rebels, and brought the Ile into méetelie good quiet, he ſued and obteined to be diſcharged of that rome, becauſe as he alledged, the ſouldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting ſuch as offended the lawes of armes.

The lieutenant in danger.

Clodius Albinus lieutenãt.

THen was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whoſe deſtruction when Seuerus the emperour ſought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore chooſing forth a great power of Britains, paſſed with the ſame ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, ſo that néere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right ſore, in ſo much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high proweſſe and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus loſt the field, and was ſlaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being ſent thither by Seuerus for that purpoſe before. And ſuch was the ſtate of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which ſeaſon, becauſe that king Lucius was dead, and had left no iſſue to ſucceed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the Britiſh chronographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of ſucceſſion in bloud, as deſcended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Ceſar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.

THis Seuerus as then emperour of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the ſame 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrie on this ſide Durham, he raiſed an hoſt of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and méeting with the ſaid Fulgentius in a place néere vnto Yorke, in the end after ſore fight Seuerus was ſlaine, when he had ruled this land for the ſpace almoſt of fiue yeares, as before is ſaid, and was after buried at Yorke, leauing behind him two ſonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Baſſianus. This Baſſianus being borne of a Britiſh woman, ſucceeded his father in the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him becauſe he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains moued with the like reſpect, held with Baſſianus. And thervpon warre was raiſed betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was ſlaine, and Baſſianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and ſo continued king, till at length he was ſlaine by one Carauſius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well eſteemed. In ſomuch that obteining of the ſenat of Rome the keeping of the coaſts of Britaine, that he might defend the ſame from the malice of ſtrangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of ſouldiers and ſpeciallie of Britains, to whome he promiſed that if they would make him king, he would clearelie deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Romane ſeruitude. Wherevpon the Britains rebelling againſt Baſſianus, ioined themſelues to Carauſius, who by their ſupport vanquiſhed and ſlue the ſaid Baſſianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as ſome affirme) 30 yeares.

¶ Thus farre out of the Engliſh and Britiſh writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you ſhall heare in the next chapter what the approued hiſtoriographers, Greekes and Latines, writing of theſe matters, haue recorded. Herodianus.

The ambitious mind of the old emperour *Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with* a mightie power to ſuppreſſe the rebellious *Britains, the emperours politike prouiſion for his* ſouldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the *Britains, their nimbleneſſe, the painting of their bodies with di-* uerſe colours, their furniture, their great ſufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diuerſe conflicts betweene the Romans and the Britains, their ſubtile traines to deceiue their enimies, the Romans pitifullie diſtreſſed, Seuerus conſtreineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him; he falleth ſicke, his owne ſonne practiſeth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and ſlea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and ſepulchre: Baſſianus ambitiouſlie vſurpeth the whole regiment, he killeth his brother Geta, and is ſlaine himſelfe by one of his owne ſouldiers.

The xxij. Chapter.

THe emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertiſment from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & waſted the countrie with roads and forraies, ſo that it was néedful to haue the prince himſelfe to come thither with a great power to reſiſt the enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioiſed not a little for thoſe newes, becauſe he ſaw occaſion offered to aduance his renowme and fame with increaſe of new victories now in the weſt, after ſo manie triumphs purchaſed and got by him in the eaſt and north parts of the world. Hereupon though he was of great age,

yet

pet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that besides his feeblenesse of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He took with him his two sonnes, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, vpon purpose as was thought, to auoid occasions of such inconuenience as he perceiued might grow by discord mooued betwixt them through flatterers and malicious sycophants, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceiued there should want no meane whilest they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle pastimes as were dailie there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iournie into Britaine, that they might learne to liue soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre.

Antoninus and Geta.

The emperour Seuerus arriueth in Britaine.

Seuerus being thus on his iournie towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him forth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entred this Ile, and assembled a mightie power together, meaning to assaile his enimies, and to pursue the warre against them to the vttermost. The Britains greatlie amazed with this sudden arriuall of the emperour, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaieng time for answere, as he that was desirous to atchiue some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserue the surname of Britannicus, which he greatlie coueted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namelie, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay ouer the bogs and marshes, so that his souldiers might haue place to stand vpon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enimies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens & maresh ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which maresh grounds the enimies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the vse of wearing cloths, but ware hoopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Herodianus.

He meaneth of the north Britains or sauage Britains as we may call them.

Moreouer they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diuerse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they vsed not to weare anie garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be seene, which they esteemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giuen much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloudshed, vsing none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a taucline, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpeece or habergeon, they esteemed not, bicause they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe ouer anie maresh, or be driuen to swim anie waters, or flee to the bogs.

The furniture of the sauage Britains.

Moreouer, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so vsed and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered vp to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diuerse daies togither: and in the woods they would liue vpon roots and barks of trees. Also they vsed to prepare for themselues a certeine kind of meate, of the which if they receiued but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themselues satisfied, and feele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little Ile was subiect vnto the Romans, the other was gouerned of themselues, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and vnderstanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he tooke with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched forth, and entred into the confines of the enimies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there insued diuerse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enimies easilie escaped without anie great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approch, for feare to be intrapped and inclosed by the Britains that were readie to returne and assaile their enimies vpon euerie occasion of aduantage that might be offered.

This maner of dealing sore troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their proceedings, that no spedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, in places conuenient, to be as a stale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same awaie, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall vpon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoied with the vnwholesomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to straie abroad, they were snapped vp by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so feeble that they could not through want of strength keepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellowes, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enimies. Hereby there died in this iournie of the Romane armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the vttermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Meatæ*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, vpon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.

Dion Cassius.

In the meane time, the emperour Seuerus being worne with age fell sicke, so that he was constreined to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeied the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enimies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he dailie looked) he might haue their aid and assistance to be admitted emperour in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sickenesse longer time than he would haue wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

Whilest Antoninus thus negligentlie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were latelie ioined in league with the emperour,

emperour, but the other also which were subiects to the Romane empire. Seuerus tooke such displeasure, that he called togither the souldiers, and commanded them to inuade the countrie, and to kill all such as they might met within anie place without respect, and that his cruell commandement he expressed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Iliados. 3.

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædémque cruentam,
Non fœtus grauida mater quem gessit in aluo
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

But while he was thus disquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the disloiall practises of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowne, (for the wicked sonne had by diuers attempts discouered his traitorous and vnnaturall meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sickenesse, he wasted awaie, and departed this life at Yorke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the empire by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the maners & vsages of those people, against whome Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it maie be coniectured, that they were the Picts, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continuall incursions and rodes wasted and destroied the borders of those countries which were subiect to the Romans. To keepe them backe therefore and to represse their inuasions, Seuerus (as some write) either restored the former wall made by Adrian, or else newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the east sea to the west, conteining in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turfe and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and also fortified with diuerse towers and turrets built & erected vpon the same wall or rampire so neere togither, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning giuen from one to another vpon the first descrieng of the enimies.

Herodianus. Dion Cassius. Eutropius. Dion Cassius.

Eutropius. Orosius.

Dion Cassius.

Beda.

Hector Boetius.

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine haue vsurped the whole gouernment into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the souldiers: but when he perceiued that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enimies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Yorke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whome he tooke order for the buriall of his father. And first his bodie being burnt (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessell of gold, and so conueied to Rome by the two brethren and the empresse Julia, who was mother to Geta the ponger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all meanes possible sought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first tooke vpon them to rule the empire equallie togither. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finallie vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaieng him euen in his mothers lap, and so possessed the gouernment alone, till at length he was slaine at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne souldiers, as he was about to vntrusse his points to do the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of 6 yeares, as is aforesaid. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, prouiding that he which had shed mans blood, should also die by the sword.

Polydorus. Herodianus.

211

Sextus Aurelius.

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gaue the Picts, and whereupon, his death by Alectus his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornewall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couetous practise of Carausius the vsurper.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Carausius a Britan of vnknowne birth, as witnesseth the British histories, after he had vanquisht & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of our Lord 218, as Galfridus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yeare 286. This Carausius either to haue the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historie is conteined, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gaue to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which lone to England on the east marshes, as Yers, Louthian, and others.

Carausius.

218

Galfrid.

Polychron. Fabian.

¶ But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scithia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the battell fought betwixt them at Yorke: the Picts tooke part with Bassianus, and at length betraied him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtile practises as he vsed, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow and vtter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitorous part they had those south countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scotish writers it should appeare, that those Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatsoeuer they were, truth it is (as the British histories record) that at length one Alectus was sent from Rome by the senat with 3 legions of souldiers to subdue Carausius, which he did, and slue him in the field, as the same histories make mention, after he had reigned the space of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yeare of our saluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

Galfridus.

Alectus.

Of whom our Britishe histories doo write after their maner.

293.

Alectus in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius tooke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 293. This Alectus, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did vse great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conspired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogither out of their countrie, they procured one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprise. Whereupon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued forth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britans, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the great-

test

teſt number died on the Romans ſide: and amongſt others, Alectus himſelfe was ſlaine. the reſidue of the Romans that were left aliue, retired backe into the citie with a capteine of theirs named Livius Gallus, and defended themſelues within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus ſlaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as ſome ſuppoſe) about the terme of ſix yeares, or (as ſome other write) three yeares.

Fabian. Matth. Weſt.

Aſclepiodotus. Gal. Mon. Mat. Weſt.

Aſclepiodotus, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 232. After he had vanquiſhed the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his ſiege about the citie of London, and finallie by knightlie force entred the ſame, and ſlue the forenamed Livius Gallus neere vnto a brooke, which in thoſe daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the ſame brooke: by reaſon whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus brooke. And at this preſent the ſtreete where the ſame brooke did run, is called Walbrooke.

Walbrooke.

Then after Aſclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimies, he held this land a certeine ſpace in good reſt and quiet, and miniſtred iuſtice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and puniſhing the euill. Till at length, through ſlanderous tongs of malicious perſons, diſcord was raiſed betwixt the king and one Coill or Coilus, that was gouernour of Colcheſter: the occaſion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatſoeuer the matter was, there inſued ſuch hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raiſed, and meeting in the field, they fought a ſore and mightie battell, in the which Aſclepiodotus was ſlaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geffrey of Monmouth and our common chroniclers written of Carauſius, Alectus, and Aſclepiodotus, which gouerned here in Britaine.

Aſclepiodotus ſlaine. Mat. Weſt. hath x. yeares.

Eutropius.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane hiſtories, in the acts of Dioclesian hath in effect theſe words. About the ſame time Carauſius, the which being borne of moſt baſe offspring, atteined to high honour and dignitie by order of renowmed chiualrie & ſeruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to keepe the ſeas quiet alongſt the coaſts of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, becauſe the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons ſore troubled thoſe ſeas. Carauſius taking oftentimes manie of the enimies, neither reſtored the goods to them of the countrie from whome the enimies had bereft the ſame, nor yet ſent anie part thereof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vſe. Wherupon when ſuſpicion aroſe, that he ſhould of purpoſe ſuffer the enimies to paſſe by him, till they had taken ſome priſes, that in their returne with the ſame he might incounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which ſubtile practiſe he was thought greatly to haue inriched himſelfe) Maximianus that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Dioclesianus, remaining then in Gallia, and aduertiſed of theſe doings, commanded that Carauſius ſhould be ſlaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vſurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got poſſeſſion of Britaine, againſt whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had beene attempted and followed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and ſo he enioied the poſſeſſion of Britaine by the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, & then was ſlaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the ſpace of three yeeres, and was in the end oppreſſed by the guile of Aſclepiodotus gouernour of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of ſome preeinct and iuriſdiction perteining to the Romane empire. And ſo was Britaine recouered by the foreſaid Aſclepiodotus about ten yeares after that Carauſius had firſt vſurped the gouernment there, and about the yeare of our Lord 300, as Polydor iudgeth, wherein he varieth much from Fabian and others.

The couetous practiſing of Carauſius.

Maximianus purpoſeth to ſlea Carauſius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

300.

¶ But to ſhew what we find further written of the ſubduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amiſſe to ſet downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praiſe of Maximianus doth report of this matter, which ſhall be performed in the chapter following.

Mamertinus.

The ſubſtance of that which is written *touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration* aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, which he ſet foorth in *praiſe of the emperors Diocleſian and Maximian*: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuertheleſſe *both the emperors are praiſed; and likewiſe (as ye may* perceiue) Conſtantius who was father to Conſtantine the great is here ſpoken of, being choſen by the two foreſaid emperors, to aſſiſt them by the name of Cæſar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more ſhall be ſaid.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

ALl the compaſſe of the earth (moſt victorious emperor) being now recouered through your noble proweſſe, not onelie ſo farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but alſo the enimies borders beeing ſubdued, when Almaine had beene ſo often vanquiſhed, and Sarmatia ſo often reſtreined & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi ſo often put to flight, the Goth ſubmitting himſelfe, the king of Perſia by offering gifts ſuing for peace: one deſpitefull reproch of ſo mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole greeued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not ſticke to confeſſe, and to vs it ſeemed the more intollerable, becauſe it onlie remained to the accompliſhing of your perfect renowme and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, ſo was the loſſe to be eſteemed ſinal to the common wealth of a land ſo plentifull of corne, ſo abundant with ſtore of paſtures, ſo flowing with veines of mettall, ſo gainfull with reuenues riſing of cuſtoms and tributes, ſo enuironed with hauens, ſo huge in circuit, the which when Ceſar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the firſt that entered into it, writ that he had found an other world, ſuppoſing it to be ſo big, that it was not compaſſed with the ſea, but that rather by reſemblance the great Ocean was compaſſed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furniſhed with ſhips of warre; ſo that the Romans, ſone after the warres of Carthage and Aſia, had latelie beene exerciſed by ſea againſt pirats, and afterwards by reaſon of the warres againſt Mithridates, were practiſed as well to fight by ſea as land: beſides this, the Britiſh nation then alone was accuſtomed but onelie to the Picts and

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie and Polonie.

Picts and Iriſhmen.

and Irishmen, enimies halfe naked as yet & not vsed to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that voiage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was won, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought together to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to inrich themselues by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the fame of a grieuous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Vnto the enimies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffed vp the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, whereas the disaduantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleeue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despaire of doing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obteine the whole gouernement into his hands.

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the authors.

Carausius slaine

This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well prouided for of the enimies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprise was alreadie atchiued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foreseene) it was prouided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperour, vouchedsafe to aduance the comming of your diuine excellencie by the nerest way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddenlie came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horssemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruailed anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperour) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncerteine of his owne doing and void of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

Here commeth to mind how pleasant and easefull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surnames appointed them of such nations as their capteins did vanquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yælded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renowme of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperour sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperour) haue bene not onlie the appointer forth how all this voiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should bee demeaned, as apperteined to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue bene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselues, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchiued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irreuocable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried to haue the sailes hoised vp, and signe giuen to lanch forth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certeine tokens which threatened their wrecke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

Fronto compared to Cicero for match.

But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What do we dout? what mean we to staie? He is now losed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: Let vs put all things in

prowfe,

prowfe, let vs venter through anie dangers of sea whatsoeuer. What is there that we may stand in feare of? we follow the emperour. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceiue them: for as by report of themselues we dow vnderstand, at that selfe time there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon the seas, that the enimies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their aduersaries, and lurking as it were in await, these your ships passed by, and were not once perceiued, neither did the enimie then staie although he could not resist.

But now as concerning that the same vnuanquishable army fighting vnder your ensignes and name, streightwaies after it came to land, set fire on their ships; what moued them so to dow, except the admonitions of your diuine motion? Or what other reason persuaded them to reserue no furtherance for their flight, if need were, nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war, nor as the prouerbe saith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your prosperous hap, it was verie certeine that there needed no doubt to be cast for victorie to be obteined? There were no sufficient forces at that present among them, no mightie or puissant strength of the Romans, but they had onelie consideration of your vnspeakable fortunate successe comming from the heauens aboue. For whatsoeuer battell dooth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, resteth not so much in the assurance of the souldiers, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall.

The good lucke in a capteine.

That same ringleader of the vngratious faction, what ment he to depart from that shore which he possessed? Why did he forsake both his nauie and the hauen? But that (most inuincible emperour) he stood in feare of your comming, whose sailes he beheld readie to approch towards him, how soeuer the matter should fall out, he chose rather to trie his fortune with your capteins, than to abide the present force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood not, that whither so euer he fled, the power of your diuine maiestie to be present in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuerence. But he flæing from your presence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he ouercome, of your armies was he oppressed.

To be short, he was brought into such feare, and as it were still looking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he wist not what to dow, he halted forward to his death, so that he neither set his men in order of battell, nor marshalled such power as he had about him, but onlie with the old authors of that conspiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of so great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his destruction, insomuch (noble emperour) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the common wealth, that the victorie being atchiued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almost died not one Romane: for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay couered with none but onelie with the bodies of most wicked enimies, the same being of the barbarous nations, or at the least-wise apparelled in the counterfet shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yellow haires, but now with gashes of wounds and blood all deformed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds had caused them to stretch forth or draw in their maimed limbs and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was found, who had put off those robes which in his life time he had vsurped and dishonoured, so as scarse was he couered with one peece of apparell whereby he might be knowne, so neere were his words true, uttered at the houre of his death, which he saw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderstood how he was slaine.

Alectus found dead.

He had despoiled himselfe of the imperiall robes, because he would not be knowne if he chanced to be slaine.

Thus verelie (most inuincible emperour) so great a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods ouer all the enimies whome you assailed, but namelie the slaughter of the Frankeners and those your souldiers also, which (as before I haue said) through missing their course by reason of the mist that lay on the seas, were now come to the citie of London, where they flue downe right in ech part of the same citie, what multitude soeuer remained of those hired barbarous people, which escaping from the battell, ment (after they had spoiled the citie) to haue got awaie by flight. But now being thus slaine by your souldiers, the subiects of your prouince were both preserued from further danger, and toke pleasure to behold the slaughter of such cruell enimies. O what a manifold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is restored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlie destroied, & by which manie other nations found accessaries in the conspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnesse.

Francones sive Franci.

London in danger to be spoiled.

Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puissance the glorie of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperour) that seemed as present to threaten all prouinces, and might haue spred abroad and burst out in a flame, euen so largelie as the ocean seas stretch, and the mediterrane gulfs dow reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of

Britaine

Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe elsewhere, if it might haue beene assured of meanes to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mounteine, nor riuer, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to relæue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

The piracie of the Frankeners called *Franci* or *Francones*.

For that incredible boldnesse and vnworthie good hap of a few sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperour Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conueieng awaie certeine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, ariuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length tooke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an hauen towne in times past highlie renowmed for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streicts of Giberalterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accesse. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vse of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suertie: now Italie, now Afrike, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Meotis are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioifull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioise so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischiefe, is euidentlie knowne to haue talked of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therfore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse, came forth and offered themselues to your presence, with their wiues and children, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eies, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you.

Britains restored to quietnes.

The Britains receiue Maximian with great ioy and humblenesse.

Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed them selues so ioifull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yeares continued, after so long abusing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cæsar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eies mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselues by vow, to you they bound their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the posteritie of their race and offspring.

Diocletian and Maximian.

We truelie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortall gods with most earnest supplication and heartie prater, that our children and their children, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succeed vs, than to be enioiers of that felicitie which now we our selues enioy? The Romane common wealth doth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was shronke downe, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernment. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet thorough feare, or subdued by force of armies, or at the leastwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should moue men thereto, that might be obteined? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recouered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandements? There is no occasion that may moue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equallie prouide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperour Diocletian) by your commandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as afterward

Nations nere to Britaine obey the emperours.

(most

(most excellent emperour Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleasant subiection, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Neruians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now by your victories (inuincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoeuer did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Trois, and Langres, beginneth to flourish with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yea and moreouer that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I haue a peculiar cause to reioise, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie & diuerse artificers, of whom those prouinces were ful, and now by their workemanship the same citie riseth vp by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring of publike buildings and temples, so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to Rome, is againe to hir restored, when she hath you eftsoones for hir founder. I haue said (inuincible emperour) almost more than I haue beene able, & not so much as I ought, that I may haue most iust cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter to speake: and thus I ceasse.

The printed booke hath Nerui, but I take the H, to be thrust in for N.

Artificers forth of Britaine.

What is to be obserued and noted out *of the panegyrike oration of Mamertinus* afore remembred, with necessarie collections, *out of other* Antiquaries.

The xxv. Chapter.

NOw let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperour Maximian was sent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Diocletian, after he had quieted things there, he set his mind forthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subiection of such princes as mainteined their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got together, furnished with all things necessarie, & namelie of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whome the Frankeners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowmed for their puissance by sea, neere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no rouers comparable to them.

Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fleet that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoiance of the Romane subiects inhabiting alongst the coasts of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer againe so wealthie and profitable a land vnto the obeisance of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliuer the people of Gallia subiect to the Romans, from danger of being dailie spoiled by those rouers that were maintained here in Britaine, he prouided with all diligence such numbers of ships as were thought requisite for so great an enterprise, and bigging them in sundrie places, toke order for their setting forward to his most aduantage for the easie atchining of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at what time other of capteines with their fleets from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alectus that had vsurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heed, but yet vnderstanding of the nauie that was made readie in the mouth of Saine, he ment by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fleet, as it should come forth and make saile forwards: and so for that purpose he laie with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in deed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alectus or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is conteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of his capteins gouerned the armie, which slue Alectus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chiefteine ouer some number of ships directed by Maximians apointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alectus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we do find in Eutropius. Eutropius.

Heere is to be remembred, that after Maximians had thus recouered Britaine out of their hands that vsurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should seeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conueied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaie, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the inuasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Neruians out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a castell there, which was called Bretaimons after them, whereupon the citie was afterward called Mons, reteining the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta historiæ Britannicæ*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to returne where we left.

The state of this Iland vnder bloudie *Diocletian the persecuting tyrant, of Alban* the first that suffered martyrdome in Britaine, *what miracles were wrought at his death,* whereof Lichfield tooke the name; of Coilus *earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was* maried to Constantius the emperour, as some authours suppose.

The xxvj. Chapter.

AFter that Britaine was thus recouered by the Romans, Diocletian and Maximian ruling the empire, the Iland talked of the crueltie that Diocletian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the space of ten yeeres. Amongst

mongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a towne now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffered here in Britaine in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his houſe: inſomuch that when there came ſergeants to ſeeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the foreſaid Alban to preſerue Amphibalus out of danger, preſented himſelfe in the apparell of the ſaid Amphibalus, & ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refuſed to doo ſacrifice to the falſe gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer againſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſaid where afterwards was builded a church and monaſterie in remembrance of his martyrdome, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored, after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroied, toke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons.

Beda and Gyldas.

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, inſomuch that one which was appointed to doo the execution, was conuerted, and refuſing to doo that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that toke vpon him to doo it, reioiſed nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head downe to the ground, togither with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame time two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiſke. Moreouer, a great number of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were ſlaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne toke name, as you would ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Beda. See the booke of acts and monuments ſet forth by maiſter Fox.

John Roſſus. Warwicenſ. in lib. de Wigornienſ. epiſc. Lichfield whereof it toke name.

To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo great and grieuous, and thereto ſo vniuerſall, that in maner the Chriſtian religion was thereby deſtroied. The faithfull people were ſlaine, their bookes burnt, and churches ouerthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths ſpace in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the daies of that tyrant Diocleſian and his fellow Maximian.

Gyldas.

Ran. Ceſtren. Matth. Weſt. Conſtantius.

Coelus.

COelus earle of Colcheſter began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, ſo as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romans, becauſe they were occupied in other places: but finallie they finding time for their purpoſe, appointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coelus in ſuch dread, that immediatlie vpon his arriuall Coelus ſent to him an ambaſſage, and concluded a peace with him, couenanting to pay the accuſtomed tribute, & gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortlie after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as ſome write) 27 yeeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeeres.

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Fabian.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton.

¶ But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but aſſuredly ſuch a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he maried vnto Conſtantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole courſe of the liues, as well of the father and the ſonne Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as likewiſe of the mother Helen, be conſideratelie marked from time to time, and yeere to yeere, as out of authors both Greeke and Latine the ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt maie riſe in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth). But for ſomuch as I meane not to ſtep from the courſe of our countrie writers in ſuch points, where the receiued opinion may ſeeme to warrant the credit of the hiſtorie, I will with other admit both the mother and ſonne to be Britains in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue ſaid.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

A further diſcourſe of the forenamed *Conſtantius and Helen, his regiment ouer* this Iland, his behauiour and talke to his ſonne *and councellors as he lay on his death-bed, a deuiſe* that he put in practiſe to vnderſtand what *true Chriſtians he had in his court, his commendable* vertues, that the Britains in his time imbraced the chriſtian faith is prooued.

The xxvij. Chapter.

COnſtantius a ſenatour of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 289, as our hiſtories report. This Conſtantius (as before ye haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foreſaid king Coel, of whome he begat a ſonne named Conſtantinus, which after was emperour, and for his worthie doings ſurnamed Conſtantine the great. S. Ambroſe following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and ſome againe write, that ſhe was concubine to Conſtantius, and not his wife. But whatſoeuer ſhe was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane hiſtories, that Conſtantius being the daughters ſonne of one Criſpus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raiſed by the Britains, and there (as ſome write) maried the foreſaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet [after] he was conſtreined to forſake, and to marrie Theodora the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whome he had ſix ſonnes, and finallie was created emperour, togither with the ſaid Galerius Maximianus, at what time Diocleſianus and his fellow Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the ſame vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, ſo that to Conſtantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were aſſigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Greeia, and all the eaſt parts. But Conſtantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, ſuppoſing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius ſaith.)

Conſtantius.

Matth. Weſt. saith 301. 289

Oroſius. Beda.

Cuſpinian.

Fabian.

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to ſay further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be conſidered, that firſt he was admitted to rule as an aſſiſtant to Maximian vnder the title of Ceſar: and ſo from that time if you ſhall account his reigne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or leſſe, according to the diuerſitie found in writers. Howbeit, if we ſhall reckon his reigne from the time onelie that Diocleſian and Maximian reſigned their title vnto the empire, we ſhall find that he reigned not fullie three yeeres. For whereas betweene the ſlaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Conſtantius, are accounted 8 yeeres and od moneths, not onelie thoſe eight yeeres, but alſo ſome ſpace of time before maie be aſcribed vnto

Conſtan-

Constantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now this last time (for he had beene here afore, as it well appeareth) Asclepiodotus gouerning as legat, albeit vnder Constantius, who had a great portion of the west parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue said, of Cesar, yet he was not said to reigne absolutelie, till Diocletian and Maximian resigned. But now to conclude with the doings of Constantius, at length he fell sicke at Yorke, and there died, about the yeere of our Lord 306.

306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whilest he laie on his death-bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, and escaped from the emperours Diocletian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after shall be partlie touched) he receiued him with all ioy, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other sonnes & counsellours, with a great number of other people and strangers that were come to visit him, he set the crowne vpon his sonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, executing as it were him selfe the office of an herald, and withall spake these words vnto his said sonne, and to his counsellours there about him:

Nicph.

Tripartit. histo.

"Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant; I haue heere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne sonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperour in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe away the teares of the Christians, and reuenge the crueltie exercised by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in steed of most felicitie.

After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, meaning those that had not forsaken true vertue and godlinesse in Christ, which Christ he vndertooke should continue with his sonne Constantine in all enterprises, which in warres or otherwise he should take in hand. That deuise also is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his life time, to vnderstand what true and sincere Christians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had beene first a persecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter easie to persuade the world, that he was no earnest Christian: and so the policie which he thought to worke, was the sooner brought to passe, which was this.

He called togither all his officers and seruants, seining himselfe to chose out such as would do sacrifice to diuels, and that those onelie should remaine with him and keepe their office, and the rest that refused so to do, should be thrust out, and banished the court. Heervpon all the courtiers diuided themselues into companies: and when some offered willinglie to do sacrifice, and other some boldlie refused: the emperour marking their dealings, sharpelie rebuked those which were so readie to dishonour the liuing God, accounting them as traitours to his diuine maiestie, and not worthie to remaine within the court gates: but those that constantlie stood in the profession of the christian faith, he greatlie commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they should be as chiefe counsellours and defenders both of his person and kingdome, esteeming more of them than of all the treasure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, sober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euer free from coueitous desire of great riches: insomuch that when he should make anie great feast to his friends, he was not ashamed to borow plate and siluer vessell to serue his turne, and to furnish his cupboord for the time, being contented for himselfe to be serued in cruses & earthen vessels. He was wont

Pomponius Lætus.

to haue this saieng in his mouth, that better it was that the subiects should haue store of monie and riches, than the prince to keepe it close in his treasurie, where it serued to no vse. By such courteous dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flourished in great wealth and quietnesse. He was a verie wise and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skilfull in the practise of warres, so that he stood the Romane empire in great steed, and was therefore highlie beloued of the souldiers, insomuch that immediatlie after his decease, they proclaimed his sonne Constantine emperour.

He died in the yeere 306. as Matt. West. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yeres as Galf. saith.

That the christian faith was imbraced of the Britains in this season, it maie appeare, in that Hilarius bishop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Constantine in an epistle (as Theodoretus saith in his first booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which also Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the same euen with the shedding of their bloud, as Amphibalus, who in this Constantius daies being apprehended, suffered at Redburne neere to Werlamchester, about 15 yeeres after the martyrdome of his host S. Albane.

291. John Bale.

Constantine created emperour in Britaine, he is sollicited to take vpon him the regiment of those countries that his father gouerned, he is requested to subdue Maxentius the vsurping tyrant, Maximianus his father seeketh to depose him, Constantines death is purposed by the said Maximianus the father & his sonne Maxentius, Fausta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Constantine detecteth hir fathers trecherie to hir husband, Maximianus is strangled at Constantines commandement, league and alliance betweene him and Licinius, he is slaine, the empresse Helen commended, the crosse of Christ found with the inscription of the same, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Christ was crucified, Constantine commended, the state of Britaine in his time.

The xxviij Chapter.

Constantine.

306

Constantine being the sonne of the forenamed Constantius, begot of his first wife Helen, the daughter (as some affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yeere of our Lord 306. This worthie prince begotten of a British woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers do affirme) and created certeinlie emperour in Britaine, did doubtlesse make his native countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowme, which by his great prowes, politike wisedome, worthie gouernment, and other his princelie qualities most abundantlie planted in his noble person, he purchased and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, insomuch that for the high enterprises and noble acts by him happilie brought to passe and atchiued, he was surnamed (as before is said) the great Constantine. Whilest this Constantine remained at Rome in manner as he had beene a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but young, fled from thence, and with all post haste returned to his father into Britaine, killing or howghing by the waie all such horsses as were appointed to stand at innes readie for such as should ride in post, least being pursued, he should haue beene ouertaken, and brought backe againe by such as might be sent to pursue him.

Eutropius. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his fa-

ther ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, whereof ſhortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of ſuch as were about him, incouraged to take vpon him as emperour: and namelie one Crocus king of the Almains, which had accompanied his father thither, aſſiſted him thereto, ſo that being proclaimed emperour, he tooke vpon him the rule of thoſe countries which his father had in gouernment, that is to ſaie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other prouinces here in the weſt: and ruling the ſame with great equitie and wiſdome, he greatlie wan the fauour of the people, inſomuch that the fame of his politike gouernment and courteous dealing being ſpred abroad, when Maxentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull vſurping & abuſing the ſame, was grown into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Conſtantine was earneſtlie by them requeſted to come into Italie, and to helpe to ſubdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the ſtate of things there.

Crocus king of the Almains.

Maxentius the tyrant.

This Maxentius was ſonne to Herculeus Maximianus, and Conſtantine had married Fauſta the daughter of the ſaid Maximianus. Now ſo it was, that Maximianus, immediatlie after that his ſonne Maxentius had taken the rule vpon him, ſought meanes to haue depoſed him, and to haue reſumed and taken eſſoines into his owne hands the gouernment of the empire. But ſoliciting Diocleſian to do the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreaſonable and ambitious purpoſe: ſo that when he perceiued that neither Diocleſian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the ſouldiers to admit him, they hauing alreadie eſtabliſhed his ſonne, began to deuiſe waies how to aſſure the ſtate more ſtronglie to his ſaid ſonne. And hearing that his ſonne in law Conſtantine was minded to come into Italie againſt him, he purpoſed to practiſe Conſtantines deſtruction, inſomuch that it was iudged by this which followed, that Herculeus Maximianus did but for a colour ſéeme to miſlike that which his ſaid ſon Maxentius had done, to the end he might the ſooner accompliſh his intent for the diſpatching of Conſtantine out of the waie.

Diſſimulation.

Hereupon (as it were) fleéing out of Italie, he came to Conſtantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all ioy and honour that might be, receiued his father in law: the which being earneſtlie bent to compaſſe his purpoſe, made his daughter Fauſta priuie thereto: which ladie (either for feare leaſt the concealing thereof might turne hir to diſpleaſure, either elſe for the entire loue which ſhe bare to hir huſband) reuealed hir fathers wicked purpoſe. Whereupon whileſt Conſtantine went about to be reuenged of ſuch a traitorous practiſe, Herculeus fled to Marſiles, purpoſing there to take the ſea, and ſo to retire to his ſonne Maxentius into Italie. But yer he could get awaie from thence, he was ſtrangled by commandement of his ſonne in law Conſtantine, and ſo ended his life, which he had ſpotted with manie cruell acts, as well in perſecuting the profeſſours of the chriſtian name, as others.

Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis.

Fauſta the daughter of Maximianus and wife to Conſtantine.

Marſiles.

Maximianus ſlaine. Ann. Chri. 322.

In this meane time had Maximianus adopted one Licinius to aſſiſt him in gouernance of the empire, proclaiming him Ceſar. So that now at one ſelfe time Conſtantine gouerned France and the weſt parts of the empire, Maxentius held Italie, Affrike, and Aegypt: and Maximianus which likewiſe had béene elected Ceſar, ruled the eaſt parts, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia. But ſhortlie after, the emperour Conſtantine ioined in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his ſiſter in marriage, named Conſtantia, for more ſurtie of faithfull friendſhip to indure betwixt them. He ſent him alſo againſt Maximianus, who gouerning in the eaſt part of the empire, purpoſed the deſtruction of Conſtantine and all his partakers: but being vanquiſhed by Licinius at Tarſus, he ſhortlie after died, being eaten with lice. Conſtantine after this was called into Italie, to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, which occaſion ſo offered, Conſtantine gladlie accepting, paſſed into Italie, and after certeine victories got againſt Maxentius, at length ſlue him.

Licinius choſen fellow with Maximianus in the empire.

After this, when Maximianus was dead, who prepared to make warre againſt Licinius, that had married Conſtantia the ſiſter of Conſtantine, he finallie made warre againſt his brother in law the ſaid Licinius, by reaſon of ſuch quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the woorſe, and at length comming into the hands of Conſtantine, was put to death, ſo that Conſtantine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his rule and ſubiection. He was a great fauourer of the Chriſtian religion, inſomuch that to aduance the ſame, he tooke order for the conuerting of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the ſeruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded alſo, that none ſhould be admitted to ſerue as a ſouldier in the warres, except he were a chriſtian, nor yet to haue rule of anie countrie or armie. He alſo ordeined, the weéke before Eaſter, and that which followed to be kept as holie, and no perſon to do anie bodilie works during the ſame.

Chriſtians honoured and cherriſhed.

He was much counſelled by that noble and moſt vertuous ladie his mother, the empreſſe Helen, who being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir laie, to moue him to the ſetting forth of Gods honour and increaſe of the chriſtian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie inſtructed. ¶ Some writers alledge, that ſhe being at Jeruſalem, made diligent ſearch to find out the place of the ſepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much adoe: for the infidels had ſtopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where yong women vſed to ſing ſongs in honour of that vnchaſt goddeſſe. Helen cauſed the ſame to be ouerthrowne, the earth to be remoued, and the place cleanſed, ſo that at length the ſepulchre appéered, and faſt by were found there buried in the earth three croſſes and the nailes. But the croſſe whereupon our Sauiour was crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it, though almoſt worne out, in letters of Hebrew, Greéke, and Latine: the inſcription was this, *Ieſus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum*. It was alſo perceiued which was that croſſe by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trulie I can not tell) that ſhould be wrought thereby: for being laid to a ſicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof ſhe was healed. It was alſo ſaid, that a dead man was raiſed from death to life, his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Whereupon Conſtantine moued with theſe things, forbad that from thenceforth anie ſhould be put to death on the croſſe, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuerence.

Polydor. The praiſe of the empreſſe Helen.

3 2 8

The empreſſe Helen hauing thus found the croſſe, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the ſame to hir ſonne Conſtantine, who ſet one of them in the creſt of his helmet, an other in the bridle of his horſſe, and the third he caſt into the ſea, to aſſwage and pacifie the furious tempeſts and rage thereof. She alſo brought with hir a parcell of that holie croſſe, and gaue it to hir ſonne the ſaid Conſtantine, the which he cauſed to be cloſed within an image that repreſented his perſon, ſtanding vpon a piller in the market place of Conſtantine, or (as ſome

Polydor.

Polydor.

some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffer of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called Sophianna, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie works of great zeale and vertue are remembred by writers to haue beene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be briefe, he was a man in whome manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appeared, chiefly he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warres, and therewithall verie fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

The commendation of Constantine.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he left behind him in Britaine certeine gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one Maximinus a right valiant captaine. He tooke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprises, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euerie place ouercame his enimies.

Some write that Constantine thus conueieng ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obteining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he tooke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers do testifie) were three vncles of his mother Helen, that is to say, Hoelmus, Trahernus, and Marius, whome he made senators of Rome.

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains seruing in the warres vnder Constantine.

Galfridus. Matt. West.

Of Octauius a British lord, his reigne *ouer the Britains, he incountereth with* Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwards *in Westmerland: Octauius being discomfited* fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octauius *sendeth for Maximianus, on whom he bestoweth his daughter* and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octauius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that retained the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Martinus the lieutenant excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOw in the meane time that Constantine had obteined and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being hir king, had got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpretor thereof; there was a British lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Gewisses, and appointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence, the which Octauius (after that Constantine had recouered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

Octauius. Caxton. Gewisses inhabited the countrie which the west Saxons after held. The name of Gewisses came in with the Saxons of Guy, &c.

THis Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vncles, the foresaid Traherne. This Trahernus, or as some name him Traherne, entred this land with three legions of souldiers, & in a field neere vnto Winchester, was incountered by Octauius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there striken betwixt them, in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constreined to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octauius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the countrie of Westmerland eftsoones gaue him battell, but in that battell Octauius was put to the worsse, and constreined to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid, and being readie with such power as he there gathered, that of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing, he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him hartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octauius then comming to land, eftsoones got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yeere of the reigne of the emperour Constantine, and about two yeeres after that the said Octauius first tooke vpon him to rule as king.

Octauius.

Galfridus. 329

Fabian.

Galfridus. This agreeth not altogether with that which Hector Boetius writeth, as in the Scotish chronicle appeareth.

Traherne slaine. See in the Scotish chronicles more of these matters. Matth. West. saith 316.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerned the land right noblie, and greatlie to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble yong man, cosine to the emperour Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octauius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octauius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, which was his nephue: but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one Maurice sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the forenamed Maximianus.

Maximianus is sent for.

Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall.

This agreeth not with that which is found in the Scotish chronicles.

Maurice according to his commission and instruction in that behalfe receiued, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that Maximianus consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finallie he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that Conan Meridoc paid not so much to haue beene doing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his meanes he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus safelie brought to the kings presence, and of him honorablie receiued, and finallie the mariage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie maner. Shortlie after, Octauius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors do write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be vnderstood of Gratian his reigne after the decease of his vncle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeare of our Lord 351.

Maximianus commeth into Britains.

Octauius departeth this life.

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But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains ſince the time of Conſtantius, vnto our Britiſh and Scotiſh writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Conſtantine, an aſſured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the empreſſe Helen, daughter to Coell earle of Colcheſter, and after king of Britaine (as our hiſtories do witneſſe.) Vnto the which empreſſe Conſtantine bare ſuch dutifull reuerence, that he did not onelie honour hir with the name of empreſſe, but alſo made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of thoſe that profeſſed the true chriſtian religion. For the loue that ſhe bare vnto Colcheſter and London, ſhe walled them about, and cauſed great bricke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the ſame, whereof there is great ſtore to be ſéene euen yet to this preſent, both in the walls of the towne and caſtell of Colcheſter, as a teſtimonie of the workemanſhip of thoſe daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeare of hir ſonnes reigne. Firſt ſhe was buried at Rome without the walls of the citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir eſtate apperteined: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Conſtantinople, where it was eftſoones interred. Hir ſonne the emperour Conſtantine liued till about the yeare of Chriſt 340, and then deceaſſed at Nicomedia in Aſia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

Nicephorus. The empreſſe Helen departeth this life.

340 The deceaſſe of the emperour Conſtantine.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great ſtur here in Britaine during his reigne more than the Britiſh and Scotiſh writers haue recorded: ſo that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietneſſe, it maie be ſuppoſed, that the Britains liued in reſt vnder his gouernement, and likewiſe after vnder his ſonnes that ſucceeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots inuaded the ſouth parts of the land.

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But now to end with Octauius, that the chriſtian faith remained ſtill in Britaine, during the ſuppoſed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongſt the 36 prouinces, out of the which there were aſſembled aboue 300 biſhops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a ſynod held there againſt the Euſebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanaſius in his ſecond apologie to be one. And againe, the ſaid Athanaſius in an epiſtle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did conſent with the churches of other nations in the confeſſion of faith articuled in the Nicene councell. Alſo mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in thoſe daies, as Reſtitutus biſhop of London, which went ouer to the ſynod held at Arles in France, and alſo one Kibius Cotinnius ſonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and biſhop of Angleſey, who inſtructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and them of Angleſey aforeſaid verie diligentlie.

Synodus anno. 331.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this ſeaſon (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) ſome trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Conſtantius would haue puniſhed, becauſe they had taken part with Marentius his aduerſarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was ſent ouer by him, with commiſſion to make inquirie of them, and to ſée them brought to light to anſwere their tranſgreſſions; which Paulus began to deale roughlie in the matter, whereof he was called Catena, and to rage againſt the Britains and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued and maintained them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing leaſt his extreame rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogither, and cauſe them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made hauocke of thoſe that he ſuſpected, till the ſaid Martinus fell at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he drew his ſword and ſmote at him. But ſuch was his age and weakeneſſe, that he was not able to kill him or giue him anie deadlie wound, wherefore he turned the point of his ſword againſt himſelfe, and ſo ended his life, being contented rather to die than ſée his countriemen and ſubiects of the empire ſo to be abuſed. After this the ſaid Paulus returned backe againe into Italie from whence he came, after whoſe departure, it was not long yer he alſo was ſlaine, and then all the Scots and Picts fell diſquieted the Romane ſubiects, for the ſuppreſſing of whoſe attempts Lupicinus was ſent ouer out of Gallia by Julianus, as ſhall be declared out of Ammianus Marcellinus, after we haue firſt ſhewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and ſpoile the Britiſh inhabitants within the Romane prouinces here in this Ile, and that euen in moſt outragious maner.

Martinus lieutenant.

Marcellinus. lib. 14. Paulus a notarie.

Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth this Ile, why writers ſpeake ill of him, ſtrife betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall, *Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine,* he tranſporteth the Britiſh youth ſeruiceable for warres *into France, little Britaine in France why ſo called,* eleuen thouſand maids ſent thither to match with Conans people, whereof ſome were drowned, and other ſome murthered in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and Melga king of Picts, they flie into Ireland, murther requited with murther, the words of Gyldas concerning Maximus.

The xxx. Chapter.

Maximianus or Maximus

After the deceaſſe of Octauius or Octauian (as the old Engliſh chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yére of our Lord 383, he was the ſonne of one Leonine, and coſen germane to Conſtantine the great, a valiant perſonage, & hardie of ſtomach: but yet becauſe he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian ſaith) ſomewhat perſecuted the chriſtians, he was infamed by writers: but the chiefe cauſe why he was euill reported, was for that he ſlue his ſouereigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after ſhall appeare, for otherwiſe he is ſuppoſed worthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech reſpect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, chanced ſtrife and debate, ſo that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchaſing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, waſted the countrie on ech ſide. Maximianus thereof hauing aduertiſement, raiſed his power and went againſt him, and ſo fighting with him diuers battels, ſometime departed away with victorie, and ſometime with loſſe. At length through mediation

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ation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finallie this Maximianus or (as the Romane histories say) Maximus, was by the souldiers chosen and proclaimed emperour here in Britaine: although some write that this was done in Spaine.

After he had taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, vpon desire to haue inlarged his dominion, he assembled togither all the chosen youth of this land meet to doo seruice in the warres, with the which he passed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he first subdued the countrie ancientlie called Armorica, and slue in battell the king thereof called Imball. This done he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the same of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for euer. He also commanded that the said countrie from thenceforth should be called litle Britaine, and so was the name changed. What people soeuer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than anie other: for Armorica in the British tong signifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the sea.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton. Matth. West. The Britih youth led forth of the realme by Maximus. Britaine in France.

Conan then placing himselfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelie with Britains, which abhorring to ioine themselues with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counselled to send into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in mariage. Hereupon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to send ouer into little Britaine 11000 maids, that is to say, 8000 to be bestowed vpon the meaner sort of Conans people, and 3000 to be ioined in mariage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans request, assembled the appointed number of maids, and amongst them he also appointed his daughter Ursula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in mariage to the foresaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earnestlie requested.

Dionethus duke of Cornwall. Maids sent forth.

These number of maids were shipped in Thames, and passing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind scattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the residue (among whom was the foresaid Ursula) were slaine by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were sent by the emperour Gracian to the sea coasts of Germanie, to oppresse and subdue all such as were friends and mainteiners of the part of Maximianus. We find in some bookes, that there were sent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to say, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

Ursula the daughter of Dionethus.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foresaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make sore warre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was aduertised, he sent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of souldiers, who bare himselfe so manfullie against the enimies, that he constreined the said Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this meane while, Maximus hauing slaine the emperor Gratian at Lions in France, and after entring into Italie, was slaine himselfe at Aquilia (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yeres) by the emperour Theodosius, who came in aid of Valentinian, brother to the said emperor Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italie.

Guanius and Melga.

¶ But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to set downe the words which we find in Gyldas, where he writeth of the same Maximus, vndoubtedlie a Britaine borne, nephue to the empresse Helen, and begotten by a Romane. At length (saith Gyldas) the spring of tyrants budding vp, and now increasing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather casting the same from it, sendeth forth a branch of hir most bitter planting, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wise, but (after the custome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining souldiers: which Maximus at the first by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and false suggestion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & prouinces next adioining, against the imperiall state of Rome, stretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his most vniust empire at Trier, and shewed such rage in his wood dealing against his souereigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his most religious and godlie life. Now without long tarrance, compassed about with such a furious and bold gard as he had got togither, at the citie of Aquilia he loseth his wicked head, which had cast downe the most honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

Consobrinus Helenæ imperatricis.

From thenceforth Britaine being depriued of all hir warlike souldiers and armies, of hir gouernors also (though cruell) and of an huge number of hir youth (the which following the steps of the foresaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) such as remained being vtterlie vnskilfull in feats of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite dismaid, lament their miserable case, not knowing what else to doo for the space of manie yeres togither. By reason of whose greeuous inuasion and cruell oppression wherewith she was miserablie disquieted, she sendeth hir ambassadors vnto Rome, making lamentable suite euen with teares to haue some power of men of warre sent to defend hir against the enimies, promising to be true subiects with all faithfulnes of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued. ¶ Thus farre Gyldas, and more, as in place hereafter you shall find recited.

Scotorum à circio, Pictorum ab aquilone.

What Gratianus it was that was sent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what estimation the British souldiers haue beene, the priuie treason of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his sonne Victor doo succeed him in the empire, they are both slaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant succeeding them is murthered, Gratianus also his successour hath the same end, the election of Constantine a Britaine borne, his praise and dispraise reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his sonne Constance partaker with him of the empire, a sharpe incounter betwixt his power and two brethrens that had the keeping of the Pyrenne hils, the issue of the battell.

The xxxj. Chapter.

BVt now where the British histories, and such of our English writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, sent ouer with three legions of souldiers by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we maie

maie ſuppoſe that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards vſurped the imperiall dignitie héere in Britaine, in the daies of the emperour Honorius. For it ſtandeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reaſon of the hiſtorie, that it ſhould be Gratianus, ſurnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperour Gratianus, againſt whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers maketh mention of anie other Gratianus, being a ſtranger, that ſhould be ſent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the foreſaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appéreth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie héere in this Ile, and at length being diſcharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in reſt, was at length ſpoiled of his goods by the emperour Conſtantius as confiſcate, for that in time of the ciuill warres he had receiued Parentius, as he paſſed thorough his countrie.

Sextus Aurelius.

Lib. 30.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or ſome other of that name, was ſent ouer into Britaine (as before is ſaid) by Maximus, leaſt otherwiſe ſome errour may be doubted in the writers of the Britiſh hiſtories, as hauing happilie miſtaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to ſerue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them ſuppoſed: and ſo thorough miſtaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuertheleſſe it ſtandeth with great likelihood of truth, that ſome notable ſeruice of chiualrie was atchiued by the ſame Gratianus Funarius whileſt he remained héere in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath béene written by authors, and happilie by the ſame Am. Marcellinus, if his firſt thirtéene bookes might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmeſburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Conſtantine the great firſt peopled Armorica: but yet he agréeth, that both Maximus, and alſo Conſtantinus the vſurper, of whome after ye ſhall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Conſtantinus afterwards being ſlaine, the one by Theodoſius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the reſidue eſcaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Conſtantine the great had firſt placed in Armorica. And ſo when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the townes but ſuch as were giuen to ſlouth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Héere is yet to be conſidered, in what price the ſouldiers of the Britiſh nation were had in thoſe daies, with whoſe onelie puiſſance Maximus durſt take vpon him to go againſt all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he proſpered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expreſſed ſufficientlie in the Romane hiſtories, by whoſe report it appéreth, that he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namelie on this ſide the Rhine, but alſo found meanes to intrap the emperour Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the ſeas perteining to the empire. It was therefore agréed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a choſen companie of the armie) ſhould be carried in ſecret wiſe in a coch toward Lions, as if it had béene Conſtantia Poſthumia the empreſſe, wife to the emperour Gratian, bruting abroad therewithall, that the ſaid empreſſe was comming forwards on hir waie to Lions, there to méet with hir husband, for that vpon occaſion ſhe was verie deſirous to commune with him about certeine earneſt buſineſſe.

W.H. out of Paulus Diaco. lib. 12. & alijs.

Tripart. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 21.

When Gratian heard héereof, as one miſtruſting no ſuch diſſimulation, he made haſt to méete his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treaſon, approched the coch, where ſuppoſing to find his wife, he found thoſe that ſtreight waies murthered him: ſo was he there diſpatched quite of life by the ſaid Andragatius, who leapt forth of the coch to worke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperour Gratian finiſh his life in the 29 yéere of his age, on the 25 of Auguſt, in the yéere of Chriſt 383, and then died. Maximus ſucceeded him (making his ſonne Flauius Victor Nobiliſſimus his aſſiſtant in the empire) reigning fiue yéeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yonger made great ſuit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards alſo Maximus was earneſtlie requeſted to come to an enteruiew with the ſame Valentinian, who promiſed him not onelie a ſafe conduct, but alſo manie other beneficiall good turnes beſide. Howbeit Maximus durſt not put himſelfe in anie ſuch hazard, but rather ment to purſue Valentinian as an vſurper, and ſo at length chaſed him into Slauonie, where he was driuen to ſuch a ſtreight, that if Theodoſius had not come to releeue him, Maximus had driuen him thence alſo, or elſe by ſlaughter rid him out of the waie.

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Of this Flauius Victor he begat of his wife Helen the daughter of Eudes. H. Lloyd.

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

But when Maximus thought himſelfe moſt aſſured, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued careleſſe of his owne ſafegard, and therfore diſmiſſed his Britiſh ſouldiers, who retiring into the northweſt parts of Gallia, placed themſelues there among their countriemen, which were brought ouer by the emperour Conſtantius, whileſt Maximus paſſing the reſidue of his time in delights and pleaſures, was ſurpriſed in the end and ſlaine by Theodoſius nére vnto Aquilia, the 27 of Auguſt, in the yéere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the firſt yéere of his reigne, or rather vſurpation, as more rightlie it maie be tearmed. His ſonne Flauius Victor ſurnamed Nobiliſſimus was alſo diſpatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was ſlaine, by the practiſe of one Arbogaſtes a Goth, which Flauius Victor was by the ſaid Maximus made regent of the Frankeners, and partaker (as before is ſaid) with him in the empire.

Eutropius. 388

Arbogaſtes.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in mettle good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yéeres, till one Marcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the ſouldiers héere proclaimed emperour againſt Honorius, which Marcus was ſone after killed in a tumult raiſed among the people within few daies after his vſurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne ſucceeded in his place, who was alſo ſlaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The ſouldiers not yet heerewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other emperour, or rather vſurper, and ſo pronounced a nobie gentleman called Conſtantine, borne alſo in Britaine, to be emperour, who tooke that honour vpon him in the 409 yéere after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his reigne by the ſpace of two yeeres and od moneths, as the Romane hiſtories make mention. Some report this Conſtantine to be of no great towardlie diſpoſition worthie to gouerne an empire, and that the ſouldiers choſe him rather for the name ſake, bicauſe they would

Gratianus Britain. He reigned foure yéeres, as we ſhall héere the Britiſh ſtorie.

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would haue another Constantine, more than for anie vertues or sufficient qualities found in his person. But other commend him both for manhood and wisedome, wherein to speake a truth, he deserued singular commendation, if this one note of vsurpation of the imperiall dignitie had not stained his other noble qualities. But herein he did no more than manie other would haue done, neither yet after his inuesture did so much as was looked for at his hands.

Constantine being placed in the imperiall throne, gathered an armie with all possible indeuour, purposing out of hand to go ouer therwith into France, and so did, thinking thereby to win the possession of that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or at the least to worke so, as he should not haue the souldiers and people there to be against him, if he missed to ioine in league with the Suabeiners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he sought to performe. But in the end, when neither of these his deuises could take place, he sent ouer for his sonne Constans (whome in his absence his aduersaries had shorne a monke) & making him partaker with him in the empire, caused him to bring ouer with him another armie, which vnder the conduct of the same Constans he sent into Spaine to bring that countrie vnder his obeisance.

This Constans therefore comming vnder the passages that lead ouer the Pyrenine mountains, Vindinus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whome the keeping of those passages was committed to defend the same against the Vandals, and all other enimies of the empire, were readie to resist him with their seruants and countriemen that inhabited therabouts, giuing him a verie sharpe incounter, and at the first putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his British souldiers, Constans put his aduersaries to flight, and killed the two capteins, with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the necessarie defense of that countrie against the enimies. When Constans had thus repelled those that resisted him, the custodie of the passages in the Pyrenine mounteins was committed vnto such bands of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him about the atchiuing of this enterprise, who hauing the possession of those streicts or passages in their hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spaine, who being once entered, pursued the former inhabitants with fire and sword, setled themselues in that countrie, and droue out the Romans.

His souldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that serued vnder the ensignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani. Blondus.

Honorius sendeth earle Constantius *to expell Constantine out of Gallia, the end* of Constantinus the father and Constans the *sonne, the valure and prowesse of the British* souldiers, the British writers reproued of negligence *for that thiy haue inserted fables into their* woorkes, whereas they might haue deposed matters of truth.

The xxxij. Chapter.

THe emperour Honorius, perceiuing the reeling state of the empire, determined forthwith to recouer it, before it fell altogither into ruine: and therefore sent one Constantius an earle to driue Constantine out of Gallia, which he accordinglie performed: for after certeine bickerings, he slue the said Constantine at Arles, although not without great bloudshed. He pursued also the residue of the Britains, driuing them to the verie sea coasts, where they shrowded themselues among the other Britains, that before were setled in the countrie there, ancientlie called (as before we said) Armorica, that is, a region lieng on the sea coast: for Ar in the British tong signifieth vpon; and Moure, perteining to the sea. And as this Constantine the father was slaine by Constantius, so was Constans the sonne killed at Vienna by one of his owne capteines named Gerontius. Whereby it came to passe, that Honorius shortlie after, hauing thus obteined the victorie of both these vsurpers, recouered the Ile, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high industrie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine & his sonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 Olympiad, 465 after the comming of Cesar, 1162 after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A, and the golden number 13, so that the recouering of the Iland fell in the yeare of our Lord 411. 411

Here also is ettsoones to be considered the valure of the British souldiers, who following this last remembred Constantine the vsurper, did put the Romane state in great danger, and by force brake through into Spaine, vanquishing those that kept the streicts of the mounteins betwixt Spaine and Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no small consequence, sith thereby the number of barbarous nations got free passage to enter into Spaine, whereof insued manie battels, sacking of cities and townes, and wasting of the countries, accordinglie as the furious rage of those fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practise.

¶ If therefore the Britaine writers had considered and marked the valiant exploits and noble enterprises which the British aids, armies and legions atchiued in seruice of the Romane emperours (by whome whilest they had the gouernement ouer this Ile, there were at sundrie times notable numbers conueied forth into the parties of beyond the seas, as by Albinus and Constantius, also by his sonne Constantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Constantine, both of them vsurpers) if (I saie) the British writers had taken good note of the numbers of the British youth thus conueied ouer from hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attempted, & no lesse manfullie atchiued, they needed not to haue giuen eare vnto the fabulous reports forged by their Bards, of Arthur and other their princes, worthie in deed of verie high commendation.

And pitie it is, that their fame should be brought by such meanes out of credit, by the incredible and fond fables which haue beene deuised of their acts so vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the gests written by Ariost the Italian in his booke intituled *Orlando furioso*, sith the same writers had otherwise true matter inough to write of concerning the worthie feats by their countriemen in those daies in forren parts boldlie enterprised, and no lesse valiantlie accomplished, as also the warres which now and then they maintained against the Romans here at home, in times when they felt themselues oppressed by their tyrannicall gouernment, as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Boadicia, Cartimandua, Venusius, Galgagus, or Galdus (as some name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deserue as much praise, as by tong or pen is able to be expressed. But now to returne vnto the British historie: we will proceed in order with their kings as we find them in the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to speake somewhat further of Gratian, from whome we haue digressed.

Gratia-

Gratians rough regiment procureth *his owne deſtruction, the comming of his* two brethren Guanius and Melga with their *armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains,* they ſend for aid to Rome, Valentinian ſendeth Gallio *Rauenna to releeue them, the Romans refuſe anie longer* to ſuccour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afreſh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miſerie, ciuill warres among them, and what miſchiefe doth follow therevpon, their lamentable letter to Actius for ſuccour againſt their enimies, their ſute is denied, at what time the Britains ceaſed to be tributaries to the Romans, they ſend ambaſſadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obteine their ſute.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

Gratianus,

GRatianus then, whome Marimus or Mariminus had ſent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maiſter was ſlaine, toke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himſelfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydor writeth, 390. coniecturing ſo, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to ſaie, a free man of the countrie or citie where he inhabited. For his ſterneneſſe and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the hiſtories alledge) ſlaine and diſpatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the ſpace of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as ſhould ſeeme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the forenamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as ſome write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increaſed with new ſupplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Norwegians, and deſtroied the countrie from ſide to ſide. For the Britains in this ſeaſon were ſore infeebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of ſouldiers, by reaſon that Marimus had led forth of the land the floure and chiefeſt choiſe of all the Britiſh youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

Of the Romane ſouldiers as Blondus ſaith.

Galfrid. Caxton.

Galfrid. Matth. Weſt. Caxton.

Gyldas maketh no mention of theſe two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearſing this great deſtruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the ſame that did all the miſchiefe, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the ſeas, the Scots comming out of the northweſt, and the Picts out of the northeaſt, by whome (as he ſaith) the land was ouerrun, and brought vnder foot manie yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vexed, ſpoiled, and cruellie perſecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we ſhall ſo take them) ſent meſſengers with all ſpeed vnto Rome to make ſute for ſome aid of men of war to be ſent into Britaine. Whereupon immediatlie a legion of ſouldiers was ſent thither in the yeare 414, which eaſilie repelled the enimies, and chaſed them backe with great ſlaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were deliuered from danger of vtter deſtruction, as they thought. 414.

Gyldas, Polychron. Beda. Matth. Weſt.

But the Romans being occaſioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had beene afore time by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrie from ſea to ſea, ſtretching from Penuelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be ſtaid from entring the land: but this wall being made of turfs and ſods, rather than with ſtones, after the departure of the Romans was eaſilie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which eſſoones returned to inuade the confines of the Britains, and ſo entring the countrie, waſted and deſtroied the places before them, according to their former cuſtome. Herevpon were meſſengers with moſt lamentable letters againe diſpatched towards Rome for new aid againſt thoſe cruell enimies, with promiſe, that if the Romans would now in this great neceſſitie helpe to deliuer the land, they ſhould be aſſured to find the Britains euermore obedient ſubiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinianus (pitieng the caſe of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of ſouldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to go to their ſuccours, the which arriuing in Britaine ſet on the enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, ſlue a great number of them, and chaſed the reſidue out of the countrie.

Gyldas and Beda. Polychron.

Blondus.

Gallio Rauenna ſent into Britaine.

The Romans thus hauing obteined the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thenceforth they would not take vpon them for euerie light occaſion ſo painefull a iournie, alledging how there was no reaſon why the Romane enſignes, with ſuch a number of men of warre, ſhould be put to trauell ſo far by ſea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a ſort of ſcattering rouers and pilfring theeues. Wherfore they aduiſed the Britains to looke to their dueties, and like men to indeuour themſelues to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enimies inuaſions. And becauſe they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they ſet in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the ſame place where the emperour Seuerus cauſed his trench and rampire to be caſt. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 foot in breadth and 12 in length, trauerſing the land from eaſt to weſt, & was made of ſtone.

A wall built ouerthwart the Iland. Beda.

After that this wall was finiſhed, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and ſhewed them the way how to make armor & weapons. Beſides this, on the coaſt of the eaſt ſea where their ſhips lay at rode, & where it was douted that the enimies would land, they cauſed towers to be erected, with ſpaces betwixt, out of the which the ſeas might be diſcouered. Theſe things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by ſea, & being more emboldened than before, bicauſe of the deniall made by the Romans to come any more to the ſuccor of the Britains, they toke into poſſeſſion all the north and vttermoſt bounds of the Ile, euen vnto the foreſaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitans. And whereas the Britains got them to their wall to defend the ſame, that the enimies ſhould not paſſe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them ſlaine, ſo that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and purſued them in more cruell maner than before, ſo that the Britains being chaſed out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houſes, were conſtreined to flie into deſert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of ſauage people, and in the end began to rob and ſpoile one another, ſo to auoid the danger of ſtaruing for lacke of food: and thus at the laſt the countrie was ſo deſtroied and waſted, that there was no other ſhift for them that was left aliue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beaſts and foules. And to augment their miſerie, the commons imputing the fault to reſt in the lords and gouernors, aroſe againſt them in armes, but were vanquiſhed and eaſilie put to flight at two ſeuerall times, being beaten downe and ſlaine (through lacke of ſkill) in ſuch numbers, eſpeciallie the latter time, that

Gyldas.

This chanced in the yere 4 as M. W. ſaith

Beda and Polychron.

Hector Boec. Rebellion.

that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mounteins, where within the bushes and caues they kept themselues close, sometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heards of beasts and flocks of sheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this state, as needing one anothers helpe, necessitie made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and clerelie forgiuen. This ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the auoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof insued such famine for the space of three yeres togither, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

Ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, what mischiefe follow of ciuill warres.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreame miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and herevpon taking counsell togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof insueth.

Actius.

To Actius thrise consull.

THe lamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to bee ministred vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this present, which stand in most extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the sea, and the sea drieth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c.

The Britains could get no aid frō the Romans.

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at hands Actius as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed little how things went, bicause he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constreined to imploie all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceassed, full fiue hundred yeres after that Iulius Cesar first entred the Ile.

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yeld themselues into the griping hands of their enimies, whereas other yet keeping within the mounteins, woods and caues, brake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gyldas) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saieng of Philo, Where mans helpe faileth, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enimies that had béene accustomed manie yeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enimies ceassed for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceassed not at all. The enimies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie doings, being not so readie to put backe the common enimies, as to exercise ciuill warre and discord among themselues. The wicked Irish people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselues first at that season in the vttermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

Punishment ceaseth, but sin increaseth.

This with more also hath Gyldas, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people: wherein if the words of Gyldas be well weighed and considered, it maie lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onelie in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Iles of Orkenie, now placed themselues in the north parts of Scotland, and after by processe of time came and nestled themselues in Louthian, in the Mers, and other countries more nere to our borders. But to proceed.

Galfridus. Gyldas his words are to be considered.

The British histories affirme, that whilest the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefest men amongst them consulted togither, & concluded to send an honorable ambassage vnto Aldroenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Meriadoc the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassage the archbishop of London named Guetheline or Gosseline was appointed the chiefe and principall, who passing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the presence of Aldroenus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Aldroenus agreed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obteined against the enimies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

An ambassage sent from the Britains vnto Aldroenus king of Britaine in France.

Constantine the brother of Aldroenus.

¶ Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the vsurper was dispatched) a number of yeres togither, but how manie writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by diuers coniectures that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserablie afflicted by the inuasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyldas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

Fabian.

What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and Britains vnder the emperour Iulianus, Valentinianus and Valens, they send their vicegerents into Britaine, the disquietnesse of that time, London called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this Iland against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuiseth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and inconueniences, the first entring of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawnted at the verie sight of the Romane ensignes, the Saxons lieng in wait for their enimies are slaine euerie mothers sonne.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

Maximus.

BVt now sith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the vsurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yere of our Lord 383, and that till after he

he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth ouer with him: we find not in the same histories of ante troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good heere to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke intreating of the doings of the emperour Julianus, he saith as followeth.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 20.

The emperor Julianus.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slauonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and sauage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the prouinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and hauing his mind troubled with manie cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we haue shewed that Constantius did, least he should leaue them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almains being euen then prouoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

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Scots and Picts trouble the state of this Ile.

Lupicinus sent into Britaine.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time maister of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chiualrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell. Herevpon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Bataui, with diuers companies also of the people of Mesia now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarking his men, when the wind serued his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched forth vnto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as vpon aduise taken according to the qualitie of his businesse he should thinke meet and expedient.

Bataui now Hollanders.

Rumpis.

Of the displacing of these men the learned may see more in Am. Mar.

In the meane time, whilest Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to represse the enimies, the emperour Constantius displaced certeine officers, and among other he depriued the same Lupicinus of the office of the maister of the armorie, appointing one Gumobarius to succeed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had vnderstood so much whilest he was yet in Britaine) would haue attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yer he had anie knowledge what was done by the emperour, he could make no sturre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue moued rebellion there.

Lib. 26.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 26.

The Almans. The Sarmatians.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire; most cruell nations being stirred vp, inuaded the borders next adioining, the Almans wasted and destroied the parts of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Paunonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vexed the Britains with continuall troubles, and grieuous damages; the Austorians and the people of the Moores ouerran the countrie of Affrike more sharpelie than in time past they had done; the pilfring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all speed toward Numonia, pretending (though vniustlie) that now after the decease of Iouinius, with whome he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recouer those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

The Quadi. Picts and Saxons.

Austorians. The Goths.

Moreouer, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with grieuous newes that were brought him, giuing him to vnderstand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, hauing charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traines of the enimies. These things with great horrour being knowne, he sent Seuerus as then erle, or (as I may call him lord steward of his houshold) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortlie called backe, Iouinius going thither, and with speed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and auertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approued skill in warlike affaires, and calling together an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceiued of his good speed; the fame wherof sped and went afore him.

Lib. 27.

Comes maritimi tractus.

Comes domesticorum.

Theodosius sent into Britaine.

A litle after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts diuided into two nations Dicalidones, and Victuriones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made sowle worke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euerie one as they could breaking forth, & doing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if good fortune would giue him leaue, that most able capteine going vnto the vttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is seuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortlie after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting ouer at leasure, he arriued at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Wherevpon the Bataui and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Iouij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and speedilie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their

Picts diuided into two nations. Attacotti.

Theodosius passeth ouer into Britaine.

Bataui Hollanders.

London called Augusta.

goties

bootes of cattell, he bereft them of their preie, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was oppressed with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, because there was hope of reliefe and assured preseruation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with good aduise to worke suerlie: whilest he remained doubtfull what would insue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden inuasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their capteins or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in steed of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest mainteiner of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcitius a capteine renowmed in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistance. These things were done in Britaine.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.

Dulcitius.

Againe, in his eight and twentith booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius atchiued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius verelie a capteine of worthie fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and relæue greatlie the decaied and troubled state of the Britains, preuenting euerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to do mischiefe: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to do, but that whereof he with a chéerefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the rome of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whome presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Romane prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had béene sore endamaged by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to insue.

London called Augusta.

But as these things were a doing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue burst forth, to the grieuous danger of setting things in broile, if it had not béene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a proud and lofstie stomach, brother to the wife of Mariminus, which Valentinus for some notable offense had béene banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both priuilie and apertlie, the force of his vnmeasurable desire to mischiefe still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischiefe like him selfe, as also diuers of the souldiers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the verie nicke, when they should haue gone in hand with their vngratious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to sée due punishment executed on the offendors that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Valentinus. Valeria now Stiermarke.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcitius, commanding him to sée them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe renued. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as néed required, all danger was quite remoued: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to kéepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recouered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that vpon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thencefoorth it should be called Valentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcitius is appointed to put Valentinus to death.

A part of Britaine called Valentia.

The Areani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whome somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperour Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he remoued from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes bewraied vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captains, what sturre the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most worthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowmed for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had béene an other Camillus or Cursor Papirius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueied vnto the sea side; and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succéed in the rome of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the horses. Finallie, he was called by the emperour Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauior 379, and reigned emperour, surnamed Theodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies.

The praise of Theodosius.

379
Wil. Har.

Hereto also maie that be applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperour Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yéere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, & passing the seas, entred strong-lie into the Romane confines: a nation fed often-times with the slaughter of our people, the brunt of

Wolf. Lazi.

Seuerus.

Nonneus Comes.

whose first inuasion earle Nonneus sustained, one which was appointed to defend those parties, an approued capteine, & with continuall trauell in warres verie expert. But then incountring with desperate and forlorne people, when he perceiued some of his souldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often assaults of his enimies, he obteined this by informing the emperour what was necessarie and ought to be

Seuerus coronell of the footmen.

done, insomuch that Seuerus, maister or (as I maie call him) coronell of the footmen, was sent to helpe and releeue things that stood in danger: the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in such feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not so much as take weapon in hand to make resistance, but being amazed with the sight of the glittering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane standards, they streight made sute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise (because it was iudged that it should be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie yong men (able for seruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans according to the couenants concluded.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impeachment, & so to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen were sent to lie priuilie in a certeine hid vallie so ambushed, as they might easilie breake forth vpon the enimies as they passed by them. But it chanced far otherwise than they supposed, for certeine of those footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being suddenlie discouered whilest they hasted to vnite and knit themselues togither, by the hideous crie and shout of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and by closing togither againe, they staied, and the extremitie of the chance ministring to them force (though not sufficient) they were driuen to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter, had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horsemen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other side at the entring of the waie to assaile the enimies as they should passe) aduertised by the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not speedilie come to the succour of their fellowes.

When ran they togither more cruellie than before, and the Romans bending themselues towards their enimies, compassed them in on each side, and with drawne swords slue them downe right, so that there was not one of them left to returne home to their natiue countrie to bring newes how they had sped, nor one suffered to liue after anothers death, either to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their losse. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preserued at that time in Britaine, which should séeme

399 to be about the yéere of our Lord 399.

¶ Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, so in this incounter verie fortunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on their side. And strange it is to consider and marke, how these people by a celestiall kind of influence were begotten and borne as it were to prowesse and renowme; the course of their dealings in the field most aptlie answering to their name. For (as some

Solinus. Adr. Iun.

suppose) the Romans were called of the Greeke word ῥώμη, signifieng power and mightinesse: and in old time they were called Valentians, *A valendo*, of preuailing: so that it was no maruell though they were victorious subduers of forren people, sithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquerors, and thereof had their denomination.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the *state of Britaine in the decaie of the Romane empire*, of the Scots and Picts cruellie *vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuasion* of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons, *of the Scots first comming into this Iland, and from* whence, the Scotish chronographers noted for curiositie and vanitie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

Honorius the emperour.

After this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did eftsoones inuade the frontiers of the Romane prouince in Britaine, as appéareth by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preseruing the same frontiers vnto the said emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegericus tertij consulatus* (which fell in the yéere 396) as thus:

396. Claudianus.

Ille leues Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotúmq; vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas,
Et geminis fulgens vtróq; sub axe tropheis,
Tethyos alternæ refluas calcauit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
so cald, he hath subdude,
And with his wandring swoord likewise
the Scots he hath pursude:
He brake with bold couragious oare
the Hyperborean waue,
And shining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling sands
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus vpon the fourth consulship of Honorius, saith in a tetrastichon as followeth:

Quid rigor æternus cæli? quid frigora prosunt?
Ignotúmq; fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hyberne.

What lasting cold? what did to them
the frostie climats gaine?
And sea vnknowne? bemoisted all
with bloud of Saxons slaine
The Orknies were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And ysie Ireland hath bewaild
the heaps of Scotish harme.

Thule some take to be Island, not Scotland.

The same praise giueth he to Stilico the sonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis or circumlocution of the Gothish bloudie warres:

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferróq; notatas
Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Britains bent,
Which brideled hath the Scots so sterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liueleese lims doth read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second *Panegericus* of Stilico, in most ample and pithie manner insuing:

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monstro,
Ferro picta genas, cuius vestigia verrit
Cærulus, Oceaníq; æstum mentitur amictus,
Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernam
Mouit, & infesto spumauit remige Thetis,

Illius

Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.
Then Britaine whom the monsters did
of Calidone surround,
Whose cheekes were pearst with scorching steele,
whose garments swept the ground,
Resembling much the marble hew
of ocean seas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conspire to bring to spoile,
Hath Stilico munited strong, when
raisd by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enimies ores
the salt sea some did slice,
His care hath causd, that I all feare
of Scotish broiles haue bard,
Ne doo I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coasts to gard
Gainst Saxon troops, whom changing winds
sent sailing hitherward.

Britaine afflicted by inuasion of barbarous nations.

Thus maie it appeare, that in the time when the Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as other parts of the same empire were inuaded by barbarous nations, so was that part of Britaine which was subiect to the Romane emperors grieuouslie assailed by the Scots and Picts, and also by the Saxons, the which in those daies inhabiting all alongst the sea coasts of low Germanie, cuen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the sea by continuall rouing, but also vsed to come on land into diuerse parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the countries, and robbing the same with great rage and crueltie.

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epist.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, writing to Namatius. The messenger did assuredlie affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in your nation, and betwirt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a souldier, wafted about the crooked shores of the ocean sea against the fleet of the Saxons, of whome as manie rouers as ye behold, so manie archpirats ye suppose to see: so doo they altogither with one accord command, obeie, teach, and learne to plaie the parts of rouers, that euen now there is good occasion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimies. He assaileth at vnwares, he escapeth by foreseeing the danger afore hand, he despiseth those that stand against him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be followed he snappeth them vp that pursue him, if he

The piracie of the Saxons.

flee he escapeth.

Of like effect for proose hereof be those verses which he wrote vnto Maximianus his panegyrike oration, following in Latine and in English verse.

Tot maria intrauit duce te, longéq; remotas
Sole sub occiduo gentes, victricia Cæsar
Signa Caledonios transiuexit ad vsq; Britannos,
Fuderit & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum,
Hostes quæsiuit quem iam natura vetabat,
Quærere plus homines, &c.
So manie seas I entred haue,
and nations farre by west,
By thy conduct, and Cæsar hath
his banners borne full prest
Vnto the furthest British coast,
where Calidonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he subdued fell,
Yet would he enimies seeke vnknowne
whom nature had forbid, &c.

¶ Thus much haue we thought good to gather out of the Romane and other writers, that ye might perceiue the state of Britaine the better in that time of the decaie of the Romane empire, and that ye might haue occasion to marke by the waie, how not onelie the Scots, but also the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Britains, before anie mention is made of the same their attempts by the British and English writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation within the bounds of Britaine, till the time supposed by the Britaine writers, we leaue that point to the iudgement of others that be trauelled in the search of such antiquities, onelie admonishing you, that in the Scotish chronicle you shall find the opinion which their writers haue conceiued of this matter, and also manie things touching the acts of the Romans done against diuerse of the Britains, which they presume to be done against their nation, though shadowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of other particular names, at this date to most men vnknowne. But whensoeuer the Scots came into this Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the same, comming first out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as some suppose) into Ireland, and from thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning (as in their chronicles at large appeareth) referring them to the reading thereof, that desire to vnderstand that matter as they set it forth. Polydor.

Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine, which had continued (by the collection of some chronographers) the space of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it conuenient to end this fourth booke.

THE FIFT BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of England.

Conſtantinus at the generall ſute *of the Britains vndertaketh* to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned *king, his three ſonnes, he is traitorouſlie* ſlaine of a Pict, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of *Conſtantine hauing bene a monke is created king,* the ambitious & ſlie practiſes of duke Vortigerne *to aſpire to the gouernment, he procureth certeine Picts and* Scots to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his perſon, his craftie deuiſes and deepe diſſimulation vnder the pretenſe of innocencie, he winneth the peoples harts, and is choſen their king.

The firſt Chapter.

HAuing ended our former booke with the end of the Romane power ouer this Iland, wherein the ſtate of the Iland vnder them is at full deſcribed; it remaineth now that we proceed to declare, in what ſtate they were after the Romans had refuſed to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore we will addreſſe our ſelues to ſaie ſomewhat touching the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as their hiſtories make mention.

Conſtantinus. Gal. Mon. Matt. Weſtm.

Conſtantinus the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Britains in the Ile of great Britaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſaid brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totneſſe in Deuonſhire. Immediatlie after his cõming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diuerſe places of the Ile. Then went he forth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquiſhed: & ſlue that tyrannicall king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.) Howbeit, this agreeth not with the Scotiſh writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongard (as in their hiſtorie ye maie read.)

Caxton ſaith 12000. but Gal. and others ſay but 2000.

The Britiſh hiſtorie diſagreeth from the Scotiſh.

But to proceed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueied their capteine the ſaid Conſtantine vnto Ciceſter, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 433, which was about the fift yeere of the emperour Valentinianus the ſecond, and third yeere of Clodius king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to ſettle themſelues in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Conſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land well and noblie, and defended it from all inuaſion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife three ſonnes (as the Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth) Conſtantius, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter ſurnamed Pendragon. The eldeſt, becauſe he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not verie toward, he made a monke, placing him within the abbie of Amphibalus in Wincheſter.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 435.

Finallie this Conſtantine, after he had reigned ten yeeres, was traitorouſlie ſlaine one day in his owne chamber (as ſome write) by a Pict, who was in ſuch fauor with him, that he might at all times haue free acceſſe to him at his pleaſure. Neither the Romane writers, nor Beda, make anie mention of this Conſtantine: but of the other Conſtantine they write, which immediatlie after the vſurper Gratian was diſpatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and title of emperour, onelie in hope of his name, and for no other reſpect of towardneſſe in him, afore time being but a meane ſouldier, without ante degree of honour. The ſame Conſtantine (as writers record) going ouer into Gallia, adorned his ſonne Conſtantius with the title and dignitie of Ceſar, the which before was a monke, and finallie as well the one as the other were ſlaine, the father at Arles by earle Conſtantius, that was ſent againſt him by the emperour Honorius; and the ſonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as in the Italian hiſtorie ye may ſee more at large.) This chanced about the yeere of our Lord 415.

In a grone of buſhes as Gal. ſaith. Matth. Weſt. Beda. Oroſius. Blondus.

415

¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this place, for that ſome may ſuppoſe that this Conſtantine is the ſame that our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, as the circumſtance of the time and other things to be conſidered may giue them occaſion to thinke, for that there is not ſo much credit to be yeelded to them that haue written the Britiſh hiſtories, but that in ſome part men may with iuſt cauſe doubt of ſundrie matters conteined in the ſame: and therfore haue we in this booke beene the more diligent to ſhew what the Romans and other forreine writers haue regiſtred in their bookes of hiſtories touching the affaires of Britaine, that the reader may be the better ſatiſfied in the truth. But now to returne to the ſequele of the hiſtorie as we find the ſame written by the Britiſh chronicles.

This Vortigerne was duke of the Deuiſſes and Cornewall, as Rad. Ceſt. reporteth. Gal. Mon.

After that Conſtantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Uortigerus, or Uortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongſt the Britains, wrought ſo with the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, that Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of their king the fore-remembred Conſtantine, was taken out of the abbie of Wincheſter where he remained, and was ſtreight-

ſtreightwaies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

We haue heard how Conſtantius was made a monke in his fathers life time, becauſe he was thought to be too ſoft and childiſh in wit, to haue anie publike rule committed to his hands: but for that cauſe ſpeciallie did Vortigerne ſeeke to aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himſelfe, he might haue the cheefeſt ſwaie, and ſo rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himſelfe to atteine at length to the kingdome, as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceiued.

Conſtantius. Mat. Weſt. ſaith 445.

THis Conſtantius then the ſonne of Conſtantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Conſtantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abuſing his innocencie and ſimple diſcretion to order things as was requiſite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleaſed him. Whereupon firſt, where there had beene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Conſtantine, Vortigerne cauſed the ſame league to be renewed, & waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard vpon the kings perſon, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promiſes) he procured by ſubtile meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie vpon the deed done, he cauſed the murtherers to be ſtrangled, that they ſhould not afterwards diſcloſe by whoſe procurement they did that deed. Then cauſed he all the reſidue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had beene vpon a zeale to ſee the death of Conſtantius reuerelie puniſhed, he framed ſuch inditements and accuſations againſt them, that chieflie by his meanes (as appeared) the giltleſſe perſons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Britiſh people being wonderfullie pleaſed therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigerne for that deed. Thus Conſtantius was made awaie in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as moſt writers affirme) the ſpace of fiue yeeres.

Hector Boet.

Conſtantius murthered.

The ſubtile dealing of Vortigerne.

After his death was knowne, thoſe that had the bringing vp and cuſtodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter Pendragon, miſtruſting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whoſe diſſimulation and miſchieuous meaning by ſome great likelihods they ſuſpected, with all ſpeed got them to the ſea, and fled into litle Britaine, there keeping them till it pleaſed God otherwiſe to prouide for them. But Vortigerne could ſo well diſſemble his craftie workings, and with ſuch conueiance and cloked maner could ſhadow and colour the matter, that moſt men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: inſomuch that he obteined the fauour of the people ſo greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie ſtaie and defender of the common wealth. Herevpon it came to paſſe, that when the councell was aſſembled to elect a new king, for ſo much as the other ſonnes of king Conſtantine were not of age ſufficient to rule, Vortigerne himſelfe was choſen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one beſt deſeruing the ſame in their opinion and iudgement. This Vortigerne, as by indirect meanes and ſiniſter proceedings he aſpired to the regiment, hauing no title thereunto, otherwiſe than as blind fortune vouchſafed him the preferment: ſo when he was poſſeſſed, but not intereſſed in the ſame, he vncaſed the crooked conditions which he had couertlie concealed, and in the end (as by the ſequele you ſhall ſee) did pull ſhame and infamie vpon himſelfe.

Aurelius Ambroſius. Uter Pendragon.

Vortigerne choſen king of Britaine.

Vortigerne furniſheth the tower with a garriſon, he bewraieth his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Conſtantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuſes and ſinnes did vniuerſally concurre with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his eſtate, the Britains ſend for ſuccour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſus two brethren, where they are aſſigned to be ſeated, they vanquiſh the Scots, diſagreement in writers touching the Saxons firſt comming into this Iland.

The ſecond Chapter.

VOrtigerne, by ſuch diuelliſh meanes and vnconſcionable practiſes (as you heare) ſtealing away the hearts of the people, was choſen and made king of Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 446, in the conſulſhip of Actius, 1197 of Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world, the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yeere of the emperour Valentinianus, the ſame yeere that Heroneus began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Gewiſſes, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the weſt Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with treaſon, fraud, and great deceit at length obteined that for the which he had long looked, he firſt of all furniſhed the tower of London with a ſtrong garriſon of men of warre.

Vortigerne.

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Hector Boet.

When ſtudieng to aduance ſuch onelie as he knew to be his ſpeciall friends and fauorers, he ſought by all meanes how to oppreſſe other, of whoſe good will he had neuer ſo litle miſtruſt, and namelie thoſe that were affectionate towards the linage of Conſtantine he hated deadlie, and deuiſed by ſecret meanes which way he might beſt deſtroy them. But theſe his practiſes being at the firſt perceiued, cauſed ſuch as had the gouernance of the two yong gentlemen with all ſpeed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vncle the king of that land. Diuers of the Britains alſo, that knew themſelues to be in Vortigerne his diſpleaſure, failed ouer dailie vnto them, which thing brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his eſtate.

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Fabian.

It chanced alſo the ſame time, that there was great plentie of corne, & ſtore of fruit, the like wherof had not beene ſeene in manie yeeres before, and thereupon inſued riot, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vices verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offenſes at all. Theſe abuſes & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and cheefe rulers in the ſame: ſo that euerie man turned the point of his ſpeare (euen as he had conſented of purpoſe) againſt the true and innocent perſon. The commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkenneſſe, and idle loitering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore inſued great pride, and of this abundance no leſſe hautineſſe of mind, whereupon followed great wickednelle, lacke of good gouernement and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie, ſo that in ſome countries ſcarſe the quicke ſufficed to burie the dead.

Gyldas.

Plentie of wealth accompanied with ſtore of ſinnes.

And for an augmentation of more miſchefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their countrimen

Scots and

Picts inuade the Britains.

through the false suggestion of Uortigerne, had beene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scotish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be breefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enimies. In the meane time Uortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called togither the principall lords and cheefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and prouided.

At length after they had throughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowmed for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, chosing forth a picked companie of luskie yong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboord into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

Gyldas. Wil. Malm. Beda. The Saxons sent for.

10000 hath Hector Boet. Gyldas and Beda mention onelie but of 3 plates or galles, but H. Hector Boet. lyb. 30.

449 Wil. Malm.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Uortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English seeme to gather, although the Scotish writers, and name Hector Boetius do varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yeere of his reigne: whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Asterius, and third yeere of Peroneus king of France.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteouslie receiued, & hartilie welcomed of king Uortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroieng the countrie before them. Hereupon comming to ioine in battell, there was a sore fight betwirt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enimies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on ech side with great slaughter.

Scots vanquished by the Saxons.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well deseruings, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enimies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and vsed at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes. Henric. Hunt.

Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to sustaine and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should chose out by lots a number of yong and able personages fit for the warrs, which should go forth to seeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres. Gal. Mon.

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the *crowne and scepter of the kingdome by* craftie and subtile practises, a great number of *forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmen*tation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his *daughter, whereof Wednesdaie and Fridaie tooke their name,* of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is depriued of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

The third Chapter.

Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Britaine.

NOw Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisedome, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle here, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer.

Therefore first he indeuored with all speed possible to sense that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to persuade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreseeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this second time there arriued here 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Ronix (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eies of them that should behold hir, and specially to win the heart of Uortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, whereunto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue. Polydor.

Wil. Malm. 18 Forts or plates saie the Scotish writers, and 5000 men in the same. The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, or Keeles, and our old histories Cogges.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and sone after, three maner of people of the Germane nation, as Saxons, Vitæ or Iutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horse being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings

The Vitæ or Iutæ are called Ibutti. Alex. Now.

kings do for the more part fetch their pedegree, as lineallie deſcended from him, vnto whome alſo the Engliſh people (falſelie reputing him for a god) conſecrated the fourth daie of the weeke, as they did the firſt to his wife Frea: ſo that the ſame daies toke name of them, the one being called Wodenſdaie, and the other Freadaie, which words after in continuance of time by corruption of ſpech were ſomewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodenſdaie, to Wedneſdaie, and from Freadaie to Fridaie. The foreſaid Woden was father to Weca, the father of Wetgiſſus that was father to the foreſaid Hengiſſus and Horſus.

Wednesdaie, and Fridaie, whereof they came. Beda.

But now to rehearſe further touching thoſe three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Jutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentiſhmen deſcended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with thoſe alſo that inhabit ouer againſt the ſame Ile. Of the Saxons came the eaſt, the ſouth, & the weſt Saxons. Moreouer, of the Angles proceeded the eaſt Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. What theſe Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth alſo by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Anglij, which word is of three ſyllables (as Polydor ſaith:) but ſome write it Angli, with two ſyllables. And that theſe Angli, or Anglij were of no ſmall force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongſt the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themſelues, according to the which the ſtate of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the ſame and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc eſt Thuringorum*, The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to ſaie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the deſcription of that countrie it maie appeare.

Cor. Tacitus.

But now to the matter. Hengiſt perceiuing that his people were highlie in Vortigernes fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuiſing by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Ronir, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as ſome write) which he beléeued well would eaſilie be brought to paſſe, becauſe he vnderſtood that the king was much giuen to ſenſuall luſt, which is the thing that often blindeth wiſe mens vnderſtanding, and maketh them to dote, and to loſe their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to deſtruction, though by ſuch pleaſant poiſon they féele no bitter taſte, till they be brought to the extreame point of confuſion in déed.

Polydor.

Rowen, or Ronowen Hengiſts daughter.

Wil. Malm.

A great ſupper therefore was prepared by Hengiſt, at the which it pleaſed the king to be preſent, and apointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be ſomewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleaſant wine, and to preſent it to the king, ſaieng; Waſſail. Which ſhe did in ſuch comelie and decent maner, as ſhe that knew how to do it well inough, ſo as the king maruelled greatlie thereat, and not vnderſtanding what ſhe ment by that ſalutation, demanded what it ſignified. To whom it was anſwered by Hengiſt, that ſhe wiſhed him well, and the meaning of it was, that he ſhould drinke after hir, ioining thereto this anſwer, Drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was informed) toke the cup at the damſels hand, and dranke.

Gal. Mon.

Waſſail, what it ſignifieth.

Finallie, this young ladie behaued hir ſelfe with ſuch pleaſant words, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir ſo long, till he felt himſelfe ſo farre in loue with hir perſon, that he burned in continuall deſire to inioy the ſame: inſomuch that ſhortlie after he forſoke his owne wife, by the which he had three ſonnes, named Mortimerus, Catagrinus, and Paſcentius, and required of Hengiſt to haue his daughter, the ſaid Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengiſt at the firſt ſeemed ſtrange to grant to his requeſt, and excuſed the matter, for that his daughter was not of eſtate and dignitie méet to be matched with his maieſtie. But at length as it had béene halfe againſt his will he conſented, and ſo the mariage was concluded & ſolemnized, all Kent being aſſigned vnto Hengiſt in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Gworongus (though not with moſt equall iuſtice) which Gworongus was ſubiect vnto Wortigerne, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

Polydor. Fabian.

Wil. Malm.

This mariage and liberalitie of the king towards the ſtrangers much offended the minds of his ſubiects, and haſtened the finall deſtruction of the land. For the Saxons now vnderſtanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengiſt, came ſo faſt ouer to inhabit héere, that it was wonder to conſider in how ſhort a time ſuch a multitude could come togither: ſo that bicauſe of their great number and approued puiſſance in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengiſt being no leſſe politike in counſell than valiant in armes, abuſing the kings lacke of diſcretion, to ſerue his owne turne, perſuaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his ſonne named Ebuſa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengiſt defended the land in the ſouth part: ſo might they kéepe backe the Scots in the north.

Wil. Malm.

Gal. ſaith he was Hengiſts ſonne, and Ebuſa his vncles ſonne.

Hérevpon by the kings conſent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coaſting about the land, they ſailed to the Iles of Orknie, and ſore vexed the people there, and likewiſe the Scots and Picts alſo, and finallie arriued in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they ſetled themſelues at that preſent, and ſo continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yéeres after their firſt comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as ſubiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent. After their arriuall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chaſing away ſuch as made reſiſtance, and appeaſed the reſidue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

Occa and Ebuſa leaders of Saxons.

Wil. Malm. *de Regib.*

When the nobles of Britaine ſaw and perceiued in what danger the land ſtood, by the dailie repaire of the huge number of Saxons into the ſame, they firſt conſulted togither, and after reſorting to the king, moued him that ſome order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, leaſt they ſhould with their power and great multitude vtterlie oppreſſe the Britiſh nation. But all was in vaine, for Wortigerne ſo eſteemed and highlie fauoured the Saxons, and namelie by reaſon of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing eſteemed his owne naturall kinſmen and chiefe friends, by reaſon whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yéeres, and in his ſtéed crowned his ſonne Wortimer.

Fabian. The great numbers of ſtrangers ſuſpected to the Britains.

Wortigerne depriued.

Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Wortimer, but declare that after the Saxons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Saxons ſhould defend the countrie from the inuaſion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in conſideration therof, the Britains ſhould find them proviſion of victels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not ſufficientlie furniſhed of their due proportion of victels, threatening that if they were

Gyldas. Beda. H. Hunt.

were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would ſurelie ſpoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their words with effect of deeds, beginning in the eaſt part of the Ile, & with fire and ſword paſſed forth, waſting and deſtroieng the countrie, till they came to the vttermoſt part of the weſt: ſo that from ſea to ſea, the land was waſted and deſtroied in ſuch cruell and outragious manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the prieſts ſlaine and murthered euen afore the altars, and the prelats with the people without anie reuerence of their eſtate or degrée diſpatched with fire and ſword, moſt lamentablie to behold.

The miſerable deſtruction made by the Saxons in this land.

Manie of the Britains ſéeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie ſlaine, and other were glad to come forth and yéeld themſelues to eternall bondage, for to haue reléeſe of meate and drinke to aſſwage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into ſtrange lands, ſo to ſaue themſelues; and others abiding ſtill in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a more wretched life, in great feare and vnquietneſſe of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to their houſes, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, iſſuing forth of thoſe places where they had lien hid, and with one conſent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preſerued from vtter deſtruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambroſe, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obteined victorie, according to their owne deſires. And from thence forth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this Britiſh people, God (according to his accuſtomed maner) as it were preſent Iſraell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, vntill the yeare of the ſiege of Badon hill, where afterwards no ſmall ſlaughter was made of the enimies: which chanced the ſame yeare in the which Gyldas was borne (as he himſelfe witneſſeth) being about the 44 yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

Gyldas was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyldas & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the ſame Gyldas) written of theſe firſt warres begun betweene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go forth with the hiſtorie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we doo find recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.

Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the Saxons ſore and ſharpe battels, a combat fought betweene Catigerne the brother of Vortimer and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, wherein they were both ſlaine, the Britains driue the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengiſt procureth Vortimer to be poiſoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as ſome writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts againſt the Britains and diſcomfit them.

The fourth Chapter.

Vortimer. Fabian. Galf. Mon. Matth. Weſt. ſaith 454. 464

THis Vortimer being eldeſt ſonne to Vortigerne, by the common aſſent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emperour Leo the firſt, and about the firſt yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far diſagréeing from that whereof W. Harriſon doth ſpeake in his chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be depoſed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Chriſt, and 5 currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Meroneus, as by his chronologie doth more at large appeare.

But to proceed, Vortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all haſt made ſore warre againſt the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Derwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the ſecond time he fought with them at a place called Epiſford, or Agliſthrop, in the which incounter Catagrine or Catigernus the brother of Vortimer, and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them ſlue other: but the Britains obteined the field (as ſaith the Britiſh hiſtorie.) The third battell Vortimer fought with them néere to the ſea ſide, where alſo the Britains chaſed the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was ſtricken néere to a more called Colemore, the which was ſore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, becauſe the foreſaid more incloſed a part of their hoſt ſo ſtronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies ſhot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and ſwallowed vp in the ſame more. Beſide theſe foure principall battels, Vortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, alſo néere to Colcheſter in Eſſex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all ſuch poſſeſſions as before time they had got, ſo that they were conſtrained to kéepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes aſſailed them with ſuch ſhips as he then had. When Ronowen the daughter of Hengiſt perceiued the great loſſe that the Saxons ſuſteined by the martiall proweſſe of Vortimer, ſhe found means that within a while the ſaid Vortimer was poiſoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the ſpace of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

The riuer of Derwent. Epiſford. The Ile of Tenet. Hen. Hunt. Colemore. Fabian. Tetford in Norfolke. Colcheſter.

¶ By the Britiſh hiſtorie it ſhould ſéeme, that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons ſo hardlie, kéeping them beſieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were conſtrained to ſue for licence to depart home into Germanie in ſafetie: and the better to bring this to paſs, they ſent Vortigerne, (whome they had kept ſtill with them in all theſe battels) vnto his ſonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their ſute. But whileſt this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ſhips, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further diſcourſe, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike hiſtoriographers of the Engliſh nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmeſ. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whome in theſe matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and ſafelie giue moſt credit. Will. Malmeſ.

William Malmeſ. writing of this Vortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he had againſt the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Guortimer, the ſonne of Vortimer (ſaith he) thinking not good long to diſſemble the matter, for that he ſaw himſelfe and his countriemen the Britains preuented by the craft of the Engliſh Saxons, ſet his full purpoſe to driue them

them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into this land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes togither in manie light incounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance againſt puiſſance in open field: in the firſt battell they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons loſt their capteine Horſe that was brother to Hengiſt, and the Britains loſt Catigerne an other of Vortigerns ſonnes.

Hengiſt had the victorie in this battell ſaith Ra. Hig. Horſe and Catigern ſlaine.

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In the other battels, when the Engliſhmen went euer awaie with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by courſe of fatall death, the which much differing from the ſoft and milde nature of his father, right noblie would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffered him to haue liued. But theſe battels which Wortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the ſuppoſed time of Wortimers or Guortimers atteining to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereto W. Harriſon giueth his conſent, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne to the 6 years of Martianus, 455 of Chriſt. Howbeit Polydor Virgil ſaith, that Wortimer ſucceeded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe the Engliſh Saxons, of whome there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer dailie like ſwarmes of bées, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onelie Kent, but alſo the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, togither with a great part of the weſt countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſudden they turned their weapons points againſt the Britains, and moſt cruellie purſued them, as though they had receiued ſome great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were marueilouſlie abaſhed herewith, perceiuing that they ſhould haue to dw with Hengiſt, a capteine of ſo high renowme, and alſo with their ancient enimies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage ſtirred vp manhod in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldlie began to reſiſt their enimies on ech ſide: but being too weake, they were eaſilie diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defenſe by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in deſpaire to preuaile againſt their enimies, they fled as ſheepe ſcattered abroad, ſome following one capteine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woods and mareſh grounds, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a preie vnto their enimies.

Polydor.

The Britains diſcomfited by the Scots.

Thus ſaith Polydor Virgil of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Wortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had vanquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decaied by the enimies inuaſion, whoſe drift was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but alſo to erect their owne lawes and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Sigebertus.

Vortigerne is reſtored to his regiment, *in what place he abode during the time of* his ſonnes reigne, Hengiſt with his Saxons re-*enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are ap-*pointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priuie *treaſon of Hengiſt and his power whereby the Bri-*tains were ſlaine like ſheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Gloceſter, Vortigerne is taken priſoner, Hengiſt is in poſſeſſion of three prouinces of this land, a deſcription of Kent.

The fift Chapter.

After all theſe bloudie broiles and tempeſtuous tumults ended, Vortigerne was reſtored and ſet againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his ſonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as ſome write) in that meane time he builded a ſtrong caſtle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the weſt ſide of Wales nere to the riuer of Guana, vpon a mounteine called Cloaricus, which ſome referre to be builded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affirmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towards his ſonne, in aiding him with his counſell, and otherwiſe in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne reigned, that the Britains by reaſon thereof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Wortimer they made him king againe.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 461. 471

Caerleon Arwiſike.

Shortlie after that Vortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the kingdom, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being admoniſhed, aſſembled his Britains, and with all ſpeed made towards him. When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Britains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a communication with Vortigerne, which requeſt was granted, ſo that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certeine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons ſhould meet togither vpon the plaine of Saliſburie. Hengiſt hauing deuiſed a new kind of treaſon, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, cauſed euerie one of his allowed number ſecretlie to put into his hoſe a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man ſhould bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie inſtant when this watchword ſhould be vttered by him, Nempt your ſexes, then ſhould euerie of them plucke out his knife, and ſlea the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the ſame ſhould be Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not ſlaine.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 4000. He might eaſilie returne, for except I be deceiued he was neuer driuen out after he had once ſet foot within this Ile.

Nempt your ſexes, what if it were meſſes

At the day aſſigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, miſtruſting nothing leſſe than anie ſuch maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before preſcribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengiſt readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in moſt louing ſort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengiſt meaning to accompliſh his deuiſed purpoſe, gaue the watchword, immediatlie whereupon the Saxons drew out their kniues, and ſuddenlie fell on the Britains, and ſlue them as ſheepe being fallen within the danger of wolues. For the Britains

There died of the nobles of Britaine 450. as Gal. ſaith.

Britains had no weapons to defend themselues, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Ran.Cestren. Fabian. Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Glocester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saued his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constreined to deliuer vnto Hengist three prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Essex, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countrie where the Essangles planted themselues, which was in Norfolke and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those three prouinces, suffered Vortigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

Gal.saith 70. Matth.West. Ran.Cestren.

Wil. Malm. ¶ William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose reigne, after the decease of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortigerne to come to a banket at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptieng of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter tawnt or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yeelding vp their ghosts euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons three prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yeere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yeere of Vortigerns last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift thereof, the same kingdome began in the yeere 455, and conteined the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Essex.

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Kingdome of Kent.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of *this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be* peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian *religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and* false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned *in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains* against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outerie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

The vj. Chapter.

HEngist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers Reguli, that is, little kings or rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid three prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countrie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decaied within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguish the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and worshipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaie, but also the erronious opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of such vnsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all maner of reprehension.

The decaie of christian religion.

Beda. Certeine yeeres before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteine saluation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

This erronious doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receiue it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought good to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Wherevpon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present need, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most meet to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallie arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through storms & rage of winds, stirred (as hath beene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their procéedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were soone brought into the right path againe.

Beda. A synod calld in Gallia.

Germanus and Lupus.

Beda. About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation tooke so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie forbeare to assist the Saxons, but contrarilie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did mainteine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined togither, they began afresh to make sore warres vpon the Britains,

Beda. Palladius.

Constantine king of Scots.

H. Hunt. Beda.

Britains, who of neceſſitie were conſtreined to aſſemble an armie, & miſtruſting their owne ſtrength, required aid of the two biſhops, Germane and Lupus, who haſting forward with all ſpeed came into the armie, bringing with them no ſmall hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being aſſembled. This was done in Kent.

Now ſuch was the diligence of the biſhops, that (the people being inſtructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earneſtlie came by troops to receiue the grace of God offred in baptiſme, ſo that on Eaſter day which then inſued, the more part of the armie was baptiſed, and ſo went forth againſt the enimies, who hearing thereof, made haſt towards the Britains, in hope to ouercome them at pleaſure. But their approch being knowne, biſhop Germane tooke vpon him the leading of the Britiſh hoſt, and ouer againſt the paſſage thorough the which the enimies were appointed to come, he choſe forth a faire vallie incloſed with high mounteins, and within the ſame he placed his new waſhed armie. And when he ſaw the enimies now at hand, he commanded that euerie man with one generall voice ſhould anſwer him, crieng aloud the ſame crie that he ſhould begin. So that euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Britains, ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue taken them at vnwares, and before anie warning had béen giuen, ſuddenlie biſhop Germane an^ the prieſts with a loud and ſhrill voice called Alleluia, ſhrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the ſame crie, with ſuch a lowd ſhout, that the Saxons were therewith ſo amazed and aſtonied (the echo from the rocks and hils adioining, redoubling in ſuch wiſe the crie) that they thought not onelie the rocks and cliffs had fallen vpon them, but that euen the ſkie it ſelfe had broken in péces and come tumbling downe vpon their heads: herewith therefore throwing awaie their weapons, they tooke them to their féet, and glad was he that might get to be formoſt in running awaie. Manie of them for haſt were drowned in a riuer which they had to paſſe. Polydor taketh that riuer to be Trent. The Britains hauing thus vanquiſhed their enimies, gathered the ſpoile at good leaſure, & gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holie biſhops alſo triumphed as beſt became them. Now after they had ſetled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearſed.)

The armie of the Britains newlie chriſtened.

Alleluia.

Matth. Weſt. 448.

By one author it ſhould appéere that this battell was wone againſt the Scots and Picts, about the yéere of our Lord 448, a little before the comming of the Saxons into this land vnder Hengiſt, in which yéere Germane firſt came hither to weed out the hereſie of Pelagius, as by the ſame author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, ſome chronographers alledge out of Proſper & other, and note the firſt comming of Germane to haue béene in the 429 yéere of Chriſt, and vnder the conſulſhip of Florentius and Dionyſius. And this ſhould ſéeme to agrée with the truth, for that after ſome, the foreſaid Germane ſhould die at Rauenna, about the yéere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yéere of the comming of the Saxons: notwithſtanding, when or whereſoeuer he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, vpon his firſt iournie made hither into this land, who no ſooner obteined the victorie before mentioned, but word was brought againe vnto him, that eftſoones the hereſie of the Pelagians was ſpread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the prieſts or clergie made requeſt to him that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to come ouer againe, and defend the cauſe of true religion which he had before confirmed.

Hereupon biſhop Germane granted ſo to do, and therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was diſciple vnto Lupus, and ordeined at that time biſhop of Triers) tooke the ſea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people ſtedfaſt in the ſame beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceiued the fault to reſt in a few: whereupon inquiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifeſt miracle by reſtoring a young man that was lame (as they ſaie) vnto the right vſe of his limbs, he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to perſuade amendment of errors, and by the generall conſent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being baniſhed the land, were deliuered vnto biſhop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conueie them away in their companie vnto the parties beyond the ſeas, that the region might ſo be deliuered of further danger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment.

Germane returneth againe into Britaine.

By this meanes it came to paſſe, that the true faith continued in Britaine ſound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus ſet in good order, thoſe holie men returned into their countries, the forenamed biſhop Germane went to Rauenna to ſue for peace to be granted vnto the people of Britaine Armorike, where being receiued of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placida in moſt reuerend maner, he departed in that citie out of this tranſitorie life, to the eternall ioies of heauen. His bodie was afterwards conueied to the citie of Aurerre, where he had béene biſhop with great opinion of holines for his ſincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortlie after was the emperour Valentinian ſlaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before cauſed to be put to death.

Anno 450, as Vincentius noteth, lib. 20. ca. 15.

The emperour Valentinian ſlaine.

¶ By this it maie appéere, that biſhop Germane came into this realme both the firſt and ſecond time, whileſt as well Hengiſt, as alſo Vortigerne were liuing: for the ſaid Valentinian was murthered about the yeere of our Lord 454, where the ſaid kings liued and reigned long after that time, as maie appéere both before and after in this preſent booke.

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What part of the realme the Saxons poſſeſſed, Vortigerne buildeth a caſtell in Wales for his ſafetie, Aurelius and Vter both brethren returne into Britaine, they aſſalt the vſurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the ſame, Vortigerne committeth inceſt with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a ſheepherd made a king.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

NOw will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we read in the Britiſh hiſtorie, that after the Saxons had conſtreined him to deliuer into their hands a great part of the ſouth and eaſt parts of the realme, ſo that they had in poſſeſſion London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Wincheſter, with other cities & townes, he not onelie fearing their puiſſance, but alſo the returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and his brother Vter pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a ſtrong caſtell vpon a mounteine called Brzeigh, or after other Cloaric, néere to the riuer of Guana, which is in the weſt ſide of Wales in a place within the compaſſe of the ſame hill called Generon

Galfrid. Caxton. Fabian. Polychron.

or

Mount Erir he calleth it in one place of his booke.

or Guetneren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the monstrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophesieng, the British histories tell a long processe, the which in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is also set forth, as there ye maie see: but for that the same seemeth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred in anie sound historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

Aurelius and Uter brethren returne into Britaine.

Whilest Uortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and Uter prepared a nauie of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and frends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Britains were aduertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all speed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of people, they marched forth towards Wales against Uortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approch,

Uortigerne burnt to death.

had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen diuers assaults to the said castell, they found meanes with

Wild fire not yet inuented as some think.

wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so consumed it by fire togither with the king, and all other that were within it.

Thus did Uortigerne end his life (as in the British historie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of him by the same historie, and also by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he should lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a sonne, in hope that kings should come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also said, that when the same S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Uortigerne on a time should denie the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and

Polychron. A feined tale of S. Germane.

slue a calfe for his supper, which calfe after supper was ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused Uortigerne to be deposed from his kinglie estate, and toke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his Polychronicon, alledging Gyldas for his author, saith that this chand to a ceking that ruled in Powsey, whose name was Bulie, and not to Uortigerne: so that the successors of that Bulie reigning in that side of Wales, came of the linage of the same heardman.

A British narration.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer it hath beene said (as one writer recordeth) that when Uortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue instructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king was lodged, and so the king being destroied with the fall of the house and the fire togither, was neuer after seene. ¶ But these are fables, and therfore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stuffe our old historiographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not so much regarding the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a pretended skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they presupposed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing streme of words void of reason and common sense. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an historie (defined to be *Rei verè gestæ memoria*) will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the same is so heauie: otherwise they would haue deposed matters conspiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to *Constantius created king of Britaine*, he incountereth with the Saxons, Hengist their *generall is beheaded*, *Occa his sonne submitteth* himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons *out of the land, repaireth places decaied, and restoreth religion*, the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisburie plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerns yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Vter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Osca and Occa his two sonnes make a fowle spoile of the west part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeablie passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

The eight Chapter.

Aurelius Ambrosius.

AUrelius Ambrose, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murthered by the treason of Uortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 481, which was about the third yeere of the reigne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odocer king of the Herulians then vsurping the gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambrosius had dispatched Uortigerne, and was now established king of the Britains, he made towards Yorke, and passing the riuer of Humber, incountred with the Saxons at a place called Maelbell, and ouerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fleeing to haue saued himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Gloucester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningsborow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester.

Matt. West. saith 466.

Gal. Mon.

Polyd

Hengist taken and beheaded.

Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yeere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Maelbell in the yeere 487, as the same authors do alledge. Occa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Yorke, and being there besieged, at length was constreined to yeeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauourablie with him, assigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering neere to the Scots, which (as some affirme) was Galloway, where the said Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, townes and also churches, as by them had beene destroied or defaced, and placed againe pastors, and such other as should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God in the same churches.

Matth. West.

Occa.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisburie by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftéene thousand men (as Galfrid saith) were sent for those stones, vnder the leading of Uter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Gillomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch away the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him.

Stoneheng.

Gal. Mon.

Shortlie

Shortlie after, Paſcentius that was Vortigerns yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britaine) returned with a great power of ſtrange nations, and toke the citie of Menevia in Wales, afterwards called ſaint Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and ſword. At which time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius lay ſicke at Wincheſter, and being not able to go forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Uter Pendragon to aſſemble an armie of Britains, and to go againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Uter, according to his brothers requeſt, gathering his people, went forth, and incountering with the enimies gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer with him in aid againſt the Britains.

In the meane while, a Saxon or ſome other ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fained himſelfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himſelfe a monke, and to haue great knowledge in phyſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicins to Aurelius: but in ſtead of that which ſhould haue brought him health, he gaue him poiſon, wherof he died ſhortlie after at Wincheſter aforeſaid, when he had reigned after moſt accord of writers nintéene yéeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the Britiſh and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Britaine borne, and deſcended of the bloud of the ancient Britains. But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a Romane by deſcent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor Virgil writeth in this ſort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius. Then (ſaith he) the Saxons hauing alreadie gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practiſed their outragious cruelties ſpeciallie againſt the princes of the Britains, to the end that the ſaid princes being ouercome and deſtroied, they might with more eaſe obteine poſſeſſion of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie ſought. But the fauour of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britains in that great neceſſitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hand, who had no ſooner cauſed the trumpet to ſound to armor, but euerie man for himſelfe prepared and repaired vnto him, praieng & beſeeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to go forth with them againſt the enimies in all ſpeed.

Thus an armie being aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius went againſt them, and valiantlie aſſailed them, ſo that within the ſpace of a few daies they fought three battels with great fiercenеſſe on both ſides, in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at length the Britains put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlaine with a great number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing out of Germanie a new ſupplie of men, they brake forth vpon the Britains with great confidence of victorie. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that without delaie he ſet forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was incamped about ſeuen & twentie miles diſtant from that citie, néere to the banke of a riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched forwards that place, and the next day ſet on the enimie and vanquiſhed him, Hengiſt at the firſt méeting of the battell being ſlaine, with a great number of the Germans. The fame of this victorie (ſaith Polydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, inſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhould be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonour, than to make anie new warres to their great diſaduantage and likelihod of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt left behind him two ſonnes, Oſca and and Occa, which as men moſt ſorowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, aſſembled ſuch power as they could togither, and remoued therewith towards the weſt part of the Ile, ſuppoſing it to be better for them to draw that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britains on that ſide. Now therefore when they came into the weſt parts of the land, they waſted the countrie, burnt villages, and abſteined from no maner of crueltie that might be ſhewed. Theſe things being reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, he ſtraightwaies haſted thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eſſoones diſcomfited them: but he himſelfe receiuing a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo manie loſſes within a few moneths togither, were contented to be quiet now that the Britains ſtirred nothing againſt them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble capteine as they had now loſt. In the meane time Uortimer died, whome Uter ſurnamed Pendragon ſucceeded.

Aurelius dieth of a wound

Uortimer departeth this life.

Thus hath Polydor written of the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in deed in ſundrie points in this behalfe from diuerſe ancient writers of the Engliſh hiſtories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the Britains in the battell fought, wherein Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlaine, by the report of Polychronicon, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie ſaith, that they departed from that batell with equall fortune, the Saxons loſing their capteine Horſus, and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as before ye haue heard.) But there is ſuch contrarietie in writers touching the doings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in thoſe daies, as well in account of yéeres, as in report of things done, that ſetting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credit.

Wil. Malm.

Katigerne.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yéere of our Lord 481, and Horſus was ſlaine about the yéere 458, during the reigne of Uortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtand with the truth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlaine by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuerſe ſuch maner of contrarieties ſhall ye find, in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe the ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to anie iuſt accord for the ſatiſfieng of all mens minds, ſpeciallie the curious, which may with diligent ſearch ſatiſfie themſelues happilie much better, than anie other ſhall be able to do in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agréeable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the waie to touch what diuerſe authors do write, leauing it ſo to euerie mans iudgement to conſtrue thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We find in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing van-

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Sigebertus.

quished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which by the invasion of the Saxons was greatlie decaied in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the yonger.

Matth. West. saith 488.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Southsaxons commonlie called Sussex, the* Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the *Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene* the English and British chronographers about *the battels fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning of the Kentish kingdome*, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

The ninth Chapter.

Ella entred this land as Matt. West. saith ann. 477.

IN the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Cissa, came out of Germanie with three ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneuesshore, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredescester, and so toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yeere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, should be about the second yeere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yeere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yeere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yeeres sooner.

The kingdom of the Southsaxons doth begin.

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William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his words are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arriuall, and reigned 32 yeeres, the chiefe citie of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should therto ad mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, whereof alreadie we haue superfluous store. To proceed therefore as I find.

About the ninth yeere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons still inlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselues togither vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Mecredesbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the British histories, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the maner of his death: as thus. After that Vortimer was dead, who departed this life (as some write) in the first yeere of the emperor Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in the yeere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca gathered their people togither that were before sparkled, and hauing also receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britans at a place called Crekenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capteins, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelfe yeere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yeeres.

Polychron.

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Henrie Hunt. Wil. Malm.

Creiford.

Britains ouerthrowne.

It is remembred that those Germans which latelie were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being chosen men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their axes and swords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crekenford or Creiford, which Britains were ranged in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the first yeere of the said emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yeere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca fought at Wipets field in Kent, nere to a place called Long with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capteins, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one capteine called Wipet, of whom the place after that daie toke name.

Polychron.

Hen. Hunt.

Wipets field. Matth. West. This battell was fought anno 473. as the same Mat. West. noteth. wipet. H. Hunt.

This victorie was nothing plesant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they sustained, as well by the death of the said Wipet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilest outward wars ceassed among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themselues, one striuing against another. Finallie, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yeere after his first comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile than with force and strength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentlenesse. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiue rather to defend than to inlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yeeres, in the which he reigned.

Fortie yeeres saith H. Hunt.

By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the land after he had once set foot within it. Matt. West. H. Hunt.

About three yeeres after the decease of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Sussex, who hauing his power increased, besieged the citie of Andredesester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling togither in companies, greatlie annoied the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laieng ambushes to destroie such as went abroad, and ceassing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare themselues to giue the assalt, but the Britains were readie to assaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselues into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assalt, and the other to incounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finallie by that meanes preuailed, toke the citie, and destroied man, woman and child. Neither so

The citie of Andredesester.

conten-

contented, they did alſo vtterlie race the ſaid citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The eaſt Angles kingdome beginneth, *the arriuall of Cerdic and Kenric with fiue* ſhips of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains *to flight, the weſt Saxons kingdom begineth,* Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon *of his name, he taketh Occa and Oſca the two ſonnes of Hengiſt* priſoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornewalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Oſca eſcape out of priſon, they freſhlie aſſault the Britains, they are both ſlaine in a foughten field, the Saxons ſend and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poiſoned.

The tenth Chapter.

The kingdome of the eaſt Angles began not till Iuſtinus Cornanus reigned. 561

MOreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambroſius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the eaſt Angles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This ſame kingdome conteined Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the eaſt and north parts the ſea, on the northweſt Cambridgeſhire, and on the weſt ſaint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the ſouthſide lieth Eſſex. At the firſt it was called Uffines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſt named Uffines, but at length they were called eaſt Angles.

Cerdic. Wil. Malm. 495 Fabian. Polychron. Wil. Malm.

FVrthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with fiue ſhips, and landed at a place called Cerdicſhore, which as ſome thinke is called Yermouth in Northfolke. He was at the firſt receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warriour, he eaſilie beate backe and repelled the inconſtant multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flee: by which good ſucceſſe he procured both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtance, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then giue himſelfe to ſlouthfull reſt, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on ech ſide, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obteined the rule of the weſt parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, ſo that the kingdome of the weſt Saxons began vnder the ſaid Cerdicus in the 519 of Chriſt, as after ſhall be ſhewed. 520

¶ Thus ye maie ſee, that Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceed Uortigerne, and reigned in the time ſuppoſed by the Britiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains ſore vered by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britains were dailie hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiant Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to proceed with the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as in their hiſtories we find them regiſtred, which I deliuer ſuch as I find, but not ſuch as I do wiſh, being written with no ſuch colour of credit as we maie ſafelie put forth the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Uter Pendragon (whome ſome call Aurelius Uterius Ambroſianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the ſeuenth yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the ſixteenth yeare of Clodoueus king of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why he was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie marueilouſlie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blaſing ſtar, as is reported. But others ſuppoſed he was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſerpentine ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Uter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Otta the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca had beſieged the citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell, diſcomfited their power, and toke the ſaid Occa and Oſca priſoners Matth. Weſt. noteth. 500

From this varieth Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit monke, which poiſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſuborned and ſent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the ſelfeſame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Uter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had bene much vered. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go againſt the Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius his death were verie buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and ſent forth with all conuenient ſpeed vnder the leading of one Pathalio, a man neither of anie great ancient houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. Hector Boet.

The noble men were nothing pleaſed herewith, as miſliking altogither the lacke of diſcretion in their new king, & doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of baſe degree, than ſuch as were deſcended of noble parentage. Yet becauſe they would not put the ſtate of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agreed to go forth with him in that iourniе. Occa had aduertiſement giuen him by certeine letters ſent to him from ſome cloſe friends amongeſt the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better ſpeed, he haſted forth to incounter the Britains, and ſo the whole armie comming within ſight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and ſhortlie after buckling togither, the Britains were ſone diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt capteins called Gothlois diſdaining to be at the appointment of Pathaliod, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they ſeeing began by & by to flee. There died no great number of the Britains, except thoſe that were killed in the fight: for Occa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, would not ſuffer the Saxons to follow the chaſe, but in the night following Gothlois got him awaie, and reſted not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an herald vnto king Uter with a certeine meſſage, threatning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to do that which he ſhould appoint.

Uter perceiuing what diſloialtie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiects, agreed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wiſe councellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all con-

trouerſies and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Dcca was likewiſe contented therewith, whereupon were named on either part foure perſons, of ſuch wiſedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meeteſt for the ordering of ſuch a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and doome of thoſe eight perſons authoriſed thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine articles of agreement, amongſt the which the chiefeſt was, that the Saxons from thenceforth ſhould quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore againſt the Almaine ſeas, the ſame to be called euer after Engliſhlaund, and all the reſidue ſhould remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne vnto Vter according to that we find in the Britiſh hiſtories, and to proceed after our owne hiſtorians; we find, that when he had vanquiſhed the Saxons and taken their two chiefe teins priſoners, in proceſſe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he ſlue at length neere to his owne caſtell called Diuulioc in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the ſaid ladie, whome he afterwards maried, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Dcca and Oſca eſcaping alſo out of priſon aſſembled eftſoones a power of Saxons, and made warre againſt the Britains, whereof Vter hauing aduertiſement prepared to reſiſt them, and finallie went himſelfe in perſon againſt them, and at ſaint Albans (as ſome write) gaue them battell, and ſlue them both in the field.

Gorolus duke of Cornewall.

Harding.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it ſhould ſeeme that Germane the biſhop of Aurerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Vter, by whoſe preſence the Britains had victorie againſt the Saxons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both reſted from troubling either other for a time. The Saxons as it were aſtonied with that preſent miracle, & the Britains not following their good ſucceſſe, ſhortlie after fell at diſcord amongſt themſelues, which finallie brought them to vtter decaie, as after ſhall appeare. But the Saxons deſirous to ſpoile the Britains of the whole poſſeſſion of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of ſmall ſtrength to be defended, they got them to an high mounteine called Badon hill, which Polydor ſuppoſeth to be Blackamore that lieth neere to the water of Theiſe, which diuideth the biſhoprike of Durham from Yorkeſhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meet to receiue ſuch ſhips as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons loked for aid, hauing alreadie ſent thither for the ſame.

Badon hill.

The Britains being thereof aduertiſed, made haſt towards the place, and beſieged it on euerie ſide. They alſo laie the ſea coaſts full of ſouldiers, to keepe ſuch of the enimies from landing as ſhould come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themſelues for a certeine ſpace aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end conſtreined through want of victels, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with ſuch ſlaughter, that the earth on euerie ſide flowed with bloud: but the Saxons ſuſteined the greater loſſe, their capteins Dcca and Oſca being both ſlaine, ſo that the Britains might ſeeme quite deliuered of all danger of thoſe enimies: but the fatall deſtinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the ſlaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hill, whereof Gyldas maketh mention, and chanced the ſame yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

Gyldas.

492 The death of Vter Pendragon.

About the ſame time Vter departed out of this life (ſaith Polydor) ſo that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of thoſe authors, whome Fabian and other haue followed. For either we muſt preſuppoſe, that Vter reigned beyond the time appointed to him by the ſaid authors, either elſe that the ſiege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it ſhould ſeeme in deed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter ſhall be alſo ſhewed. Finallie (according to the agreement of the Engliſh writers) Vter Pendragon died by poiſon, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 yeares, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwiſe called *Choreas Gigantum*, leauing his ſonne Arthur to ſucceed him. ¶ Here ye muſt note that the Scotiſh chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obteined victorie againſt the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the ſame warres, and ſo likewiſe did the Picts, but the ſame chronicles do not onelie varie from the Britiſh writers in account of yeares, but alſo in the order of things done, as in the ſame chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the diſcourſe of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Vter. For whereas the Britiſh hiſtories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praiſe vnto the ſame Vter for his victories atchiued againſt the Saxons and their king Dcca, whome he ſlue in battell, and obteined a great victorie, the Scotiſh writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the preſence of biſhop Germane he obteined victorie in one battell againſt them: but ſhortlie after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were diſcomfited, although Dcca in following the chaſe ouer raſhlie chanced to be ſlaine: after whoſe deceaſſe the Saxons ordeined his ſonne named alſo Dcca to ſucceed in his place, who to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt all his enimies, ſent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Dccas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, ſituate betweene Tine and Tweed, as in the Scotiſh chronicles may further appeare.

Stoneheng. Chorea Gigantum.

Oſca.

Alſo this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got againſt the Saxons by the Britains, at what time Germane biſhop of Aurerre was preſent: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by authoritie of Veremond that wrote the Scotiſh chronicles) to haue chanced the ſecond time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his firſt being here. Againe the ſame Boetius writeth, that the ſame victorie chanced in the daies of Vter Pendragon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda writeth, touching the time of the death of the ſaid Germane: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is ſaid, Vter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the ſame Hector Boetius ſaith 503, ſo that biſhop Germane was dead long before that Vter began to reigne.

In deed ſome writers haue noted, that the third battell which Mortimer fought againſt the Saxons, was the ſame wherein S. Germane was preſent, and procured the victorie with the crie of Alleluia, as before ye haue heard. Which ſeemeth to be more agreeable to truth, and to ſtand alſo with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being here of the ſaid Germane, that the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the

reigne

reigne of Uter. The like is to be found in the reſidue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time ſpeciallie of the reignes of the Britiſh kings that gouerned Britaine about that ſeaſon. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but ſeuen yeares, and then ſucceeded Uter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

¶ Notwithſtanding the premiſſes, here is to be remembred, that what ſoeuer the Britiſh writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Uter had againſt the Saxons, and how that Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt ſhould be ſlaine in battell by him and his power: in thoſe old writers which haue regiſtred the acts of the Engliſh Saxon kings we find no ſuch matter, but rather that after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, his ſonne Oſca or Occa reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not ſeeking to inlarge it (as before is touched.) After whoſe death his ſonne Oth, and Irmenrike ſonne to the ſame Oth ſucceeded, more reſembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are aſſigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned ſointlie togither, or ſeuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceiued.

Oſca. 24 ſaith Henrie Hunt. in corrupted copies.

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Porteſmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are ouethrowen and ſlaine, the kingdome of the weſt Saxons beginneth, the compaſſe or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was inlarged.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw will we breefelie diſcourſe vpon the incidents which firſt happened during the reigne of Uter Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two ſons Wegla and Weda came on land at Porteſmouth in Suſſer, about the beginning of the ſaid Uters reigne, and ſlue a noble yong man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner ſort with him. Of this Porth the towne & hauen of Porteſmouth tooke the name, as ſome haue thought. Moreouer, about 40 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengiſt, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britains, aſſembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſtſaxons, who vnderſtanding of the great power of his enimies, required aid of Oſca king of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſer, and of Porth and his ſonnes which were latelie before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, diuided the ſame into two battels, reſeruing the one to himſelfe, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus led, was of more ſtrength than the other which Kenrike gouerned, he ſet firſt vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſilie ouercome the other. Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon that wing, that by verie force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike ſaw, he made forward with all ſpeed to ſuccour his father, and rushing in amongſt the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that daie 5000 men, and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as well as they might. In the firſt yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with three ſhips, and landed at Certicesford, and ouerthrew a number of Britains that came againſt them in order of battell, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephues being valiant and hardie capteins, the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Ciſſa, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

Porth entred this land about the yeare of our Lord ſor as Matth. Weſt. noteth.

Hariſon ſuppoſeth the riuer to be called Ports, as for the word mouth, is the fall of anie freſh riuer into the ſea.

The Britains ouerthrowne.

Matth. Weſt. Henr. Hunt. Stuff and Wightgar. Matth. Weſt. noteth the yeare of their arriuall to be 514.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certicesford, where the capteins of the Britains ſtood to it manfullie: but in the end they were diſcomfited, and great ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had beene, if the night comming on had not parted them, and ſo manie were ſaued.

Henr. Hunt. Britains ouerthrowne by the Saxons.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Weſtſaxons, & ſo began the ſame kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Hariſon noteth) in the yeere of Chriſt 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Juſtinus Anicius emperour of the eaſt, the firſt and third of the renowned prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning ouer the Britains. The ſaid kingdome alſo conteined the countries of Wiltſhire, Summerſetſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the eaſt Hamſhire, on the north the riuer of Thames, and on the ſouth and weſt the Ocean ſea. Howbeit, at the firſt the kings of the Weſtſaxons had not ſo large dominions, but they dailie wan ground vpon the Britains, and ſo in the end by inlarging their confines, they came to inioy all the foreſaid countries, and the whole at the laſt.

The kingdom of weſtſaxons

In the ninth yeere of the reigne of Certicus, he eftſoones fought with the Saxons at Certicesford aforeſaid, where great ſlaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times paſt called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this ſeaſon at ſundrie times diuers great companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countries of Mercia and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercia had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certeine noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters inſued, with a common waſte of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouſlie minded, & heaping to themſelues ſuch powers as they were able to make, by ſword and bloudſhed choſe rather to haue their fortune decided, than by reaſon to ſuppreſſe the rage of their vnruſie affections. For ſuch is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be intereſſed to it by ſucceſſion, or poſſeſſed of it by vſurpation, or placed in it by lawfull conſtitution, (vnleſſe they be guided by ſome ſupernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one ſeeketh to aduance himſelfe to a ſingularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie eaſilie be obſerued in this our hiſtoreall diſcourſe.

Certicesford.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons, what it conteined, of Arthur,* king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the *Saxons against whome he maintained continuall* warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie *and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of* the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornewall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued; Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

The twelfe Chapter.

Erchenwin. The kingdom of the Eastsaxons.

IN those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the cheefe citie whereof was London. It conteined in effect so much as at this present belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the first in lineall descent from one Sarnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yeere of the erection of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the Westsaxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the comming of the Saxons. In the 13 yeere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Witgarsbridge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about foure yeeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stuffe and Witgar.

Arthur. After the decease of Uter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yeeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yeere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yeere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodorike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some worthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in deed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

516 Matth. West. hath noted 518

But truth it is (as diuers authors agree) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scotish histories is conteined, euen at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts seemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, bicause they had maried the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in mariage Aida their yonger sister, so that bicause Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certeine conditions, as in the Scotish historie is expressed, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

¶ The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Dubright bishop of Caerleon) went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulke, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obteined succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fifténe hundred sailes one with an other.

Yorke besieged.

Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. Matt. West. saith but 700.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all speed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fifténe thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled togither, marched forward to Lincolne, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obteined the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left aliue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constreined to yéeld themselues, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horsse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Howell king of Britaine commeth out in aid of Arthur.

Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.

Hereupon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arriued at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, inuaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched forth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by anie meanes to enter there, whereupon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed hereof, with all speed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

Bath besieged.

men.

The Saxons ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.

There were ſlaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Cheldrike himſelfe fled out of the field towards his ſhips, but being purſued by Cador earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thouſand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was ouertaken and in fight ſlaine with all his people. Arthur himſelfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all ſpeed towards the marches of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertiſement, how the Scots had beſieged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay ſicke. Also when Cador had accomplished his enterprize and ſlaine Cheldrike, he returned with as much ſpeed as was poſſible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he reſcued Howell, and afterwards purſued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

Cheldrike ſlaine by Cador duke of Cornwall.

K. Howell beſieged by the Scots.

About the ſame time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotland with a mightie power of Iriſhmen (nære the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots againſt the Britains: whereupon Arthur turning his forces towards the ſame Guillomer, vanquiſhed him, and chaſed him into Ireland. This done, he continued in purſute of the Scots, till he cauſed them to ſue for pardon, and to ſubmit themſelues wholie to him; and ſo receiuing them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke, and ſhortlie after toke to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was nære kinſwoman to Cador earle of Cornwall.

Guillomer.

Guenhera.

In the yære following, which ſome note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and diſcomfiting king Guillomer in battell, he conſtreined him to yéeld, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in thoſe Britiſh hiſtories, that he ſubdued Gothland and Iſeland, with all the Iles in and about thoſe ſeas. Also that he ouercame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capteine Lucius, and walked the moſt part of all France, and ſlue in ſingular combats certeine giants that were of paſſing force and hugeneſſe of ſtature. And if he had not béene reuoked and called home to reſiſt his coſen Mordred, that was ſonne to Loth king of Pightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had paſſed to Rome, intending to make himſelfe emperor, and afterward to vanquiſh the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for ſo much as there is not ante approued author who doth ſpeake of ante ſuch doings, the Britains are thought to haue regiſtred méere fables in ſted of true matters, vpon a vaine deſire to aduance more than reaſon would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue done their Rouland, and diuerſe others.

W. Harison. 525.

Gothland.

Arthur is reſiſted by Mordred the vſurper *from arriuing in his owne land, they* ioine battell, Gawaine is ſlaine and his death *lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is* ſlaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the *place of his buriall, his bodie digged vp, his bigneſſe* coniecturable by his bones, a croſſe found in his toome with an inſcription therevpon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, Iohn Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

The xiij. Chapter.

KIng Arthur at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had cauſed himſelfe to be made king, & hauing alied himſelfe with Cheldrike a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye haue heard, ſuppoſeth to haue béene wounded & ſlaine before) was readie to reſiſt his landing, ſo that before he could come on land, he loſt manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and ſo toke land at Sandwich, where he firſt arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he diſcomfited them, but not without great loſſe of his people: ſpeciallie he ſore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than nérenеſſe of bloud and coſenage, choſe rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maiſter, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniuſt cauſe, and ſo there in the battell was ſlaine, togither alſo with Angуſſell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ſhips ſailed weſtward, and finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur cauſed the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as some hold opinion:) but William Malmeſburie ſuppoſeth, he was buried in Wales, as after ſhall be ſhewed. The dead bodie of Angуſſell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all ſpeed he reinforced his armie with new ſupplies of ſouldiers called out of diuerſe parties, and with his whole puiſſance haſted forward, not reſting till he came nére to the place where Mordred was incamped, with ſuch an armie as he could aſſemble togither out of all parties where he had anie friends. ¶ Here (as it appéareth by Iohn Leland, in his booke intituled, The aſſertion of Arthur) it may be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geffrey of Monmouth meweth, that after Arthur had diſcomfited Mordred in Kent at the firſt landing, it chanced ſo that Mordred eſcaped and fled to Wincheſter, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the ſecond time, did alſo put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought ſtiffones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as ſome authors haue) nére vnto Glaſtenburie.

Rather Cerdicke as Leland thinketh.

Gawaine buried at Douer

This battell was fought to ſuch prowſe, that finallie Mordred was ſlaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the ſame ſhortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yéeres. His corps was buried at Glaſtenburie aforeſaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the ſecond, about the yéere of our Lord 1191, which was in the laſt yéere of the reigne of the ſame Henrie, more than ſir hundred yéeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot déepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Saxons ſhould haue found him. But thoſe that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about ſeuen foot déepe into the earth, they found a mightie broad ſtone with a leaden croſſe faſtened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, conteining this inſcription:

Richard Turner.

Hic iacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in inſula Auaioniæ.

This inſcription was grauen on that ſide of the croſſe which was next to the ſtone: ſo that till the croſſe was taken from the ſtone, it was vnſéene. His bodie was found, not incloſed within a tome of marble or other ſtone curiouſlie wrought, but within a great trée made hollowe for the nonce like a trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of ſuch maruellous bigneſſe, that the ſhinbone of his leg being ſet on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man: as a monke of that abbeie hath

hath written, which did liue in those daies, and saw it. ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrensis (who also liued in those daies, and spake with the abbat of the place, by whom the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth, that by report of the same abbat, he learned, that the shinbone of the said Arthur being set vp by the leg of a verie tall man (the which the abbat shewed to the same Gyraldus) came aboue the knée of the same man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore the skull of his head was of a wonderfull largenesse, so that the space of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a span broad. There appéered in his head the signes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wem, except onelie that whereof it should séeme he died, which being greater than the residue, appéered verie plaine. Also in opening the tome of his wife quéene Gueneuer, that was buried with him, they found the tresses of hir haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour like to the burnished gold, which being touched, immediatlie fell to dust. The abbat, which then was gouernour of the house, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwise de Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the second (by whose commandement he had serched for the graue of Arthur) translated the bones as well of him as of quéene Gueneuer, being so found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double tome of marble, laieng the bodie of the king at the head of the tome, and the bodie of the quéene at his féet towards the west part. ¶ The writer of the historie of Cambria now called Wales saith, that the bones of the said Arthur, and Gueneuer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that is, the Ile of Apes) without the abbeie of Glastenbury, fiftéene féet within the ground, & that his graue was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the king heard at Penbroke singing the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Henricus Blecensis seu Solisacensis. Io. Leland.

Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

Iohn Leland in his booke intituled Assertio Arthuri, *hath for the woorthie memorie of so noble a prince, honored him with a learned epitaph, as heere followeth.*

SAxonicas toties qui fudit Marte cruento
Who vanquisht Saxon troops so oft, with battels bloudie broiles,
Turmas, & peperit spolijs sibi nomen opimis,
And purchast to himselfe a name with warlike wealthie spoiles,
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit ense,
Who hath with shiuering shining sword, the Picts so oft dismaid,
Imposuítque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:
And eke vnweldie seruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroces
Who Frenchmen puft with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
Discomfited, and danted Danes with maine and martiall might:
Denique Mordredum è medio qui sustulit illud
Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,
Monstrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, sæuúmque tyrannum,
That monster grislie, lothsome, huge, that diresome tyrant fell,
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
Heere liueles Arthur lies intoomd, within this statelie hearse,
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
Of chiualrie the bright renowme, and vertues nursling fearse:
Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
Whose glorie greate now ouer all the world dooth compasse flie,
Aetherijque petit sublimia tecta Tonantis.
And of the airie thunder skales the lostie building hie.
Vos igitur gentis proles generosa Britannæ,
Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,
Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro,
Arise vnto your emperour great, of thrice renowmed grace,
Et tumulo sacro roseas inferte corollas,
And cast vpon his sacred toome the roseall garlands gaie,
Officij testes redolentia munera vestri.
That fragrant smell may witnesse well, your duties you displaie.

¶ These verses I haue the more willinglie inserted, for that I had the same deliuered to me turned into English by maister Nicholas Roscarocke, both right aptlie yeelding the sense, and also properlie answering the Latine, verse for verse.

Vpon what occasion the graue of king *Arthur was sought for, the follie of such* discouered as beleeued that he should returne *and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it* be a fiction or a veritie that there was such an Arthur *or no; discordance among writers about the place of Gawains* buriall and Arthurs death; of queene Gueneuer the wife of king Arthur, hir beautie and dishoneſt life, great disagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wiues to the impeachment of the historie, of his life and death.

The xiiij. Chapter.

THe occasion that moued king Henrie the second to cause his nephue the foresaid abbat to search for the graue of king Arthur, was, for that he vnderstood by a Welsh minstrell or Bardh (as they call him) that could sing manie histories in the Welsh language of the acts of the ancient Britains, that in the forsaid churchyard at Glastenburie, betwixt the said two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found fortéene foot déepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth, that the trée in the which Arthurs bodie was found so inclosed, was an oke, but other suppose that it was an alder trée, bicause that in the same place a great number of that kind of trées do grow, and also for that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder ground where moisture is, will long continue without rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue heard) such as hitherto beléeued that he was not dead, but conueied awaie by the fairies into some pleasant place, where he should remaine for a time, and then to returne againe, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before, might well perceiue themselues deceiued in crediting so vaine a fable. But yet (where it might otherwise be doubted, whether anie such Arthur was at all, as the British histories mention, bicause neither Gyldas nor Beda in their works speake anie thing of him) it may appéere, the circumstances considered, that suerly such one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diuerse points so famous as some writers paint him out. William Malmesburie a writer of good credit and authoritie amongst the learned, hath these words in his first booke intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, saieng: But he being dead [meaning Uortimer] the force of the Britains waxed féeble, their decaied hope went backward apace: and euen then suerlie had they gon to destruction, if Ambrosius (who alone of the Romans remained yet aliue, and was king after Uortigerne) had not kept vnder and staied the lostie barbarous people, that is to say the Saxons, by the notable aid and assistance of the valiant Arthur.

As for example in a causéere a water called pond perilous at Shalisburie, where he and his knights should sleepe armed, till an other knight should be borne that should come and awake them.

Will. Malmes. *lib. 1. de regibus Ang.*

This is the same Arthur, of whom the trifling tales of the Britains euen to this day fantasticallie do descant and report wonders: but worthie was he doubtlesse, of whom feined fables should not haue so dreamed, but rather that true histories might haue set forth his worthie praises, as he that did for a long season susteine and hold vp his countrie that was readie to go to vtter ruine and decaie, incouraging the bold harts of the Britains vnto the warre, and finallie in the siege of Badon hill, he set vpon nine hundred of the enimies, and with incredible slaugh-

ter

ter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the Engliſh Saxons, although they were toſſed with ſundrie haps of fortune, yet ſtill they renewed their bands with new ſuplies of their countriemen that came out of Germanie, and ſo with bolder courage aſſailed their enimies, and by little and little cauſing them to giue place, ſpread themſelues ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which ſometime the Saxons and ſometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that were ſlaine, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countriemen, being called in and ſent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Here is alſo to be noted, that where the Britiſh hiſtorie declareth, that Gawaine or Gallowine being ſlaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer, ſo that his bones remained there to be ſhewed a long time after: yet by that which the foreſaid William Malmeſburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie maie ſeeme true: his words are theſe. Then (ſaith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthie an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Walwichia, a knight for his high proweſſe moſt highlie renowned, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephue of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſt booke we haue made mention, firſt requiting his baniſhment with great detriment and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſert of his vncles worthie praiſe, for that he ſtaied (for a great manie yeres) the deſtruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decaie. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: yet the others tome (as I haue ſaid) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteined in length foureteene foot, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwracke. But other write, that he was ſlaine at a publike feaſt or banket by his owne countriemen. Thus ſaith William Malmeſburie.

Gawaine where he is buried.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. de regib.

¶ But here you muſt conſider, that the ſaid Malmeſburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, certeine yers before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as needles to be controuerſſed, & letting all diſſonant opinions of writers paſſe, as a matter of no ſuch moment that we ſhould need to ſticke therein as in a glewpot; we will proceed in the reſidue of ſuch collections as we find neceſſarilie pertinent to the continuation of this hiſtorie; and now we will ſay ſomewhat of queene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foreſaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that ſhe tooke hir name of hir excellent beautie, becauſe Guinne or Guenne in the Welſh tong ſignifieth faire, ſo that ſhe was named Guennere or rather Guenlhean, euen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the houſe of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur maried hir: and as it appeareth by writers, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to hir huſband, in maner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie eſcape the venemous blaſt of euill tongs, and the ſharpe aſſaults of the followers of Venus. The Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onelie abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence ſhe conſented to take him to huſband. It is likewiſe found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur beſieged on a time the mariſhes neere to Glaſtenburie, for diſpleaſure that he bare to a certeine lord called Melua, who had raviſhed Guenuer, and led hir into thoſe mariſhes, and there did keepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtanding (as before is recited) was interred togither with Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth) of which the latter (ſaith he) was buried with him, and hir bones found with his in one ſepulchre, but yet ſo diuided, that two parts of the towne towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the feet conteined the womans bones, apart by themſelues. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwiſe of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & alſo that Guenuer being taking priſoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finallie ſhe died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scotiſh chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had three ſundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Guenuer, as ſir Iohn Price doth auouch that he had. Now becauſe of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchiued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongſt them, about the time in which he ſhould reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole hiſtorie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ But others there be of a conſtant beleefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that ſuch a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into neceſſarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a ſpech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the Britiſh bloud, diſcharging a ſhort but yet a ſharpe inuectiue againſt William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuſeth of lieng tongs, enuious detraction, malicious ſlander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankerd minds; for that they ſpeake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning thoſe thriſenoble princes. Which defenſitiue he would not haue depoſed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities.

David Pow. pag. 238, 239.

The Britiſh hiſtories and alſo the Scotiſh chronicles do agree, that he liued in the daies of the emperour Iuſtinian, about the fiftéenth yeare of whoſe reigne he died, which was in the yeare of our Lord 542, as diuerſe do affirme. Howbeit ſome write farther from all likelihod, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeare of Cerdicus king of Weſtſaxons, Arthur the warriour roſe againſt the Britains. Alſo Diouionenſis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he aroſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irkeſomnes, after the twelfth yeare of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage done and fealtie receiued, the ſhires of Southampton and Somerſet, the which countries Cerdicus named Weſtſaxon. This Cerdicius or Cerdicus came into Britaine about the yeare of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his comming hither, that is to ſay, about the yeare of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Weſtſaxons, and gouerned them as king by the ſpace of 15 yeares, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the courſe of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we muſt allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and ſo proceed.

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Aurea hiſtoria. I. Leland.

Weſtſaxon.

The

The decaie of christian religion and receiuing of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redressed: Constantine succeedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the crowne, the chalengers are pursued, and slaine, Constantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gyldas against the British rulers of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Constantine slue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the seuere reprehensions of Gyldas vttered against Conan, discouering the course of his life, and a secret prophesie of his death.

The xv Chapter.

IN this meane while that the realme was disquieted with sore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Saxons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwiske, and his successour David, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and restablishing of the truth.

The heresie of the Pelagians renued, Hist. Mag. Dubritius & David lerned bishops.

Constantine.

AFter the death of Arthur, his cosine Constantine the sonne of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yere of the emperour Justinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of France, and the first yeere well neere complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he shuld die, ordeined this Constantine to succéd him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the sonnes of Mordred sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Hereupon followed ciuill warre, so that diuers battels were striken betweene them, and in the end the two brethren were constreined to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had done the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortlie after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre against him, who ioining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yéres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside his ancestour Uter Pendragon.

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Galfrid. Matth. West.

Ciuill warre.

Aurelius Conanus. Constantine slaine.

Of this Constantine that seemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled *De excidio Britanniæ*, where inueieng against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes péeling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whom? such as be guiltie persons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselues; vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but maintéining ciuill & vniust warres; pursuing indeed théeues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onelie cherishing those that sit euen at table with them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing almesse largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldome séeking the rule of righteous iudgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen vp to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murtherers, théeues and adulterers, yea the verie professed enimies of God; if he would so permit: kéeping manie in prison, whome they oppresse, in loding them with irons, through craft rather to serue their owne purpose, than for anie gilt of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortlie after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the lioneesse of Deuonshire is not ignorant, who this yeare, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that in no wise he should hurt his subiects (God first, and then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his mother being there present) did notwithstanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of téeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailes of two childzen of noble and kinglie race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongest the sacred altars: the armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselues with weapons (the which few in those daies handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, shall set vp the reuerent ensignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue couered the seat of the celestiall sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered bloud.

Gyldas.

These things he did not after anie good déeds done by him deseruing praise: for manie yeares before, ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating the church, but neither being losed from the snares of his former euils, he increaseth the new with the old. ¶ Thus in effect hath Gyldas written of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he reprooueth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

Conanus.

AFter that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresaid Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Justinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, free and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Moreouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that toke his vncle, who of right should haue béene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vncle. But God would not suffer him long to inioy the rule of the land in such vniust dealing, for

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Matth. West. writeth that he reigned 35 yeares.

he

he died after he had reigned the ſpace of two yeares, and left a ſonne behind him called Uortiporus, which ſucceeded him in the kingdome, as authors do record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predeceſſor Conſtantine, ſaieng in this wiſe: And thou lions whelpe, as ſaith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doſt thou? Art thou not ſwallowed vp in the filthie mire of murthering thy kinſmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlie, as it were with the waues and ſurges of the drenching ſeas ouerwhelming thée with hir vnmercifull rage? Doeſt thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie ſerpent, and thirſting after ciuill wars and ſpoiles (oftentimes vniuſtlie gotten) ſhut vp againſt thy ſoule the gates of celeſtiall peace and refreſhment? Thou being left alone as a withering trée in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praie thée) the vaine youthfull fantaſie and ouertimelie death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being ſet apart, and choſen forth of all thy linage for thy godlie deſerts, be reſerued to liue an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methuſalem? No no. And after theſe reprehenſions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and ſo proceedeth to talke with Uortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of Southwales, as after ſhall be rehearſed.

The beginning of the kingdome of *Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mertia*, and weſt Saxons deſcended, Ida the Saxon *commended, the originall of the kingdome of* Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the gouernour *of the ſame, when the partition of the kingdome of* Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquiſheth the Saxons; Gyldas ſharplie reproueth Vortiporus for manie grecuous offenſes, and exhorteth him to amendement.

The xvj. Chapter.

Ida. 547. Anno. The kingdom of Brenitia. begen.

IN the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the firſt yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, & deſcended of Woden. For where the ſaid Woden had three ſonnes, Weldeccius, Withlegris, and Beldecius; of the firſt, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the ſecond, the kings of Mertia: and of the third ſonne came the kings of Weſt ſaxon, and alſo of him was this Ida deſcended, being the ninth in lineall ſucceſſion from the ſaid Beldecius and the tenth from Woden. The ſame Ida was vndoubtedlie a right noble perſonage, and changed firſt that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were ſubiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he toke vpon him of his owne accord to vſurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the ſame was giuen to him by conſent of other, the certeintie appeareth not. But ſure it is, that he being a worthie prince, did not degenerate from his noble anceſtors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifieng his kinglie ſeueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is ſaid) Brenitia, began in the ſouth at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the Forth in Scotland, in the Britiſh tong called Werd.

Ella. 561. The beginning of the kingdome of Deira.

About the ſame time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon alſo reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the ſaid riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the ſouth. Theſe two kingdomes were ſometime gouerned by two ſeuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in proceſſe of time was much inlarged, ſo that it included the ſhires of Yorke, Notingham, Darbie, Lancaſter, the biſhoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the eaſt and the weſt ſeas, euen vnto the riuer of Merſie. The foreſaid Ella was ſonne to Iffus, being deſcended from Woden, as the 12 in ſucceſſion from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the ſame Malmesburie doth teſtifie) reigned 14 yeares. The riuer of Merſie.

Now Ella who was ſucceſſor to Ida (as he ſaith) reigned thirtie yeares, and verie valiantlie inlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the caſtell of Bamburge, firſt fenſing it with pales, and after with a wall of ſtone. The ſame Ida had by his wife ſir ſonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Osmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) ſir baſtard ſonnes, Oga, Alerie, Ettha, Osbale, Segor, and Segother. Theſe came altogither into this land, and arriued at Flemeſburke with fortie ſhips, as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the deceaſſe of Ida, as the ſame author ſignifieth: for Ada the ſonne of the foreſaid Ida ſucceeded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein ſeuen yeares: and Ella the ſonne of Hiſtria, a moſt valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the ſaid Matth. Weſtm. and others do affirme. Matth. Weſt. Hen. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

Vortiporus.

VOtiporus the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus ſucceeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 576, in the 11. yeare of the emperour Flauius Anicius Juſtinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Chilperic king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothiſh king in Italie. This Uortiporus vanquiſhed the Saxons in battell, as the Britiſh hiſtories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and ſubiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foreſaid Ella began to rule in the ſouth part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of ſome authors, who alſo take this Uortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Uortiporus had ruled the Britans the ſpace of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed him in the kingdome. Matth. Weſt. noteth 578. Matth. Weſt. noteth 3 yeares

Againſt this Uortiporus Gyldas alſo whetting his tong, beginneth with him thus: And why ſtandeſt thou as one ſtarke amazed? Thou (I ſay) Uortiporus the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in maner and wickednes diuerſlie ſpotted as it were with manie colors, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & ſundrie murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus prouing a naughtie ſonne of a good king, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias. How chanceth it that the violent ſtreames of ſinnes which thou ſwalloweſt vp like pleaſant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing nere)

cc nere) can not yet satisfie the? What meanest thou
cc that with fornication of all euils, as it were the full
cc heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by hir
cc honest death dwest oppresse thy soule with a certeine
cc burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnshame-
cc fast daughter? Consume not (I pray thee) the resi-
cc due of thy daies to the offense of God, &c. These and the like words vttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If the circumstance of this that Gyldas writeth of Vortiporus be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geffrey of Monmouth, and also Matthew of Westminster, the author of the floures of histories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the sonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the same Aurelius Conanus and Vortiporus, but also Constantinus, yea & Cuneglasus, and Maglocunus, of the which he also intreateth (as partlie shall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in seuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole Britith nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the state of Ireland hath bene in times past before the countrie came vnder the English subiection, if my coniecture herein do not deceiue me.

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the *noble qualities wherewith he was beautified* by his filthie sinnes are blemished, Gyldas *reproueth Cuneglasus for making warre against* God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenses, *the vile iniquities whereunto the British rulers were inclined*, the valiantnesse of Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, his victories against diuers people his enimies, succession in the gouernment of the Westsaxons, Northumberland, and Kentish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Westsaxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and their people spoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

The xvij. Chapter.

Malgo.

Matth. West. hath noted 581

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After the deceasse of Vortiporus, Malgo the nephue of Aurelius Conanus (as some write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yere of our Lord 580, in the fiftéenth yere of the emperour Iustinian, and in the 37 yere of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue bene the comeliest gentleman in beautie and shape of personage that was to be found in those daies amongst all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Saxons, and subdued the out Iles, as Orkenie and others. But notwithstanding the noble qualities with the which his person was adorned, yet he spotted them all with the filthie sinne of Sodomie, so that he fell into the hatred of almightie God, and being pursued of the Saxons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands, as by the report of the English writers is gathered more at large. Finallie, when he had reigned fiue yéeres and od monethes, he departed this life.

Gal. Mon.

Matt. Westm. counteth not past fiue yeres to his reigne though other affirme that he reigned 35 yeres.

It séemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before he speaketh of him) inueieth against one Cuneglasus, whom he reproueth, for that he warred both against God and man: against God, with grieuous sinnes, as namelie adulterie, in forsaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and kéeping to concubine a sister of hirs, that had professed chastitie: & against man with materiall armor and weapons, which he vsed to the destruction of his owne countrimen, with whom he kept warres, and not against the enimies of the common wealth.

From Cuneglasus he commeth to the foresaid Maglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the Iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but also out of life, the last of whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first in all mischéefe & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewise in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in sinne, strong and valiant in arms, but stronger in destruction of his owne soule. And so proceéding, chargeth him with the sinne of the Sodomits, & sore blameth him, for that where it had pleased God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine in kingdome and degrée, he did not shew himselfe better, but contrarilie far worse than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth also a little after, that this Maglocune in his yong yéeres slue in battell his vncle being king, with the most valiant souldiers in maner that he had. Also that where the said Maglocune toke vpon him the profession of a monke, he after renounced the same, and became a worse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and kéeping his brothers sonnes wife, while hir husband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickednesse, and namelie to ciuill dissention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: so that it may be thought, that GOD stirred vp the Saxons to be a scourge to them, and to worke his iust vengeance vpon them for their wickednesses and abhominable offenses dailie cõmitted against his diuine maiestie, so that we find recorded by writers, how that the Saxons in diuers conflicts against the Britains had the better, and also toke from them diuers townes, as alreadie partly hath bene and also hereafter shall be shewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yeere of the Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ 559, Kenrike king of the Westsaxons departed this life, after he had reigned xxv. yéeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels against the Britains. In the 18 yeere of his reigne, which was the 551 of Christ, we find that he fought against them, being come at that time vnto Salisburie, and after great slaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Saxons, and the Britains were chased. Againe in the two and twentith yeere of his reigne, and 555 yeere of Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Branburie.

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Hen. Hunt.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and three in the rere ward, with their horsemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie assailed them, and notwithstanding the shot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, till at length by the comming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (saith Henrie archdeacon of Huntington) sith the Saxons were men of huge stature, great force, & valiant courage. The same yéere that Kenrike deceassed, Ida the king of Northumberland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiant

valiant prince, & inlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Goxran king of Scots.

Also about the yeere of Chriſt 560, Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britains) Irmenrike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his ſonne ſucceeded him 52 yeeres. Then after that the foreſaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that ſucceeded them in their eſtates as here followeth. After Ienrike, his ſonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling ſucceeded in gouernement of the Weſtſaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmenrike followed his ſonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentiſh Saxons.

This Ethelbert in proceſſe of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the begining of his reigne he had but ſorie ſucceſſe againſt ſome of his enimies: for hauing to do with the foreſaid Cheuling king of Weſtſaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbaldowne, where he loſt two of his dukes or cheefe capteins, beſide other people. This was the firſt battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one againſt another within this land, after their firſt comming into the ſame. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the ſecond yeere of the emperour Juſtinus.

About the yeere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquiſhed them, & toke from them 4 townes, Liganborough, Egleſborough or Ailſburie, Beſlington, and Cuelham. Also about the yeere of our Lord 581, the foreſaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obteining the vpper hand, toke from them the cities of Bath, Gloceſter, and Cirenceſter. At this battell fought at Diorth, were preſent three kings of the Britains, whoſe names were theſe: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farimnagill, which were ſlaine there through the permiſſion of almightie God as then refuſing his people, the which through their heinous ſinnes and great wickednelles, had moſt greeuouſlie offended his high and diuine maieſtie, as by Gyldas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his ſight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the prieſt to the Leuit, ſo that not one eſtate among them walked vprightlie, but contrarie to dutie was gone aſtray, by reaſon whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the firſt beginning of the reigne of his ſucceſſor Careticus, Cheuling and his ſonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or (as ſome bookes haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was ſlaine, & the Engliſhmen chaſed: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chaſing the Britains, toke from them manie countries, and wan great riches by the ſpoile. But Matth. Weſt. ſaith, that the victorie abood with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chaſed quite out of the field. The Scotiſh writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue béene the 49 ſucceſſiuelie poſſeſſing the regiment of that land, partlie with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wiſe gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne horie headed, and had reigned 34 yeeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Brudeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the ſaid Aidan a ſore battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the ſame writers name the place Degleaſton, where this battell was made, and the forces of both ſides by a ſharpe incounter tried.

The begining of the kingdome of Mercia, *the bounds of the ſame, the heptarchie* or ſeuen regiments of the Saxons, how they *grew to that perfection, and by whom they were* reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is *created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occaſion by the ciuill* diſſentions of the Britains to make a full conqueſt of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterpriſe, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueth in Britaine, the Britiſh king is driuen to his hard ſhifts, the politike practiſe of Gurmundus in taking Chicheſter & ſetting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in poſſeſſion to the Saxons, the Engliſh and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaie, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conſpired of his owne ſubiects.

The xviij. Chapter.

Crida. H. Hunt. This kingdome began in the yeere 585. as Matt. VVeſtm. ſaith. Ran. Ceſt.

About the ſame time also, and 585 of Chriſt, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was deſcended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great diſtance, hauing on the eaſt the ſea vnto Humber, and ſo on the north the ſaid riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the weſt ſea at the corner of Wirhall, and ſo comming about to the riuer of Dee that paſſeth by Cheſter, the ſame riuer bounded it on the weſt from Wales, and likewiſe Seuerne vp to Britflow: on the ſouth it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almoſt to London. And in this ſort it conteined Lincolneſhire, Notingamſhire, Derbiſhire, Cheſhire, Shropſhire, Worceſterſhire, Gloceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Hertefordſhire, Bedfordſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, and Warwikeſhire.

¶ Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in proceſſe of time removing the Britains out of their ſeats, dailie wan ground of them, till at length they got poſſeſſion of the beſt part of this Ile, and erected within the ſame ſeuen kingdoms, which were gouerned by ſeuen ſeuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Weſtſaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after ſhall appeare. Matth. Weſtmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Suſſer, the kingdom of Eſſex, the kingdom of Eaſtangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Weſtſex, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to ſay, into Deira and into Bernicia: whereunto W. Hariſon addeth the ninth in the firſt part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

Careticus 586

After that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as ſome write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yeere of the emperour Mauricius, and thirteenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nouriſher of ciuill warre and diſſention amongſt his owne people the Britains, ſo that he was hated both of God and man, as writers teſtifie. The Saxons vnderſtanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in parts kings, ſo as one was readie to deuoure an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conqueſts, and ceaſſed not to purſue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had conſtreined them

Gal. Mon. See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland. Ranulf. Cest.

for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Affricans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arriued here in Britaine, making such cruell warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Careticus was constreined to keepe him within the citie of Chicester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assalts and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus tooke Cirencester or Chichester, and destroied it in most cruell maner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet of sparrowes which his people had caught, certeine clewes of tried or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrowes being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themselues within their neasts which they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing forth, fought with their enimies, and were ouercome and discomfited.

But whilest the battell continued, Careticus stale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foresaid Gurmundus destroied this land throughout in pitifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and because they were descended of those that first came ouer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnesse of speech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called England, and the people Englishmen. But rather it may be thought, that sith a great part of those people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and other capteins, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie, about the parts of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had first got habitation within it: and so both the land and people tooke name of them, being called *Angli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile (as before is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne where we left.

Matt. VVest.

Of this Gurmundus the old English writers make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he passed ouer into France, and there destroied much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Christ. For which consideration he was the more readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the christian faith, but warred against the Britains, as well to destroie the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselues continuall habitations in the same. There be, that omitting to make mention of Gurmundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

It should seeme that this historie of Gurmundus is but some fained tale except it may be that he was some Dane, Norwegian or Germane.

In the yeere of Grace 586, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre succeeded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the English and Saxon kings perceiued, with one consent they rose against him, and after manie battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length incountering with him in a pight field, they drone him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Hereupon clerks and priests were driuen out of their places with bright swords

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Matt. VVest.

brandishing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they often times brake out, and made insurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner aforsaid got possession of the chiefest parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easie to be woone, by reason of the thicke woods inuironed with deepe marshes and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins.

The English and Saxon kings hauing thus remoued the Britains, inlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that season within this land, beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the English and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceauline in Westsex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby was greatlie decaied: for the churches were destroied; and the archbishops of Caerleon Arwiske, London and Yorke withdrew togither with their clergie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the relikes of saints, doubting the same should be destroied by the enimies, and themselues put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Dante also fled into Britaine Armorike with a great fleete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decaie of the christian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yeere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceassed not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occasion still serued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) they became all subiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Beda nameth Cedwallo. In the meane time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the West Saxons, through his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onelie the Britains, but also his owne subiects to conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his aduersaries at Wodensdic, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constreined to depart into exile, and shortlie after ended his life before he could find meanes to be restored.

Wil. Malm.

Beda. Will. M.

¶ So that we haue here a mirror or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse ods in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he seeth but little into the knowledge of tongs, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Greeke βάσιλευς, which being resolued is in effect βάσις λάος, that is, the foundation or stay of the people; from which qualitie when he reuolteth, he maketh shipwracke of that godlie title, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and inforced gouernement as there is none more perillous, so is it of all other the least in continuance: this is proued by historicall obseruation through the course of this historie.

Ceolric

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Weſtſaxons, *the Saxons and Britains incounter*, Ethelbert king of kent ſubdueth the Engliſh-*ſaxons, he is maried to the French kings daughter* vpon cautions of religion, the king imbraceth the *goſpell*, *Auguſtine the moonke and others were ſent into* this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith, the occaſion that moued Gregorie the great to ſend him, buieng and ſelling of boies, the Engliſhmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert cauſeth Auguſtine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient ſeat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the maner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the chriſtian faith, and are baptiſed.

The xix. Chapter.

Ceolric. NOw after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Ceolric that was ſonne vnto Cutwine, the ſonne of the foreſaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Weſtſaxons fiue yeares & fiue moneths. In like manner the ſame yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome ſucceeded Ethelricus the ſonne of Ida, and reigned but fiue yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About three yeares after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britans being ranged in good order, the Saxons ſet vpon them boldlie indeed, but diſorderedlie, ſo that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had ſhewed themſelues in battell, before that time, ſo much the more ſlow and vntowardlie did they ſhew themſelues now in running awaie to ſaue themſelues, ſo that an huge number of them were ſlaine. Alſo about the ſame time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his ſonne Wibbas or Wipha ſucceeded. And after the deceaſſe of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride ſurnamed the wild, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpoſe.

Beda. Will. Malmeſ. Ethelbert king of Kent, not diſcouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occaſioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, prooued ſo perfect a maiſter therein, that in proceſſe of time he ſubdued by force of armes all thoſe Engliſh Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Alſo to haue friendſhip in forraine parts, he procured a wife for himſelfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he ſhould permit hir to continue and vſe the rites and lawes of chriſtian faith and religion, and to haue a biſhop whoſe name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with hir here in this land, for hir better inſtruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vſing to ſerue God in praiers and otherwiſe, according to the cuſtome of the chriſtian religion, began vndoubtedlie to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganiſme, ſo as the bright beames of the celeſtiall clerenes of vnderſtanding remoued the thicke miſts of his vnbeleefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the goſpell, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occaſion, and in maner as followeth.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almoſt complet, the biſhop of Rome, Gregorie the firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſent Auguſtinus a moonke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith vnto the Engliſh Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the goſpell. And here we hold it neceſſarie to ſhew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the firſt occaſion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this land, roſe by this meanes. Beda. Matth. Weſt. faith 596. 47 ſaith the ſame author.

It chanced (whileſt the ſame Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the ſee of Rome) certeine yong boies were brought thither to bee ſold out of Northumberland, according to the accuſtomable vſe of that countrie, in ſomuch that as we haue in our time ſeene (ſaith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell awaie their neere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. When thoſe children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellent beauties and comelie ſhape of lims and bodie, turned the eies in maner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie alſo came amongſt other to behold them, and when he conſidered and well viewed their faire ſkins, their ſweet viſages, and beautifull buſhes of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome anſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aſpect. Then he aſked whether the men of that countrie were chriſtians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenith errors: Wherevnto it was anſwered, that they were not chriſtened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a deepe ſigh, ſaid: Ah, alas that the author of darkeneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe men of ſo bright ſome countenances, and that with the grace of ſuch faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds void of inward grace. Vita Gregorii magni.

Moreouer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto anſwere was made, that they were called Angli, that is to ſay Engliſhmen. Right worthilie (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow heires with angels in heauen. Then aſked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (ſaid he) they are to be deliuered *Deira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Chriſt our Lord. What name (ſaid he) hath the king of that prouince? Wherevnto anſwere was made that he was called Alla, whereupon alluding to that name, he ſaid, Alleluia ought to be ſong in thoſe parts to the praiſe and honor of God the creator.

Hereupon comming to Benedict the firſt of that name (as then biſhop of Rome) he required him that ſome learned men might be ſent into England to preach the goſpell vnto the Engliſhmen, offering himſelfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his requeſt, yet the Romans had him in ſuch eſtimation, that they would not conſent that he ſhould depart ſo farre from the citie, ſo that by them he was at that time ſtaied of that his godlie purpoſe. Howbeit when he came to be biſhop, he thought to performe it though not by himſelfe, yet by other: and ſo Auguſtine and his fellowes were ſent by him about it (as before is ſaid.) By the way, as they were paſſing in their iournie, ſuch a ſudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Others write, that Auguſtine was ſent backe to Gregorie, to ſue that they might be releaſed of that voi-

Pelagius the ſecond Will. Malmeſ. Pelagius. M. Fox.

age so dangerous and vncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie perswasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all that so euer his neede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here followeth may appeare.

Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, *to the seruants of our* Lord.

FOr as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and feruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humblie obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almightie God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you togither. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire.

Thus emboldned and comforted through the good words and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding forth their iournie, first arriued at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Iulie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpretors, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifieng the occasion of their comming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder anie roofe with them, fore doubting to be bewitched by them, being perswaded that they were practised in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almightie God, bearing in steed of a banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Sauiour painted in a table, and thereto singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euerlasting preseruation of themselues, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seuenfold letanies of S. Gregorie were not yet deuised.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the word of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their words and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & vncerteine to him that had been brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beleefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beleeue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harborough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation; neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching associat and ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your law and beleefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approched the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus: Alleluia.* That is to say, We beseech thee ô Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee ô Lord. After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the primitiue church, that is to say, exercising themselues in continuall praier, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustenance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Herevpon, manie of the English people beleeued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the sweetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church neere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilest the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the queene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed to make hir praiers. To this church Austine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praie, to sale masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euerie place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being persuaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospell, and renouncing their heathenish beleefe, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour 597, and the first indiction.

Beda. Matth. West.

The christian faith receiued of the English men.

Lib. 7. cap. 4.

¶ Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospell amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the riuer of Suale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Polychron.

Re-

Religion is not to be inforced but perſwaded and preached, *Auguſtine is made* archbiſhop of England, Gregorie informeth *Auguſtine of certeine ordinances to be made and* obſerued in the new Engliſh church, as the reuenewes *of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of* mariage, of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline and ordeining of biſhops: trifling queſtions obiected by Auguſtine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are ſent ouer to aſſiſt Auguſtine in his miniſterie, he receiueth his pall, reformation muſt be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuerſion to chriſtianitie.

The xx. Chapter.

Beda.lib.1. cap.26. and 27.

KIng Ethelbert reioiſed at the conuerſion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptiſed, but onelie ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauored thoſe that beléeued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had inſtructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Moreouer he prouided for Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them neceſſarie reuenewes in poſſeſſion for their maintenance. After that the faith of Chriſt was thus receiued of the Engliſh men, Auguſtine went into France, and there of the archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius was ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation, according to the order preſcribed by Gregorie before the departure of the ſaid Auguſtine from Rome.

Beda. Matth. Weſt.

Auguſtine ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

After his returne into Britaine, he ſent Laurence a prieſt, and Péeter a monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the biſhop, how the Engliſhmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbiſhop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the worke proſpered vnder his hand as it had doone. He alſo required to haue Gregories aduice touching certeine ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new church of England. Whereupon Gregorie, ſending backe the meſſengers, wrote an anſwere vnto all his demands. And firſt touching the conuerſation of archbiſhops with the clergie, and in what ſort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the ancient cuſtome of the apoſtolike ſee was to giue commandement vnto biſhops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the firſt ſhould be appointed to the biſhop and his familie for the maintenance of hoſpitalitie: the ſecond ſhould be aſſigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples.

Laurence a prieſt.

The chriſtian faith receiued of the Engliſhmen.

The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

And whereas in the church of Rome one cuſtome in ſaieng maſſe or the liturgie was obſerued, and another cuſtome in France; concerning ſuch church ſeruice, Gregorie aduiſed Auſtine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might moſt pleaſe the almightie God, he ſhould diligentlie chooſe it out, and inſtruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he ſhould gather forth of the ſaid churches: for the things are not loued for the places ſake, but the places for the things ſake. Alſo for puniſhing of ſuch as had ſtolen things out of churches, ſo neere as might be, the offendor ſhould be chaſtiſed in charitie, ſo as he might know his fault, and (if it were poſſible) reſtore the thing taken away.

Liturgie. Lib.7.cap.34.

Church ſeruice.

Such as did euill.

And touching degrées in mariage, Engliſhmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehenſion, and if any vnlawfull mariages were found amongſt the Engliſhmen, as if the ſonne had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wiſe to abſteine, and vnderſtand it to be a grieuous ſinne: yet ſhould they not for that thing be depriued of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, leaſt thoſe things might ſéeme to be puniſhed in them wherein they had offended (before their conuerſion to the chriſtian faith) by ignorance: for at this ſeaſon the church (ſaith he) correcteth ſome things of a feruent earneſtneſſe, ſuffreth ſome things of a gentle mildnes, and diſſembleth ſome things of a prudent conſideration, and ſo beareth and winketh at the ſame, that oftentimes the euill which ſhe abhorreth by ſuch bearing and diſſembling, is reſtreined and reformed.

Mariages.

Diſcipline of the church.

Moreouer touching the ordeining of biſhops, he would they ſhould be ſo placed, that the diſtance of place might not be a let, but that when a biſhop ſhould be conſecrated, there might be three or foure preſent. Alſo touching the biſhops of France, he willed Auguſtine in no wiſe to intermeddle with them, otherwiſe than by exhortation and good admonition to be giuen, but not to preſume anie thing by authoritie, ſith the archbiſhop of Arles had receiued the pall in times paſt, whoſe authoritie he might not diminiſh, leaſt he ſhould ſéeme to put his ſickle into another mans harueſt. But as for the biſhops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholeſome perſuaſions ſtrengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with child might be baptiſed, and ſhe that was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a womanchild, ſhould be purified, but yet might ſhe enter the church before, if ſhe would.

Ordeining of biſhops.

Women with child.

The reſidue of Auguſtines demands conſiſted in theſe points, to wit:

Matters in queſtion about trifles.

1 Within what ſpace a child ſhould be chriſtened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death?

2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after ſhe was brought to bed?

3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?

4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was waſhed with water?

5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a prieſt, whether he might ſay maſſe?

To theſe queſtions Gregorie maketh anſwere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breéfeneſſe we paſſe ouer. He ſent alſo at that time with the meſſengers aforeſaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Auguſtine in the harueſt of the Lord. The names of the chiefeſt were theſe, Melitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus. He ſent alſo the pall, which is the ornament of an archbiſhop, with veſſels and apparell which ſhould be vſed in churches by the archbiſhop and other miniſters. He ſent alſo with the pall other letters to Auguſtine, to let him vnderſtand what number of biſhops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Alſo after that Melitus, and the other before mentioned perſons were departed from Rome, he ſent a letter vnto the ſame Melitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter

Aſſiſtance to Auguſtine.

The pall.

concerning the churches of England, wherein he confesseth that manie things are permitted to be vsed of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that coueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steps and not by leaps.

Bearing with them that had newlie receiued the faith, whereof superstition grew and increased.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioising to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Iulie, in the yéere of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeare of the emperour Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almightie God.

Miracles.

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What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the supportation of the church, the building of Paules in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncerteine, a prouinciall councell called by Augustine, he restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth ouer the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

The xxj. Chapter.

THus farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had béene erected there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Sauiour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbie was called saint Aulkins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurence, after he was dead.

Beda.

One Peter was the first Abbat.

Moreouer, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the Eastsaxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrews in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatlie inlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with vnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. ¶ Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

Ran. Higd. Westminster church builded

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a councell to be called at a place in the confines of the Westsaxons, which place long after was called Aulkines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sées, and an archbishops sée, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelats, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to moue them to agrée with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to proue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

Ran. Ceſt. Beda. Sigebertus. ann. 19 Mauricij imperatoris. A synod. Iustines ex Galfrid. lib. cap. 4.

Beda lib. 2. ca.

The Britains that were present, moued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, spectallie of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that councell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; If he be the man of God, follow him. Then said they; How shall we proue whether he be so or not? Then said he: The Lord saith, take vp my yoke and learne of me, for I am meke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meke in hart, it is to be beleeued

Another synod.

The monasterie of Bangor. Abbat Dionoth.

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The answer of a godlie man touching Austine the Englishmens apostle.

" beléeued that he alſo beareth the yoke of Chriſt, and
" offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not méeke but
" proud, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his
" word to be regarded. And how ſhall we ſée and per-
" ceiue that (ſaid they?) Find meanes (ſaid he) that
" he maie firſt come to the place of the ſynod with thoſe
" of his ſide, and if he ariſe to receiue you at your com-
" ming, then know that he is the ſeruant of God, and
" obey him; but if he deſpiſe you, and ariſe not towards
" you, whereas you be more in number, let him be de-
" ſpiſed of you.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Auguſtine ſitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, ſtraightwaies they conceiued indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reprowue all his ſaiengs. He told them that they vſed manie things contrarie to the cuſtom of the vniuerſall church, and yet if in three things they would obeie him, that is to ſay, in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in due time, in miniſtring baptiſme according to the cuſtome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Engliſhmen the word of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to ſuffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the ſame were contrarie to the maners and cuſtoms of the Romane iuriſdiction. But they flatlie denied to do anie of thoſe things, and gaue a plaine anſwer that they would not receiue him for their archbiſhop: for laieng their heads togither, thus they thought, If he refuſe now to ariſe vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we ſhould become ſubiect to him? Vnto whom (as it is ſaid) Auguſtine in threatening wiſe told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with their brethren, they ſhould receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Engliſhmen the waie of life, they ſhould ſuffer puniſhment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to paſſe, as in place conuenient ſhall be expreſſed. After this in the yéere of our Lord 604, the archbiſhop Auguſtine ordeined two biſhops, that is to ſay, Melitus at London, that he might preach the word of God to the Eaſtſaxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Iuſtus in the citie of Rochéſter within the limits of Kent.

Three things required by Auguſtine of the Britains to be obſerued.

Auguſtine threatneth.

604 Biſhops ordeined at London and Rochéſter.

Sabert.

At that time Sabert reigned ouer the Eaſtſaxons, but he was ſubiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whoſe nephue he was alſo by his ſiſter Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda that ſucceéded after Erchenwine the firſt king of the Eaſtſaxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Auguſtine had ordeined Melitus to be biſhop of London, as before is ſaid, king Ethelbert builded (as ſome write) the church of ſaint Paule within the ſame citie, where the ſame Melitus and his ſucceſſors might keepe their ſée. And alſo for the like purpoſe he builded the church of ſaint Andrew the apoſtle at Rochéſter, that Iuſtus and his ſucceſſors might haue their ſée in that place, according to Auguſtines inſtitution: he beſtowed great gifts vpon both thoſe churches, endowing them with lands and poſſeſſions verie bountifullie, to the vſe of them that ſhould be attendant in the ſame with the biſhops.

Ran. Ceſtren.

Finallie, Auguſtine after he had gouerned as archbiſhop the church of Canturburie by the ſpace of 12 yéeres curranr, departed this life the fiue and twentieth of Maie, and was buried firſt without the citie nere to the church of the apoſtles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) bicauſe the ſame church as yet was not finiſhed nor dedicated; but after it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his ſucceſſor in the ſée of Canturburie, of whome ye ſhall heare hereafter. ¶ Thus haue ye heard in what maner the Engliſhmen were firſt brought from the worſhipping of falſe gods, and baptiſed in the name of the liuing God by the foreſaid Auguſtine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will returne to other doings chancing in the meane time amongſt the people of this Ile.

Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the *Weſtſaxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edelfride* king of the Northumbers, and Edan king *of the Scots ioine in battell, Edan is diſcomfited, Edelfride* ſubdueth the citizens of Cheſter, the deuout *moonks of Bangor praie for ſafetie from the ſwoord of the enimie*, twelue hundred of them are ſlaine, Edelfride entreth the citie of Cheſter, the Britains aſſembling their power vndet three capteins incounter with Edelfride, ſlaie manie of his ſouldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edelfride and Redwald king of the Eaſtangles about Edwine the ſonne of king Elle, Edelfride is ſlaine, Ceowlfe king of the Weſtſaxons dieth.

The xxij. Chapter.

After the deceaſſe of Cheltricus king of the Weſtſaxons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph ſucceéded in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yéeres. He began his reigne (as ſhould appéere by ſome writers) about the yeere of our Lord 597, and ſpent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to idleneſſe, but ſéeking either to defend or inlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the ſonne of Cutha, which was the ſonne of Henrike, which was the ſonne of Certike. After Wibba or Wilpha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but alſo inlarge it, by ſubduing the Britains on eche ſide) one Ceorlus ſucceéded in that kingdome, being not his ſonne but his kinſman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 594, as Matth. Weſt. recorderh.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 34.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 607.

Ceorlus king of Mercia.

594 Beda

Edelferd.

We haue heard that Edelferd, which otherwiſe is called alſo by writers Edelfride, ſurnamed the wild, gouerned ſtill the Northumbers, which Edelferd did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the Engliſh nation. None of them deſtroied their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with Engliſh people than he. Hereupon Edan king of thoſe Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith moued to ſée Edelfride proſper thus in his conqueſts, came againſt him with a mightie armie: but ioining in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degſaſtane, or Degſaſtone, or Degſaſton, he loſt the moſt part of his people, and with the reſidue that were left aliue, he eſcaped by flight. This was a ſore foughten battell, with much bloudſhed on both parties. For notwithſtanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobalous the brother of Edelferd was ſlaine, with all that part of the Engliſh hoſt which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yéere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foreſaid Edelferd, and in the firſt yéere of Ceowlfe king of the Weſtſaxons, and in the firſt yéere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the laſt yéere of his predeceſſor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scotiſh kings durſt preſume to enter into Britaine againe to giue battell againſt the Engliſh nation, as Beda himſelfe writeth.

603 Henr. Hunt. Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

Wil. Malm. Hée in Scotland.

writeth. But the Scotish writers make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland ye maie find recorded.

Chester as yet in possession of the Britains.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherevpon to tame their loftie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deué. The citizens coueting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easilie discomfited.

I. Leland. Wil. Malm.

Beda.

It chanced that he had espied before the battell ioined (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good speed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of monks, that where they were diuided into seuen seuerall parts, with their seuerall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of those parts conteined at the least three hundred persons, the which liued altogither by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of those monks hauing kept a solemne fast for three daies togither, were come to the armie with other to make praier, hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Broemael, earle (or consull as some call him) of Chester, which should preserue them (being giuen to praier) from the edge of the enimies sword.

The number of monks in the monasterie of Bangor.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; When if they "call to their God for his assistance against vs, suerlie "though they beare no armour, yet doo they fight a- "gainst vs, being busied in praier for our destruction. Wherevpon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after slue downe the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those monks and priests which came to praie (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Brocmale, or Broemael at the first approch of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies sword. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

The Britains discomfited & slaine.

Henr. Hunt.

¶ Héere is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seuenth yeere of Ceowlfe king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yeeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the see of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yeeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and monks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceowlfe began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yeere of our Lord 596, and in the seuenth yeere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degsastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yeere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and precíselie setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbright, or Edelfride, K. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert K. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yeere after his arriuall, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late councell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 monks of the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the sweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Merelie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the christian faith) stirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But hereof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of vncerteine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

Acts and monuments pag. 160.

After that king Edelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder three capteins, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These ioining in battell with Edelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constreined him to flée out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had receiued manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the forsaid Blederike, which was chiefe capteine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Gal. Mon.

Blederike duke of Cornwall. Margadud king of Southwales. Cadwane k. of Northwales.

Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntington, make no mention of this last battell and victorie obteined by the Britains in maner as aboue is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrarilie we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a yong gentleman of great towardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long tossed from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Uffa, and successor to Titullus, which Titullus did succéd next after the said Uffa, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourablie interteine Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Edwine the sonne of king Alla banished.

Edelferd.

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Redwald incouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraie his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enimie) assembled forthwith an armie, and at the sudden comming vpon Edelferd, assaulted him yer he could haue time to assemble his people togither. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuenged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get togither, he boldlie incountred the enimies, and giuing battell, slue Remerius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yeeres. This battell was fought neere to the water of Idle.

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H. Hunt.

Ethelferd slaine.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yeeres of age, and Oswin about foure yeeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all speed that might be made. Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres, departed this life, who in his time had mainteined great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them

Hen. Hunt. Matt. West. saith 34.

of

W. Harison.

The Southſaxons ſuſteine the greater loſſe.

of Suſſex, in which the armies on both ſides ſuſteined great damage, but the greater loſſe fell to the South ſaxons.

Cinegiſcus and his ſonne Richelinus *reigne iointlie ouer the Weſtſaxons, they* fight with the Britains; the indeuour of Laurence *archbiſhop of Canturburie in ſetting religi-* on at large, and ſeeking a vniformitie in catholike *orders, he and his fellow-biſhops write to the cleargie of Bri-* taine and Scotland for a reformation, Melitus biſhop of London goeth to Rome, the cauſe why, and what he brought at his returne from pope Boniface.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Cinegiſcus.

AFter the foreſaid Ceolwlfe reigned Cinegiſcus, or Kingils, which was the ſonne of Ceola, which was the ſonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the ſonne of Keynricke, which was the ſonne of king Certicke. In the fourth yéere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowſhip with him in gouernance of the kingdome his ſonne Richelinus, or Orichelinus, and ſo they reigned iointlie togither in great loue and concord (a thing ſeldome ſéene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the firſt approch of the battels togither, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were ouertaken 2062.

Wil. Malm. ſaith that Orichelinus was the brother of Cinegiſcus.

Beandune, or Beanton.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 4.

In this meane time, Laurence archbiſhop of Canturburie, who ſucceeded next after Auguſtine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is ſaid) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was latelie laid by his predeceſſor the foreſaid Auguſtine: who ſtudied not onelie for the increaſe of this new church, which was gathered of the Engliſh people, but alſo he was buſie to imploie his paſtorlike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewiſe of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in reſemblable wiſe as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the eccleſiaſticall rules, aſwell in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the vſe of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them moſt inſtantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agréeable with the church of Chriſt, ſpred and diſperſed through the world. Theſe letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie togither in the name of the biſhops Melitus and Iuſtus, (as followeth.)

To our deare brethren the biſhops and *abbats through all Scotland, Laurence,* Melitus and Iuſtus biſhops, the ſer- *uants of the ſeruants of God* wiſh health.

WHereas the apoſtolike ſee (according to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in theſe weſt parts, as otherwiſe throgh the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderſtood the ſtate of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains, which beleeued, becauſe (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by biſhop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuerſation from the Britains: for biſhop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor yet come within the houſe where we did eat.

The ſaid Laurence alſo with his fellow-biſhops, did write to the Britains other letters worthie of his degrée, owing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church: but it profited litle, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the ſame time Melitus the biſhop of London went to Rome, to conuſion with pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the church of England, and was preſent at a ſynod holden by the ſame pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to be made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame ſynod, that with ſubſcribing he might alſo by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie decréed. This ſynod was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yéere of the emperour Phocas, which was about the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrées commanded by the ſaid pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh church, with letters alſo directed to archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in *the citie of Cheſter, he leuieth a power a-* gainſt Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, co- *uenants of peace paſſe betwixt them vpon condi-* tion, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he *and his wife were buried, of his lawes; Eadbald ſucceedeth E-* thelbert in the Kentiſh kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enimie to religion; he is plagued with madneſſe; Hebert king of the Eaſtſaxons dieth, his three ſonnes refuſe to be baptiſed, they fall to idolatrie and hate the profeſſours of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to biſhop Melitus, he and his fellow Iuſtus paſſe ouer into France, the three ſonnes of Hebert are ſlaine of the Weſtſaxons in battell, the Eaſtſaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbiſhop Laurence to forſake the land, he is warned in a viſion to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering chriſtianitie, ſendeth for Melitus and Iuſtus, the one is reſtored to his ſee, the other reiected, Melitus dieth, Iuſtus is made archbiſhop of Canturburie, the chriſtian faith increaſeth.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Cadwan king of Britaine.

AFter that the Britains had continued about the ſpace almoſt of 24 yéeres without anie one ſpeciall gouernour, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithens that Careticus was conſtreined to flée ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie againſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them againſt another, at length in the yéere of our Lord 613, they aſſembled in the citie of Cheſter, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſouereigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and ſo the ſaid Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the ſaid yéere 613. But ſome authors ſay, that this was in the yéere 609, in which yéere Careticus the Britiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Britains or Welſhmen (whether we ſhall call them)

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them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yeere 609, which was in the 7 yeere of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yeere of Kilwolfe king of the Westsaxons.

This Cadwan being established king, shortlie after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to meet Cadwan in the field. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agreement, so that Ethelfred should keepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the south side of the same riuer. This couenant with other touching their agreement was confirmed with oths solemnelie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without hurting one an other.

Gal. Mon.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard rehersed, which for that it soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further rehersall, passing forward to other doings which fell in the meane season, whilest this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22, or (as some say) but 13 yeeres, and finallie was slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath beene, and also after shall be shewed.

John Hard.

In the 8 yeere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yeere after the comming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yeeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted three yeers lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, in the yeere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of February, and was buried in the Ile of saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife queene Bertha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Wil. Malm. Beda li. 2. cap. 5

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his councell ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which decrees of iudgements should passe: those decrees he caused to be written in the English tong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And first it was expressed in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all meanes to defend them whose doctrine he had receiued.

Eadbald. After the decease of Ethelbert, his sonne Eadbald succeeded in the gouernment of his kingdome of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onelie refuse to be baptised himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not beene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his mother in law, that had beene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie tooke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilest his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did profesſe the christian faith. But Eadbald escaped not worthie punishment to him sent from the liuing God for his euill deserts, insomuch that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vncleane spirit.

The princes example occasion of euill.

The foresaid storme or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsaxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Melitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissfull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him three sonnes as true successours in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but spectallie hating the professours of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatrie, which in his life time they seemed to haue giuen ouer, insomuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subiects to do the like.

Ran. Cest. Beda li. 2. cap. Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.

And when the bishop Melitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherfore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had beene accustomed to do to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: If you will be washed in that wholesome fountaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoole of life, ye may by no meanes tast the bread of saluation. But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no need thereof: but yet neuertheless we will be refreshed with that bread.

After this, when they had beene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Wherevpon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellowbishops, Laurence and Iustus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter. Who finallie resolued vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with free minds they might serue almightie God, rather than to remaine amongest people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to do good amongest them. Wherefore Melitus and Iustus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortlie after, those brethren the kings of Esser, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered worthilie for their wicked doings. For going forth to battell against the Westsaxons, they were ouerthrowen and slaine altogither with all their armie, by the two kings Kinigils and Quicheline. But neuertheless, albeit the authors of the mischiefe were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuelish worshipping of false gods, being offsoones fallen thereto in that season by the incouragement and perilous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Melitus and Iustus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruellie scourged (as hath beene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reproued him) for that he would so vncharitablie forsake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to keepe the wolfe from the fold.

The sonnes of king Sebert slaine.

The

The archbiſhop imboldned by this viſion, and alſo repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and ſhewed to him his ſtripes, and the maner of his dreame. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worſhipping of idols, and was baptiſed, and as much as in him laie, from thenceforth ſuccoured the congregation of the chriſtians, and aduanced the church to his power. He ſent alſo into France, and called home the biſhops Melitus and Juſtus, ſo that Juſtus was reſtored to his ſée of Rocheſter.

But the Eaſtſaxons would not receiue Melitus to his ſée at London, but continued in their wicked mawmetrie, in obeieng a biſhop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpoſe. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in thoſe parties, as his father was before, whereby he might conſtreine them to receiue their lawfull biſhop. But ſuerlie the ſaid king Eadbald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himſelfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongſt other déeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monaſterie of ſaint Peter, afterwards called ſaint Agnes. This church was conſecrated by Melitus, who after the death of Laurence ſucceéded in gouernance of the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie. After Melitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Juſtus that before was biſhop of Rocheſter, was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the ſée of Rocheſter. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occaſion (as after ſhall appéere.)

Beda lib. 2.

Beda. lib. 2. ca. 8.

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, *his great power and reputation, a* marriage betweene him and Ethelburga the *ſiſter of king Eadbald vpon religious couenants,* the traitorous attempts of murtherous Eumerus a*gainſt him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter,* he aſſalteth the Weſtſaxons, and diſcomfiteth them, Boniface the fift writeth to him to deſiſt from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to perſiſt in true chriſtianitie; the viſion of Edwin when he was a baniſhed man in the court of Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuerſion to chriſtian religion.

The xxv. Chapter.

I haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberland was ſlaine in battell néere to the water of Idel, by Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, in fauour of Edwin whom the ſaid Edelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yéeres before. The foreſaid Redwald therefore hauing obteined that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as ſonne to Alla or Elle, ſometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin proued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the Engliſh nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with Engliſh men, but alſo with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, Cumberland, and alongſt by the weſt ſeacoaſt in Galloway, and ſo forth euen vnto Dunbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallo bare rule, of whome ſo often mention is made in this part of the hiſtorie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was ſuch, as not onelie the Engliſh men, Britains and Scots, but alſo the Iles of Orknie, and thoſe of Man, and others the weſt Iles of ancient time called Menaniæ, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, ſo as they durſt not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

W. Malm. taketh Menania to be Angleſey.

It chanced that ſhortlie after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeares, the ſame Redwald deceaſſed, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eaſtangles, which (whileſt Edwin remained amongſt them as a baniſhed man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themſelues to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin ſuffering Carpwald or Erpwald the ſonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleaſure. Neither was there anie prouince within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not readie to doo him ſeruice (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he ſuffered the Kentiſhmen to liue in quiet, becauſe he began to haue a liking to the ſiſter of king Eadbald, namelie the ladie Ethelburga, otherwiſe called Tate or Tace.

Carpwaldus.

He made requeſt therefore by ſending ambaſſadours to hir brother, to haue the ſaid ladie in marriage, and at length obteined hir, with condition that ſhe being a chriſtian woman, might not onelie vſe the chriſtian religion, but alſo that all thoſe, whether men or women, prieſts or miniſters, which came with hir, might haue licence to doo the ſame, without trouble or impeachment of anie maner of perſon. Herevpon ſhe being ſent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (beſides manie other) one Pauline, which was conſecrated biſhop by the archbiſhop Juſtus the 21 of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, trauelled earneſtlie in his office, both to preſerue hir and ſuch chriſtians in the faith of Chriſt, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, leaſt they ſhould chance to fall: and alſo ſought to win ſome of the Pagans (if it were poſſible) vnto the ſame faith, though at the firſt he little profited in that matter.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Matth. Weſt. Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.

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In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then ſoiourning in a palace which ſtood vpon the ſide of the riuer of Derwent, being ſent from Quichelme king of the Weſtſaxons, to the intent to murther Edwin, becauſe he had of late ſore damnified the countries of the Weſtſaxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a ſhort double edged woodknife inuenomed of purpoſe, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, ſhould not die of the wound, yet he ſhould not eſcape the danger of the poiſon. This Eumerus on Eaſter mondaie came to the king, and making forth to him as it had béene to haue declared ſome meſſage from his maiſter, when he had eſpied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to ſtrike the king. But one of the kings ſeruants named Lilla, perceiuing this, ſtept betwixt the king and the blow. Howbeit the murtherer ſet the ſtripe forward with ſuch force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded alſo the king a little: and before this murtherer could be beaten downe, he ſlue another of the kings ſeruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Fordher.

Other ſay an axe, as Matth. Weſt.

Eumerus.

The ſame night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Eanfled, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the preſence of

Eanfled borne

The ſonne of king Sebert ſlaine.

Edwin. Beda. lib. 2. ca. 5.

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings houshold, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the founteine of regeneration.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of mawmets and idols. The pope wrote also to quéene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to do what might be done for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 11.

A vision.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to mone Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him awaie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obteined a grant of his suit, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murthered, or else deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderouslie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, chosing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

Beda. cap. 12.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in strange apparell, seeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what he had to do therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensiue, and what euils thou fearest to be towards thée at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thée out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither do thée hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward? The other said; What wouldst thou giue then, if he should promise in good soth that (all thine enimies being destroied) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with worthie thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thée this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answere being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saieng: When this therefore shall chance to thée, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now dooest promise, sée thou performe. And therewith he vanished awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganisme and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it may be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled perswasion in gentilish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeléefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue béene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sooner to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding somewhat to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, & stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioising in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; behold his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the quéene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the vttermost of his power: and so he did in déed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfrid, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

King

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings houshold, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the founteine of regeneration.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of mawmets and idols. The pope wrote also to quéene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to doo what might be done for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 11.

A vision.

Beda. cap. 12.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to moue Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him awaie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mired with threatnings, he obteined a grant of his sute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murthered, or else deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderoullie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a sliper part, chosing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in strange apparell, séeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what he had to doo therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensiue, and what euils thou feaRest to be towards thée at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thée out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doo thée hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward? The other said; What wouldst thou giue then, if he should promise in good soth that (all thine enimies being destroied) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with worthie thanks.

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King

King Edwin is put in mind of his viſion *by Pauline who ſawe the ſame in ſpirit*, he is licenced to preach the goſpell, biſhop *Coifi deſtroieth the idols, Edwin and his people re-* ceiue the chriſtian faith, his two ſonnes Oſfride and *Eadfride become conuerts, Redwald king of the Eaſtangles is* baptiſed, he ſerueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiueth the faith, Felix biſhop of Burgongne commeth ouer to Honorius archbiſhop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eaſtangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnſhiremen are conuerted, manie are baptiſed in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins iuſtice how effectuall and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of trauellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbiſhop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutuall election of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to ſuruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Eaſter and auoiding the Pelagian hereſie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth againſt Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieth his good eſtate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his ſonne Offride are ſlaine, Penda putteth his other ſonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

The xxvj. Chapter.

NOtwithſtanding the former viſion, king Edwin deferred time yer he would receiue the chriſtian faith, in ſo much that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he ſat muſing what he were beſt to dw, and laid his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne. Whereat when the king would haue fallen dowue at his feet, he liſted him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus ſaid vnto him: Behold, by the aſſiſtance of Gods fauour thou haſt eſcaped the hands of thine enimies, whome thou ſtoodſt in feare of: behold through his bountious liberalitie, thou haſt obteined the kingdome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddeſt promiſe, in receiuing his faith, and keeping his commandements, which deliuering thee from worldlie aduerſities, hath thus aduanced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker with him in his celeſtiall kingdome. It is to be thought that the viſion which the king had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirit reuealed vnto Pauline, whereupon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, anſwered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but firſt he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agree to dw the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time. Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this doctrine, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefe biſhop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this anſwer; that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth.

Edwin conſulteth with his nobles.

The anſwere of an heathen biſhop.

"For ſaith he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie worſhipped our gods than I haue done, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far greater benefits at thy hands than I haue done: and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignitie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that this new religion is better & more auailable than our old, let vs with ſpeed imbrace the ſame."

Finallie, when other of the kings councell & men of high authoritie gaue their conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeered more certeintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openlie to preach the goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſed the chriſtian faith. And when he demanded of his biſhop Coifi who ſhould firſt deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compaſſed about: He anſwered, that himſelfe would do it. For what is more meet (ſaith he) than that I, which thorough fooliſhneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould now for example ſake deſtroie the ſame, thorough wiſedome giuen me from the true and liuing God. And ſtreightwaies throwing awaie the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a ſtoned horſſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroie the idols.

Pauline licenced to preach the goſpell.

This was a ſtrange ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the biſhop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beaſt, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a ſword gird to him, tooke a ſpeare in his hand, and riding on the kings horſſe, went to the place where the idols ſtood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, & reioiſing greatlie in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commanded his companie to deſtroie & burne downe the ſame temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were ſometime worſhiped was not farre from Yorke, towards the eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foreſaid biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroied thoſe altars, which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptiſed, in the yeere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yeere of his reigne, and about the 178 yeere after the firſt comming of the Engliſhmen into this land. He was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter daie (which fell that yeere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the church of S. Peter the apoſtle, which he had cauſed to be erected and built vp of timber vpon the ſudden for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foundation of the ſame church in ſtone-worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he could finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall be ſhewed) leauing it to be performed of his ſucceſſor Oſwald.

King Edwin with his people receiue the chriſtian faith. Beda lib. 2. cap. 14.

627

Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſix yeeres after, in preaching the goſpell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Chriſt, among whom were Oſfride and Eadfride the two ſonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his baniſhment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Alſo afterwards he begot children on his ſecond wife Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſonne called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another ſonne called Bulfrea, of the which the two firſt died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be briefe: by the kings aſſiſtance & fauour ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord, great multitudes of people dailie receiued the faith, and were baptiſed of Pauline in manie places, but ſpeciallie in the riuer of Glenie within the prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in Swale in the prouince of Deira; for as yet in the beginning thus

Ediltrudis.

of the church in those countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or erected in so short a time.

Of such great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the setting forth of Gods truth, that he persuaded Carpwald the sonne of Redwald king of the Eastangles to abandon the superstitious worshipping of idols, and to receiue the faith of Christ with all his whole prouince. His father Redwald was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counsell of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of faith, his last dooings were worsse than his first, so that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would seeme both to serue the true God and his false gods, (whom before time he had serued) and in one selfe church had at one time both the sacraments of Christ ministred at one altar, and sacrifice made vnto diuels at another.

This chanced in the yeere 632, as Matt. West. saith. Redwald king of Eastangles baptised.

Redwald would serue God and the diuell.

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was slaine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnike, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme of three yeeres was wrapped effsoones in errour, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a most christian prince, and verie well learned, obteined the rule of that kingdome, who whilest he liued a banished man in France during his brothers life time, was baptised there, and became a christian: and when he came to be king, he caused all his prouince to be partaker of the same fountaine of life, wherein he had beene dipped himselfe.

Sibert or Sigibert.

Vnto his godlie purpose also, a bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbishop of Canturburie Honorius that was successor vnto Iustus, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same archbishop to preach the word of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good successe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Jesus Christ, and placed the see of his bishoprike at Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yeeres. Moreouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the word of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he persuaded one Blecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincolne to turne vnto Christ, together with all his familie. In that citie he also builded a church of stone worke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worke of the Lord, the same being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, neere to a towne, which in the old English tong was called Tio vulfingaceſter. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministerie, and profited greatlie therein.

A bishop ordeined at Dunwich. Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.

This chanced in the yeere 628, as Matth. West. saith.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of worthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obseruing of iustice, deserued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from sea to sea, and not haue incountred with anie creature that durst once haue offered hir iniurie. He was also verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, insomuch that where there were any swet and cleare water-springs, he caused posts to be set vp, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chaines, that waifaring men might haue the same readie at hand to drinke with: and there was none so hardie as to touch the same but for that vse. He vsed wheresoeuer he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iustice to be ministred by his roiall authoritie.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West. Beda lib. 2. cap. 16.

In the meane season, pope Honorius the first, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the said Pauline the pall, confirming him archbishop in the see of Yorke. He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduise to continue and proceed in the waie of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered. At the same time also, because Justus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that see, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was contained a decree by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that suruiued should haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was deceassed, that they should not need to wearie themselues with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of which letter is registred in the ecclesiasticall historie of Beda, bearing date the third Ides of June, in the yeere of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scotish people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world obserued. And also because the heresie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongst them (as he was informed) he admonished them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and shew his sheepe the waies to a christian life, but also stronglie to withstand all such vniust meanes, as might hinder their proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the bodie, that is heresie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poison is disabled from all naturall faculties, and vtterlie extinguished, vnlesse by present meanes the force thereof be vanquished: so truth and veritie by errors and heresies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer strangled.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 17.

A decree concerning the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke.

633

The feast of Easter.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flourished (as before is partlie touched) in happie state vnder the prosperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the space of 17 yeeres, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo king of Britaine, who succeeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. saith, rebelled against him. For so it commeth to passe, that nothing can be so sure confirmed by mans power, but the same by the like power may be againe destroied. Penda king of Mercia enuieng the prosperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion against Edwin: and ioining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland iointlie togither. Edwin hereof aduertised, gathered his people, & came to incounter them, so that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie sore and bloudie battell. But in the end Edwin was slaine with one of his sonnes named Osfride, and his armie beaten downe and dispersed. Also there was slaine on Edwins part, Eodbald king of Mercenie. Moreouer there was another of Edwins sonnes named Eadfride constreined of necessitie to giue himselfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promised faith in king Oswalds daies that succeeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield afore said, on the fourth ides of October, in the yere of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 47 yeeres and vpwards.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Britaine.

Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin slaine. March. Wil.

The

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo after their victorie, the Britains make no account of religion, Archbiſhop Pauline with queen Ethelburga flie out of Northumberland into Kent, honorable perſonages accompanie him thither, Romanus biſhop of Rocheſter drowned, Pauline vndertaketh the charge of that ſee; Oſrike is king of Deira, and Eaufride king of Bernicia, both kings become apoſtatas, and fall frõ chriſtianitie to paganiſme, they are both ſlaine within leſſe than a yeeres ſpace; Oſwald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefe practiſe in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oſwalds ſuperſtitious deuotion and interceſſion to God againſt his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is ſlaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whom he will without exception.

The xxvij. Chapter.

CAdwallo and Penda hauing obteined the victorie aforeſaid, vſed it moſt cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, ſhewed himſelfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue done. So that Penda being a worſhipper of falſe gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no reſpect to the chriſtian religion which latelie was begun amongſt the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not ſparing man, woman nor child: and ſo continued in their furious outrage a long time in paſſing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the chriſtian congregations in thoſe parties. And ſtill the chriſtian Britains were leſſe mercifull than Penda his heathenith ſouldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Engliſhmen, nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, bicauſe they differed in rites from their accuſtomed traditions.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miſerable caſe by the enimies inuaſion, the archbiſhop Pauline taking with him the quéene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorablie receiued of the archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Baſſus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, and Vlfrea the ſonne of Edwin, & alſo Iffi the ſonne of Oſfride Edwins ſonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oſwold did ſend into France where they died. The church of Rocheſter at that time was deſtitute of a biſhop, by the death of Romanus, who being ſent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian ſeas. Wherevpon at the requeſt of archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline toke vpon him the charge of that ſee, and held it till he died.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 11. *Oſrike king of Deira.*

AFter it was knowne that Edwin was ſlaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Oſrike the ſonne of his vncle Elfrike toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the ſacrament of baptiſme by the preaching and vertuous inſtruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eaufride the ſon of Edelferd or Edelfride, toke vpon him to gouerne. This Eaufride during the time of Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the chriſtian faith was baptiſed. But both theſe princes, after they had obteined poſſeſſion of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, ſo that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long ſuffer this their vnthankefulneſſe without iuſt punithment: for firſt in the next ſummer, when Oſrike had raſhlie beſieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon him, and finding him vnprouided to make reſiſtance, ſlue him with all his armie. Now after this, whileſt Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant waſted and deſtroied them, in ſleaing the people in tragicall maner, he alſo ſlue Eaufride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiſcréetlie vnto him to ſue for peace: and thus within leſſe than twelue moneths ſpace both theſe runagate kings were diſpatched.

The two kings of Northumberland ſlaine.

THen Oſwald the ſonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foreſaid Eaufride was created king of the Northumbers, the firſt in number from Ida. This Oſwald after that his father was ſlaine, liued as a baniſhed perſon a long time within Scotland, where he was baptiſed, and profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and paſſed the flower of his youth in good exerciſes, both of mind & bodie. Amongſt other things he practiſed the vnderſtanding of warlike knowledge, minding ſo to vſe it as it might ſtand him in ſtead to defend himſelfe from iniurie of the enimies that ſhould prouoke him, and not otherwiſe. Herevpõ Cadwallo king of the Britains made in maner no account of him: for by reaſon that he had atchiued ſuch great victories againſt the Engliſhmen, and hauing ſlaine their two kings (as before is expreſſed) he ceaſſed not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputing the Engliſh people for ſlouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boaſting that he was borne to their deſtruction. Thus being ſet vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without conſidering at all the ſkilfull knowledge which Oſwald had ſufficientlie learned in feates of war) toke vpon him to aſſaile the foreſaid Oſwald, that had brought an armie againſt him, and was encamped in a plaine field néere vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times paſt againſt the inuaſion of Scots and Picts.

Oſwald began his reigne in the yeare 635. Beda lib. 3. cap. 3.

Cadwallo ſtreight prouoked Oſwald to trie the matter by battell, but Oſwald forbare the firſt day, and cauſed a croſſe to be erected in the ſame place where he was incamped, in full hope that it ſhould be an enſigne or trophie of his victorie, cauſing all ſouldiers to make their praiers to God, that in time of ſuch neceſſitie it might pleaſe him to ſuccour them that worſhip him. It is ſaid, that the croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhould be ſet, he toke the croſſe in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, ſo held it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then cauſed all the ſouldiers to knéele downe vpon their knées, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtance againſt the proud enimie, with whom they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarell for the preſeruation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight inſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceiued that the Britains began ſomwhat to faint, and therfore cauſed his people to renew their force, and more luſtilie to preaſſe forward, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe ouertoke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Deniſborne, but the place where he cauſed the croſſe to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cadwallo

Beda. Wil. Malm.

wallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Britains did afterwards ſet vp his image, that the ſame might be a terror to the enimies when they ſhould behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the Britiſh hiſtorie of Gal. Mon. it ſhould appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but reigned victoriouſlie for the ſpace of 48 yéeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appére. But for that the contrarietie in writers in ſuch points may ſooner be perceiued than reformed, to the ſatisfieng of mens fanſies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as ſéemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſities of ſuch writers, as occaſion ſerueth.

Penda. 636

PEnda the ſonne of Wilba ſucceéded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Cearlus, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yéeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured and readie of remembrance in time of greateſt perill. His bodie could not be ouercome with anie trauell, nor his mind vanquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe. But theſe his vertues were matched with notable vices, as firſt with ſuch bitternelle of maners as had not béene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the chriſtian religion.

Now vpon confidence in theſe his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occaſion paſſe that was offered to make war, as wel againſt his friends & confederats, as alſo againſt his owne ſworne enimies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the Eaſt ſaxons & Eaſt angles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye ſhall find further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the Southſaxons: but becauſe their kingdom continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, litle remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds *of his as the Britiſh writers haue recor-* ded them, wherevpon diſcord aroſe betweene *Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres ſpace were* linked in friendſhip, Cadwallo vanquiſht, his flight, *of Pelitus the Spaniſh wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda* and his power beſieging Exceſter, he arreareth battell againſt the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he ſeeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda ſlaieth Oſwald, whoſe brother and ſucceſſor Oſunus by gifts and ſubmiſſion obteineth peace, whom Penda ſpitefullie attempting to kill is killed himſelfe, Cadwallo dieth, a braſen image on horſſebacke ſet vp in his memoriall, ſaint Martins at Ludgate builded.

The xxviij. Chapter.

Cadwallo, or Cadwalline. 635.

CAdwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him ſo named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 635, in the yéere of the reigne of the emperour Heracleus 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres againſt the Northumbers, and other of the Engliſh nation: but forſomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the Britiſh writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find written, leauing the credit ſtill with the author, ſith the truth thereof may be the more ſuſpected, becauſe other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmeſburie, and others ſéeme greatlie to diſagrée from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſaith, were brought vp in France, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yéeres great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſuaſion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherewith Edwin tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo anſwered, that if he ſo did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his coſin king Salomon he was courteouſlie receiued, and at length obteined of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie, to aſſiſt him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie ſpoiled, waſted and haried by king Edwin.

Edwin was not ſonne to Ethelfred but to Ella, &c. as in other places plainlie appeareth.

Cadwallo vanquiſhed by Edwin.

Cadwallo flieth the land.

At the ſame time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had ſent into Britaine a little before to ſlea a certeine wizard or ſouthſaier, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterpriſes, had fortified the citie of Exceſter, meaning to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherevpon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that citie with a mightie army, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall haſted to Exceſter, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, ſet vpon his enimies, tooke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegeman, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abroad a long ſeaſon, & with all ſpéed went againſt Edwin king of Northumberland, and ſlue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his ſon Offride, and Eodbold king of the Iles of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid.

¶ By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the reignes of the Britiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was ſlaine in the yéere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is ſaid) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the moſt

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part

part of all other writers ſignifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding aſſigneth but 13 yéeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yéere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he ſaith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his ſéemeth beſt to agrée with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the Britiſh ſtorie. After he had got this victorie againſt the Northumbers, he cruellie purſued the Saxons, as though he 10 ment ſo farre as in him lay, to deſtroie the whole race of them out of the coaſts of all Britaine: and ſending Penda againſt king Oſwald that ſucceeded Edwin, though at the firſt Penda receiued the ouerthrow at Heauenfield, yet afterwards Cadwallo himſelfe highly diſpleaſed with that chance, purſued Oſwald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Oſwald ſlaine Penda ſlue the ſaid Oſwald. Whereupon his brother Oſwius ſucceeding in gouernment of the Northumbers, ſought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and ſiluer, and vpon his humble ſubmiſſion, obteined peace, till at length vpon ſpite, Penda king of Mercia obteined licence of Cadwallo to make warres againſt the ſaid Oſwius, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himſelfe was ſlaine. Then Cadwallo after two yéeres granted that Alfridus the ſonne of Penda ſhould ſucceed in Mercia.

Edwin was not ſonne to Ethelfred, but to Ella, or Elle, as in other places plainlie appeareth.

Oſwald ſlaine. Hiſtorie. Matt. Weſt. 654.

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finallie when he had reigned 48 yéeres, he departed this life the 22 of Nouember. His bodie being embalmed and dreſſed with ſweet confections, was put into a braſen image by marueilous art melted and caſt, which image being ſet on a brazen horſſe of excellent beautie, the Britains ſet vp aloft vpon the weſt gate of London called Ludgate, in ſigne of his conqueſts, and for a terror to the Saxons. Moreouer the church of S. Martin vnderneath the ſame gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerſe thinke that much of this hiſtorie is but fables, becauſe of the manifeſt varieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue ſaid.)

678 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 676.

Cadwallo vanquiſhed by Edwin.

Cadwallo flieth the land.

The true ſtorie of the forenamed king *Oſwald, his deſire to reſtore chriſtian religion*, Cormans preaching taking ſmall effect *among the Northumbers, perſuadeth him to* depart into his owne countrie, he ſlandereth them be*fore the Scotiſh clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cauſe* of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to inſtruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obſeruation of Eaſter from the Engliſh churches cuſtome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oſwalds earneſt zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and miniſterie, 15000 baptiſed within 7 daies; Oſwald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & Engliſh at his commandement, his commendable deed of chriſtian charitie, the Weſt ſaxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptiſed, he maketh Birinus biſhop of Dorceſter, Penda king of Mercia maketh war againſt the chriſtian kings of the Weſtſaxons, both ſides after a bloudie battell fall to agrement, Ercombert the firſt Engliſh king that deſtroied idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why Engliſh men became moonks, and Engliſh women nunnes in monaſteries beyond the ſeas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieth vertuous king Oſwald, he is aſſaulted, ſlaine in battell, and canonized a ſaint after his death.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOw will we (after all theſe differing diſcourſes of the Britiſh chronologers) approch and draw as néere as we can to the truth of the hiſtorie touching Oſwald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, that after he had taſted of Gods high fauour extended to him wards, in vanquiſhing his enimies, as one minding to be thankefull therefore, he was deſirous to reſtore the chriſtian faith through his whole kingdome, ſore lamenting the decay thereof within the ſame, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he ſent vnto Donwald the Scotiſh king (with whome he had béene brought vp in the time of his baniſhment the ſpace of 18 yéeres) requiring him to haue ſome learned Scotiſhman ſent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly ſermons and wholeſome inſtructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promiſing to intertein him with ſuch proviſion as apperteined.

Oſwald meaneth to be thankefull to God for his benefits. Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hector Boec.

At his inſtance, there was ſent vnto him one Corman, a clerke ſingularlie well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted ſuch facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle perſuading, as is requiſite in him that ſhall inſtruct the ſimple, onelie ſetting forth in his ſermons high myſteries, and matters of ſuch profound knowledge, as the verie learned might ſcarſelie perceiue the perfect ſenſe and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to ſmall effect, ſo that after a yéeres remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongſt his brethren of the clergie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, ſtubborne and ſtiffe-harted generation, whoſe minds he could not frame by anie good meanes of perſuaſion to receiue the chriſtian faith: ſo that he iudged it loſt labour to ſpend more time amongſt them, being ſo vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be done vnto them. Corman.

Amongſt other learned and vertuous prelats of the Scots, there chanced one to be there preſent at the ſame time called Aidan, a man of ſo perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwiſe than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but what ſoeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he freelie beſtowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not ſo much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were ſo that the people of Northumberland gaue no ſuch attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation was they ſhould haue done, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie myſticall articles amongſt them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderſtanding of ſimple men, was the cauſe why they ſo lightlie regarded his diuine inſtructions, whereas if he had (according to the counſell of Saint Paule) at the firſt miniſtred vnto their tender vnderſtandings, onelie milke, without harder nouriſhments, he might happilie haue wone a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and ſo haue framed them by little and little to haue digeſted ſtronger food. And therefore he thought it neceſſarie in diſcharge of their duties towards God, and to ſatiſfie the earneſt zeale of king Oſwald, that ſome one amongſt them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceeding in this maner afore alledged, what profit would thereof inſue. Aidan. S. Paules counſell.

The biſhops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and therevpon not onelie allowed his words, but alſo willed him to take the iournie vpon him, ſith they knew none ſo able with effect to accompliſh their wiſhed deſires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not ſeeme to refuſe to take that in hand which he himſelfe had motioned, was contented to ſatiſfie their requeſt, and ſo ſet forward towards Northum- Aidan commeth into England to preach the goſpell.

berland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see of his new bishoprike.

Beda li.3.ca.3. Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vse of the new begun church of England, that is to say, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like maner as all the bishops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in those daies did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, alreadie were agreed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himselfe so earnestlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within short while in wonderfull estimation, chieflie for that he tempered his preachings with such sweet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, insomuch that sometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, because the audience was more than could haue rome in the church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tong. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the harts of his subiects, vsed as an interpretor to report vnto the people in their Saxon tong, such whole sermons as Aidan vttered in his mother tong. For Oswald hauing béene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scotish, as he was in the Saxon tong. The people then séeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the doctrine set forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: so that it was a maruellous matter to note, that numbers of people dailie offred themselues to be baptised, insomuch that within the space of seuen daies (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betoke themselues to a solitarie kind of life.

Beda. Oswald an interpretor to the preacher.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting forth the gospell in that countrie, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and such zeale to aduance the glorie of the christian religion dailie increased amongst them, that no where could be found greater. Herevpon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: insomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oswald atteined to such power, that all nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongs (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe marueilous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and strangers.

Oswalds zeale to aduance religion

Beda lib.5.ca.6

Oswald had in estimation with his neighbours.

It is said, that he being set at the table vpon an Easter day, & hauing bishop Aidan at dinner then with him, his almoner came in as the bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks set before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith tooke a siluer dish, which was set on the table before him with meate, & commanded the same meate streightwaies to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish broken into small péeces, and diuided amongst them: for which act he was highlie commended of the bishop, as he well deserued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had béene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the same time, the West Saxons were conuerted to the christian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a bishop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to set forth the gospell vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By whose diligent trauell in the Lords haruest, Cinigils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptised about the fiue & twentith yéere of his reigne. K. Oswald that should haue had his daughter in mariage, was present the same time, who first yer he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that should be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontstone, in that his second birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or christian) appointed and assigned the citie of Dorcester, situat by the Thames, distant from Oxford about seuen miles, to be the see of his bishoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yéere following, Quichelmus the other king of the West Saxons, and sonne to Kinigils was also christened, and died the same yéere, and so Cinigillus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Beda lib.3. Birinus conuerteth the West Saxons to the christian faith.

Kinigils king of west Saxons becommeth a christian.

Polydor.

Dorcester, deemed a bishops sea.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that succéeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to séeke trouble in one place or other, leauied warre against the kings of West Saxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencester, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermost, as though they had forsworne to giue place one to another, insomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they should buckle together againe, the one part should vtterlie destroie the other, they fell to agréement in moderating each others demands.

Henr. Hunt.

This chanced in the yeere 620, as Matt. West. saith.

After this, in the yéere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which tooke order for the vtter destroieng of all idols throughout his whole kingdome. He also by his roiall authoritie commanded the fast of fortie daies in the Lent season to be kept and obserued, appointing woorthie and competent punishment against the transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, a daughter named Ermongatha, a professed nunne within the monasterie of Brige or Cala in France: for in those daies, because there were not manie monasteries builded within this land, a great number of Englishmen, that tooke vpon them the profession of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there professed themselues monks: and manie there were which sent their daughters ouer to be professed nuns within the nunneries there, and specialiie at Brige, Cala, and Andelie: amongst other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the bastard daughter of the said king Anna, both which in processe of time were made abbesses of the said monasterie of Brige.

640

Beda lib.3. cap.7. Matth. West.

Lent first ordeined to be kept in England.

Segburga.

Ermonus.

We haue heard alreadie, how Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points like a most woorthie prince, not ceasing to reléeue the ne-

cessitie

ceſſitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himſelfe exceeding praiſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame increaſed for his vertuous doings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the chriſtian faith. Herevpon Penda king of Mercia, enuieng the proſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to deſtroie him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, and there in ſharpe and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlaine on the firſt day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after ſome, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predeceſſors Oſrike and Eanfride reigned, whome they number not amongeſt kings, becauſe of their wicked apoſtaſie and renouncing of the faith which before they had profeſſed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oſwald, being cruellie ſlaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holineſſe, the foreſaid Oſwald was canonized a ſaint, and had in great worſhip of the people, being the firſt of the Engliſh nation that approued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after his departure out of this life.

Penda inuadeth the Northumbers. Beda lib. 3. cap. 9. King Oſwald ſlaine. Mart. Weſtm. Anno 644.

Oſwie ſucceedeth Oſwald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is ſore vexed by Penda, Oſwie and Oſwin are partners in gouernement, they fall at ſtrife, Oſwin is betraied into the hands of Oſwie and ſlaine, a commendation of his perſonage and goodlie qualities, biſhop Aidan dieth; Cenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons, Penda maketh warre againſt him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becommeth a chriſtian and recouereth his kingdome, biſhop Agilbert commeth into Weſtſaxon, and afterwards departing (vpon occaſion) is made biſhop of Paris, Wini buieth the biſhoprike of London; Sigibert king of the Eaſtangles, the vniuerſitie of Cambridge founded by him, he reſigneth his kingdome and becometh a moonke, he and his kinſman Egric are ſlaine in a skirmiſh againſt Penda king of Mercia.

The xxx. Chapter.

Oſwie king of Northumberland. Beda lib. 3. ca. 14.

After that king Oſwald was ſlaine, his brother Oſwie (being about 30 yeares of age) toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the ſame with great trouble for the ſpace of 28 yeares, being ſore vexed by the foreſaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the firſt yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare of our Lord 644. Pauline the biſhop of Rochеſter which had beene alſo archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kent was ordeined biſhop of Rocheſter by Honorius the archbiſhop of Canturburie. King Oſwie had one Oſwin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the firſt beginning of his reigne, which was ſonne to Oſrike, ſo that Oſwie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendſhip for a ſeaſon, till at length, through the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo much as to ſowe diſcord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and ſo began to make warres one againſt another, ſo that finallie when they were at point to haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oſwin perceiuing that he had not an armie of ſufficient force to incounter with Oſwie, brake vp his campe at Wilfareſdowne, ten mile by weſt the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himſelfe onelie with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of earle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue beene his truſtie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the ſaid Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oſwie, who by his captaine Edelwine ſlue the ſaid Oſwin and his ſeruant the foreſaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 651.

644

Bernicia.

This Oſwin was a goodlie gentleman of perſon, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of ſpeech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, ſo that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be breefe, as biſhop Aidan geſſed that he ſhould not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthie of ſo good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humbleneſſe and obedience he perceiued to reſt in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better inſtruction in good part, that he ſaid, he neuer ſaw before that time an humble king. The ſame Aidan liued not paſt 12 daies after the death of the ſaid Oſwin, whome he ſo much loued, departing this world the laſt daie of Auguſt, in the ſeuenteenth yeare after he was ordeined biſhop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindeſſerne. After Aidan, one Finan was made biſhop in his place, a Scotiſhman alſo, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predeceſſor the foreſaid Aidan came, being firſt a man of religion profeſſed in the monaſterie there (as ſome writers doo report.)

651

Cenwalch.

In the meane time, after that Kinigils or Cinigils king of the Weſtſaxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life *Anno* 643, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the ſame kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as ſome write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the third, or (as others ſaie) in the firſt yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made ſharpe warre againſt him, becauſe he had put awaie his wife the ſiſter of the ſaid Penda, and in this warre Chenwald was ouercome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, ſo that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, with whome he remained the ſpace of a yeare, or (as other ſay) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the chriſtian religion, but now by the wholeſome admonitions and ſharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a chriſtian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the preſcript of Gods law, and (to be breefe) in all things ſhewed himſelfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & auoiding vice, ſo that ſhortlie after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

943

Hen. Hunt. Ran. Higd.

Now when he was eſtabliſhed in the ſame, there came a biſhop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the ſcriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Weſtſaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whoſe deſire he toke vpon him to exerciſe the rome of a biſhop there: but afterwards, when the ſaid king admitted another biſhop named Wini, which had beene ordeined in France, and knew the tong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counſell therein, returned into France, and there was made biſhop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foreſaid Wini was

Agilbertus a biſhop.

ni was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Vulfhere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrie of Westsaxon remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Elutherius that was his nephue.

Sigibert.

YE haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succéeded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and worthinesse, who whilest he remained in France as a banished man, being constreined to flée his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obteining at length the kingdome, those things which he had séene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and herevpon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the tongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namelie at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had béene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

Beda.lib.3. cap.4.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those his learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthie king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as apperteined to the dutie of a good king, whereupon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yéeres, and to liue from thenceforth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egricus, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Bale saith 636.

Sigibert resigneth his kingdome to Egricus.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, whervpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constreined against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in stéed of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good spéed by the presence of Sigibert, ioined in battell with their enimies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, togither with Sigibert and his cosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour (as some haue noted)

Sigibert and Egricus slaine.

652.

652.

In the daies whilest Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furseus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbreburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a monke. Of this Furseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had béene bishop fiue yéeres, died, and then one Berefgils was ordeined in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Cantuburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceassed also the last of September in the yéere of our Lord 653.

Baleus. Beda lib.3. cap.19. Furseus.

653.

Anna king of Eastangles is slaine by *Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding* him is slaine also by Oswie king of *Northumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles* receiue the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he *requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberlands daughter* in mariage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murthered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

The xxxj. Chapter.

Anna.

AFter Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that inuaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succéeded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, togither with the foresaid Penda, and worthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the sée of Canturburie had béene vacant by the space of one whole yeare and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countrie of the Westsarons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of April. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yéeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

Will. Malm.

Edelhere k. of Eastangle.

Deus dedit.

Beda hist.eccl. lib.3.cap.21.

ABout this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called Middleangles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peada, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yong gentleman, and worthie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Héere maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in mariage: but when he was informed that he might not haue hir except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioies and immortalitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would suerlie be baptised, and chieflie he was persuaded thervnto by his kinsman Alchfrid, who had in mariage his sister the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh.

Peda or Pida king of Middleangles.

Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him, at a place called Ad murum called Ad murum, the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought méet to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen.

glishmen. These priests comming into the prouince of the Middleangles, preached the word, and were well heard, so that dailie a great number of the nobilitie & communaltie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrie, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselues christians, and yet shewed not the works of faith, saieng, that those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obeie their God in whome they beleeued. This alteration of things began, about two yeres before the death of king Penda.

The saieng of king Penda.

Beda.lib.3. cap.22.

About the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, receiued eftsoones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Mellitus. We haue heard that Sebert, Siward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succeeded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Siward, as some write. This Sigibert the litle left the kingdome to an other Sigibert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, wherupon king Oswie ceassed not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receiue the faith of Jesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall persuasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue credit to his words, and so being conuerted, receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, bicause it was built neere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigibert receiued the faith.

What was about the yere 639, as Matth. West. hath noted.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent vnto the prouince of the Middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and inlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his see at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Cedda.

Ordo: Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Hereupon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, specially in the citie of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilest Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase dailie proceeding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause, that should moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bicause they had conceiued an hatred against the king, for that he was so fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgiue iniuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murthered, bicause he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Tilberie.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had sundrie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had vnlawfullie maried, and refused to put hir away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to abstaine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banket, and in his comming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his feet, beseeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horssebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words; Bicause (saith he) thou wouldst not abstaine from entring the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the same house: and so it came to passe. "

The authoritie of a bishop.

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he *is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced* in his natiue countrie of Northumberland; E*diswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings* deuout mind to further and inlarge religion; the m*aner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie vse; the old or*der of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgine to God if he got the victorie, he obteineth his request and performeth his vow, she liueth, dieth, and is buried in a monasterie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enimies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie, prince Peada his kinsman murthered, & of his wife.

The xxxij. Chapter.

Suidhelme.

Beda lib.3. cap.22. Matt.VVest.

After Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Serbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlesham. Edilwald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the Eastsaxons vsed oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godlie life. Wherupon it chanced that king Edilwald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chose forth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praie, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and de-

Beda.lib.3. cap.23.

sert

sert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestingham.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with praier & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order; that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praier and fasting, which they lately had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

The maner of the old fast.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbill, to supplie his rome, that his begun religious worke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought vp. Finallie this bishop Ced comming vnto this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sickenesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

Lindesferne holie Iland.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterlie to haue destroied the whole nation of Oswies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let vs make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtein victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further would giue twelue manors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

warre betweene king Oswie & king Penda

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or colonels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Jesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with queene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his vncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbers swords.

The victorie of the Northumbers.

After that Oswie had obteined this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, conteining euerie of them ten houholds a peece. Elfled also king Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Heruthew, where one Hilda was abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten houholds in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yeres she departed this life, and was buried there; and so likewise was hir mother Eanfled, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Lodres on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirteenth yere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and conuerted those pagans themselues, and the countries nere adioining to them wholie vnto the faith of Jesus Christ.

Hertfield saith Matt. West.

Hilda.

Lodres.

The first bishop of Mercia.

The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Middleangles was one Diuma, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Ceallach, the which leauing his bishoprike returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Ingethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned.) For queene Eanfled that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon.

The victorious proceeding of king Oswie.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue vnto Peada the son of king Penda (bicause he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, conteining 5000 houholds, and separated from the Northmercies by the riuer Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies conteined in those daies 7000 houholds. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murthered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter.

Southmercia.

Northmercia.

659 Matt. West.

The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the Westsaxons fighteth with the Britaines and preuaileth, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adelwold king of Sussex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and why; succession of Edelher, Edelwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a moonke supplieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian woorthilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brought into this Iland.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

After three yeeres were complet, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled against king Oswie, aduancing one Wulfhere a young gentleman

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

man the ſonne of Penda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in ſecret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oſwie, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and ſo liuing in freedome with their owne naturall king the foreſaid Vulfhere, they alſo continued with glad hearts in ſeruice of the celeſtiall king our God and Sauiour.

Vulfhere. Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

THis Vulfhere gouerned the Mercies ſeuentéene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the ſaid Vulfhere) had foure biſhops ſucceſſiuelie gouerning the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Iaroman, Ceadda, and Wilfrid, as hereafter ſhall more at large appeare.

Henr. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

About the beginning of king Vulfhers reigne, that is to ſay, in the ſeuenteenth yeare of the reigne of Chenwald king of the Weſtſaxons, the ſame Chenwald fought with the Britains at Penuum; where the Britains being aſſembled in great number, proudlie incountred with the Engliſhmen, and at the firſt put them to the woorſt, but when the Engliſhmen would in no wiſe giue ouer, but did sticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, ſo that the poſteritie of Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within three yeares after, that is, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Chenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell againſt the foreſaid Vulfhere king of Mercia, as he had before againſt the Britains, for the ſaid Vulfhere vanquiſhing him in the field, paſſed through his countrie with a great armie vnto the Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it vnto Adelwold king of Suſſex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the fontſtone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Ile, to the end he ſhould cauſe the people there to receiue the faith and religon of Chriſt. Now after that Edelhere king of Eaſtangles was ſlaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald ſucceeded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the ſpace of nine yeares. Then after Edelwald ſucceeded Aldulfe the ſon of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

The Britains put to flight by Chenwald.

Chenwald vanquiſhed by Vulfhere.

Adelwold of Suſſex.

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Beda.lib.3. cap.24. Colman ordeined biſhop.

After Finan biſhop of the Northumbers that held his ſee at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined biſhop, a Scot borne, and an earneſt obſeruer of the cuſtomes vſed amongeſt them of his nation, ſo that when the controuerſie began to be reuiued for the holding of the feaſt of Eaſter, he would by no meanes yeeld to them that would haue perſwaded him to haue followed the rite of the Romane church. There was a great diſputation kept about this matter, and other things, as ſhauing or cutting of heares, and ſuch like in the monaſterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oſwie and his ſonne Alefrid were preſent, where Colman for his part alledged the cuſtome of Iohn the euangeliſt, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie ſide brought in proofe of their opinion, the cuſtome of Peter and Paule. At length, when biſhop Colman perceiued that his doctrine was not ſo much regarded, as he thought of reaſon it ought to haue beene, he returned into Scotland with thoſe, which taking part with him, refuſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the church of Rome, nor would haue their crownes ſhauen, about which point no ſmall reaſoning had beene kept. This diſputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oſwie 22, and 30 yeare after the Scotiſhmen began firſt to beare the office of biſhops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Hariſon ſaith) 624. For Aidan gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrie, one Tuda that had beene brought vp amongeſt the Southerne Scots, and ordeined biſhop by them, ſucceeded in his roome, hauing his crowne ſhauen, and obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the prouince and rite of the Romane church. ¶ The ſame yeare there chanced a great eclipſe of the ſunne, the third of Maie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mortalitie inſued, both in all the parties of this our Britaine, and likewiſe in Ireland. Amongeſt other, the foreſaid biſhop Tuda died, and was buried in the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, ſucceeded in gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, otherwiſe called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was ſent by king Alefrid into France, to be ordeined there.

Beda.lib.3. cap.25.

Controuerſie about ſhauing of crownes.

Cap. 6.

664

Tuda ordeined biſhop.

Cap. 27. *An eclipſe. Diuiſion. of God for yeelding to ſuperſtition.*

Wilfrid biſhop.

About the ſame time king Oſwie, the father of king Alefrid, moued with the good example of his ſonne, ſent Ceadda, the brother of Ced ſometime biſhop of the Eaſtſaxons into Kent, to be ordeined biſhop of Yorke; but at his comming into Kent he found that Deus dedit the archbiſhop of Canturburie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined in his place, ſo that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Weſtſaxons, where he was ordeined by biſhop Wini, who take two other biſhops of the Britiſh nation vnto him to be his aſſociats, which vſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the cuſtome of the Romane church. But there was no other ſhift, ſith none other biſhop was then canonicallie ordeined in the prouince of the Weſtſaxons in thoſe daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he conſtreined to take ſuch as he might get and prouide.

Cap. 28.

Ceadda ordeined archbiſhop of Yorke.

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began forthwith to follow the true rules of the church, liued right chaſtlie, ſhewed himſelfe humble and continent, applied his ſtudie to reading, and trauelled abroad on foot and not on horſſebacke through the countries, townes, and villages, to preach the word of God. He was the diſciple of Aidan, and couered by his example, and alſo by the example of Ced, to inſtruct his hearers with the like doings & maners as he had knowen them to doo. Wilfrid alſo being conſecrated biſhop, and returned into England, indeuored to plant the orders of the Romane church in the churches of England, whereby it came to paſſe, that the Scots which inhabited amongſt the Engliſhmen, were conſtreined either to follow the ſame, or elſe to returne into their owne countrie.

Egbert king of Kent.

IN this meane time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of twentie yeares, his ſonne Egbert ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and reigned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of his doings, which in that ſhort time were not much notable, except ye will aſcribe the comming into this land of the archbiſhop Theodorus, and the abbat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time. For in the yeare of the great eclipſe and ſore mortalitie that inſued, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbiſhop Deus dedit departed this life, ſo that the ſee of Canturburie was void a certeine time, in ſo much that king Egbert, who ſucceeded his father Ercombert, togither with king Oſwie, did ſend one Wighart a prieſt of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the ſcriptures, vnto Rome, with great gifts and rich veſſels of gold and ſiluer, to be preſented vnto the pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foreſaid Wighart archbiſhop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the Engliſh church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome,

Beda.lib.3. cap.9. *Wighart.*

and

and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.

The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a rome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, whereunto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, ertsones Adrian should haue bene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend vpon him into England, both for that he had bene twise before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and loke well to the matter, that Theodore should not bring into the church of England anie rite or customs of the Greekes, contrarie to the vse of the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne shauen after the maner of Peter. For he was rounded or shauen after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselues, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the first kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie.

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These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortlie after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: whereupon with all conuenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundaie. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obeisance.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the rite and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of Yorke, and Wilfrid was therevnto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed.

Ran. Ceſt. Matth. Weſt.

Beda.

Singing in churches brought in vſe.

Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euerie church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well seene in song and musicke to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Gregories disciples.

Putta bp. of Rochestr.

To be breefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notablie well learned themselues in the Greeke and the Latine tongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they toke great paines to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in companie of the said archbishop from Rome, an English man named Benedict Biscop, which had taken vpon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbeis, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Wire, and the other Girwie, distant from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwie in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glaziers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiue times to Rome, and came againe.

The worthie praise of Theodore and Adrian.

Englishmen happie and why.

Beda. Benedict or Benet surnamed Biscop.

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Glaziers first brought into England. Ran. Ceſt.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the Eastsaxons, the one falleth from, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that apostasie of the prince and the people, Cead bishop of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in hie reputation, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bisi vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Escuius succeedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murtherer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed monke, his death.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

ABout the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succeeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue bene defended from

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.

from that mortalitie. But his aſſociat Sebbie with great deuotion continued ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had receiued.

King Wulfhere being informed of Seghers apoſtaſie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eaſtſaxons were departed from the faith, ſent thither biſhop Iarumman or Iaroman; that was ſucceſſour vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the ſaid king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, ſo as the idoliſh ſynagogs were deſtroied, and the idols alſo with their altars quite beaten downe, the chriſtian churches againe ſet open, and the name of Chriſt often times called vpon amongeſt the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of reſurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the ſeruice of idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beleefe. And thus when biſhop Iaroman had accompliſhed the thing for the which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

Biſhop Iarumman or Iaroman.

After this, when the ſaid Iaroman was departed this life, king Wulfhere ſent vnto the archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new biſhop at that time, required Oſwie king of Northumberland, that biſhop Cead might come into Mercia to exerciſe the office of biſhop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the biſhoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongeſt the Picts alſo, ſo farre as king Oſwies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Wulfhere, and well enterteined, in ſo much that the ſaid king gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions containing 50 families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certeine place within the countrie of Lindſey called Etbearne. But the ſee of his biſhoprike was aſſigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordſhire, where he made him a houſe neere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vſed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, ſo often as they had leaſure from labour and buſineſſe of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the ſpace of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner, which becauſe in the iudgement of the moſt it may ſeeme meere fabulous, we will omit and paſſe ouer. His bodie was firſt buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of ſaint Peter the apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

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In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the ſecond yeare after that Theodorus the archbiſhop came into this land, Oſwie king of Northumberland was attached with a grieuous ſickneſſe, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares compleat.

Matth. Weſt.

Egfrid.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 5. Matth. Weſt.

After Oſwie, his ſonne Egfrid ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whoſe reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbiſhop of Canturburie kept a ſynod at Herford, the firſt ſeſſion whereof began the 24 of September, all the biſhops of this land being preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, as Biſi biſhop of Eſſangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta biſhop of Rochеſter, Eleutherius biſhop of Weſtſaxon, and Wilfrid biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe prelats, the archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the ſame might be receiued.

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A ſynod holden at Herford.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.

Articles propoſed by Theodore.

1 The firſt chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept on the ſundaie following the fourteenth day of the firſt moneth.

2 The ſecond, that no biſhop ſhould intermeddle in an others dioceſſe, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no biſhop ſhould diſquiet in anie thing anie monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the ſame.

4 The fourth, that biſhops being monks ſhould not go from monaſterie to monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their abbats, & ſhould continue in the ſame obedience wherein they ſtood before.

5 The fift, that none of the cleargie ſhould depart from his biſhop to run into anie other dioceſſe, nor comming from anie other place ſhould be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if anie ſuch chanced to be receiued, if he refuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he and his receiuer ſhould be excommunicated.

6 The ſixt, that biſhops and other of the cleargie being ſtrangers ſhould hold them content with the benefit of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand anie priеſtlie office, without licence of the biſhop, in whoſe dioceſſe he chanced ſo to be remaining.

7 The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a ſynod ſhould be kept, but becauſe of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of Auguſt a ſynod ſhould be kept once in the yeare, at a certeine place called Cloueſhough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one biſhop ſhould by ambition ſeeke to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one ſhould know the time and order of his conſecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhould there be more biſhops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching mariages, that none ſhould contract matrimonie with anie perſon, but with ſuch as it ſhould be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none ſhould match with their kinſfolke, no man ſhould forſake his wife, except (as the goſpell teacheth) for cauſe of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfullie married, if he would be accounted a true chriſtian, he might not be coupled with an other, but ſo remaine, or elſe be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as all thoſe that did go againſt the ſame, ſhould be diſgraded of their preſthood, and ſeparated from the companie of them all.

Biſi biſhop of the Eaſtangles.

The forſaid Biſi that was biſhop of the Eaſtangles, and preſent at this ſynod, was ſucceſſor vnto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that ſee 17 yeeres, and then departing this life, Biſi was made biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbiſhop Theodore. This Biſi at length was ſo viſited with ſickneſſe, that he was not able to exerciſe the miniſtration, ſo that two biſhops were then & there elected and conſecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

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In this meane while, that is, about the yeere of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Hariſon noteth, Kenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yeeres. This Kenwalch was ſuch a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the beſt. His godlie zeale borne towards the aduancing of the chriſtian religion well appeered in the building of the church at Wincheſter, where

Matt. Weſt. de reg. lib. 1.

the bishops see of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsarons after him, a woman of stoutnesse inough to haue atchiued acts of worthie remembrance, but being preuented by death yer she had reigned one whole yeere, she could not shew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Matth. West. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernment. But I rather follow William Malmesburie in this matter.

Escuinus. Will. Malmes.

TO proceed, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will needs haue it so) Escuinus or Elcuinus, whose grandfather called Cuthgilso, the brother of K. Kinigils, succeeding in gouernment of the Westsarons, reigned about the space of two yeres: and after his decease, one Centuinus or Centwine toke vpon him the rule, and continued therein the space of nine yeeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought against Wulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a maner the vpper hand, as some haue written.

Hen. Hunt.

In the same yeere that the synod was holden at Yerford, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yeeres, & seuen moneths.

Beda *lib. & ca. supr. dict.*

Some haue written that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, suffered the same Thunnir in lamentable maner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardlie yong gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were priuilie put to death, and secretlie buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of those his cosens, did sore repent him, for that he vnderstood they died giltlesse, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

Jo. Lothaire.

Wil. Malm. Bedade reg. lib. 1.

Thunnir. A vile murther.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercies, for his disobedience in some point, was deprined by archbishop Theodore, and one Seruulfe that was the builder and also the abbat of the monasterie of Medhamsted, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsarons, and appointed to hold his see in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holinesse and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of monks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Berking, within the prouince of the Eastsarons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie esteemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

Bishop Winfrid deposed. Seruulfe ordeined bishop of the Mercies. 685, as Matth. VVestm. saith.

Bishop Erkenwald.

Ethelburga.

Iohn Capgraue.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsarons, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, being now vexed with a greeuous sickenesse, professed himselfe a monke: which thing he would haue done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortlie after within the citie of London, and was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsarons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the Eastsarons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yeere of our Lord 675, Wulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yeeres; but (as other affirme) he reigned but 17 yeeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Oswie and Penda held the aforesaid kingdome.

Waldhere. Sebbie king of Eastsarons Beda. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Will. Malm. But others affirme that he reigned 17 yeeres. Beda. Beade in other words.

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste without resistance of Lothaire the king thereof. Putta a bishop becommeth a poore curat and teacheth musicke. Wilfred deposed from his bishoprike by king Egfrid, vpon displeasure, he preacheth the gospell in Sussex by the licence of king Edilwalke no raine in Sussex for the space of three yeeres, the woord and sacraments bring blessings with them; bishop Wilfrid the first teacher to catch fish with nets; the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betweene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the meanes of archbishop Theodore, a synod holden at Hatfield, the clergie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbesse of Whitbie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

Edilred.

AFter Wulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succeeded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yeere of our Lord 677, destroieng the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appeere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroied the citie of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he returned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enimies, went to Seruulfe bishop of Mercia, and there obteining of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learne musicke, whersoeuer he was required, or could get intertainment.

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Hen. Hunt.

Herevpon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constreined by pouertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his sted. In the yeere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appeered, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was seene euerie morning for the space of three moneths together. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, banished bishop Wilfrid vpon displeasure taken with him, out of his see, and then were two bishops ordeined in his place, to gouerne the church of the Northumbers, the one named Bosa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagustald or Lindesferne. Also one Eadhidus was ordeined about the same time bishop of Lindsey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The said three bishops

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A blasing ſtar

Matth. West. Beda lib. 4. ca. 12. Bishop Wilfrid banished. Hagustald. Yerham. Eadhidus. Lindesferne. Holie Iland.

bishops were consecrated at Yorke by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within three yeres after ordeined two bishops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to say, Tumbert at Hagustald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesserne, & Trumuine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of those Picts which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also bicause Edilred king of Mercia recouered the countrie of Lindsey, and ioined it to his dominion, bishop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Ripon.

The church of Ripon.

After that bishop Wilfrid was expelled out of his diocesse and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southsaxons, the which conteining seuen thousand houlholds or families, as yet was not conuerted to the christian faith. Wherefore the said Wilfrid began there to preach the gospell with licence of king Edilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the same time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people ancientlie called Meanuari, which he had won from the Westsaxons. Bishop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefest lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certein priests baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

Wilfrid by licence of king Edilwalke preacheth the gospel to them of Sussex.

¶ It chanced that for the space of three yeres (as it is said) before the comming thither of bishop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southsaxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by reson of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole countrie, insomuch that no small numbers threw themselues hedlong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie vittels. But as God would, the same day that Wilfrid began to minister the sacrament of baptisme, there came downe sweet and plentifull showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifullie toke rot, and yelded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and relefe of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

Lacke of raine.

Bishop Wilfrid also taught them in that countrie the maner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in anie kind of fishing, except it were in catching eles. Hereby the said bishop grew there in great estimation with the people, so that his words were the better credited amongst them, for that through him they receiued so great benefits, God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the vnderstanding of his lawes. The king also gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealesew, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, conteining 87 houlholds or families, were he built an abbeie, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whome he made free both in bodie and soule: for he did not onelie baptise them, but also infranchised them of all bodilie seruitude and bondage.

Catching of fish with nets.

Bondmen made fruits free.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yere after the appearing of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Edilred king of Mercia, neere to the riuer of Trent, where Alfwine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, so that king Egfrid was constreined to returne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiuing that great warre and effusion of bloud was like to follow therevpon, trauelled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompense of his losses. The foresaid battell was fought in the yere of our Lord 679, and in the yere following, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 680, which was also in the tenth yere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the first yere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldwulfe king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Lother king of Kent.

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The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus held another synod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certeine articles touching the beleefe of the trinitie of persons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of the like substance, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreouer, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the fiue generall councels, of Nice, of Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Calcedon, and of Constantinople the second, with the synod also holden at Rome in the daies of Martin bishop of Rome about the yere of the emperour Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agreement of the English church in matters of faith, with other churches of the christian world: but the foresaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towraine.

A synod at Hatfield.

Articles subscribed.

The same yere that famous woman Hilda abbesse of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) fiue yeres after, hauing first bene deteined long with greeuous sickenesse. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the nephue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aidan, she professed hirselfe a nun, applieng hir whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to prayer, & other godlie exercises. She builded the abbeie of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor anie that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeres of age. As some haue written she argued stoutlie on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monasterie of Whitbie, in the yere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seuenth yere of Centwine or Centuinus king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the Britains, and ouercame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the sea side.

Bale. The abbesse Hilda. Beda.

Bale. Ran. Cest. Matth. West. Beda.

Henrie Hunt.

The Britains discomfited.

¶ Thus (at this time as also at diuerse other times) they were discomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and shared out as it were to suffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shamefull repulse at the hands of their enimies, who conuerted the distresse of that people to their profit, and toke pleasure in the extreamitie of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be obserued by the pitifull alteration of their state vnder diuerse gouernors, and speciallie vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in no lesse vile seruitude than Pharao did the Hebrues at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania, siue regio in qua Dani liberè viuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they listed. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place conuenient.

Gorop. in Gotodanica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the peo-
ple are brought into great miserie, and he
forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the
British writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of
the Westsaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valo-
rous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forsake his countrie, he
vanquisheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Westsaxons, his
returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke
of Sussex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might con-
quer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop Wilfrid,
the Ile of Wight receiueth the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth
Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious chri-
stian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king
of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is slaine by Bru-
deus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsell
is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow
(hauing vowed chastitie) liued a virgine 12
yeeres with hir husband Egfride, she
was called saint Auderie
of Elie.

The xxxvj. Chapter.

Cadwallader.

BVt now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor wherof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succéeded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yéere of the emperour Constantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yéere of the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two sundrie mothers, for she had to mother a ladie descended of the noble blod of the Westsaxons, and was maried vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and hir brother the said Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the space of 12 yéers (as Geffrey of Monmouth saith) or (as others write) but 3 yéeres, the Britains were brought into such miserie through ciuill discord, and also by such great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was constreined with the cheefest part of his people to forsake their natiue countrie, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to seeke relefe by vittels for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

676 saith Matth. West.

Galfrid.

Cadwallader constreined to forsake the land.

¶ Long processe is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which because it séemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortlie after he fell sicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yeere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptised, or else confirmed of the foresaid pope Sergius, and shortlie after departed this life in that citie in the foresaid yéere of 689 or therabouts. The Welshmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approued authors.

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Ceadwalla.

THis Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons, succéeded after Centwine or Centiuinus, which Centwine reigned nine yéeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of those yéeres at the least, the kingdome of Westsaxons was diuided betwixt him and Escuinus or Escuinus, so that he should not reigne past seuen yéeres alone. Wil. Malm. Beda

But now to Ceadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was sonne to Ceadda the sonne of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he proued in his youth a personage of great towardnesse, and such a one as no small hope was of him conceiued: he would let no occasion passe wherein he might exercise his force, to shew proofe of his high valiancie, so that in the end with his worthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the enuie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was banished in a conspiracie made against him. Wherevpon he toke occasion as it were in reuenge of such vnthankefulnesse to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitieng his present estate, or mooued with pleasure taken in his valiant doings, followed him at his going into exile. Wil. Malm. Ranulph. Ceadwalla driuen to depart out of his countrie.

The first brunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southsaxons tasted, who in defense of himselfe coming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was slaine with the most part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchiued victorie, returned with good and prosperous spéed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the same as king, reigned two yéeres, during the which he atchiued diuers notable enterprises.

And first, whereas Berthun and Anthun dukes of Sussex & subiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now attained to the gouernement of the Westsaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Sussex againe, and slue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-neere destroied all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. Hee bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto bishop Wilfride (who then chanced to be present) when he had taken that Ile, so much therof as conteined 300 housholds or familes, where the whole consisted in 1200 housholds. Wilfrid receiuing thankefullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hildila, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptisme vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons. Beda lib. 4. cap. 15. Berthun a duke of Sussex slaine. Ceadwalla his vow. The Ile of Wight conquered. The Ile of Wight receiueth the faith.

Moreouer, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Mollo, as after shall appéere, but yet he reuenged his death with great slaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finallie, this woorthie Ceadwalla,

turning

turning himselfe from the desire of warre and bloudshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not haue wished more vertuous manners to rest in one as yet not christened. And shortlie after, willing to be admitted into the fellowship of the christians (of whose religion he had taken good tast) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptised, and named Peter, and shortlie after surprised with sickenesse, he died, and was buried there within the church of saint Peter in the yeere of our Lord 689.

688 Beda, lib. 4. cap. 26.

In the meane while, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie vnder the guiding of a capteine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monasterie, sore indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer beene friends vnto the English nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselues to their power, beseeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would reuenge their cause in punishing of such extreme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceased not to curse, hoping the sooner that those which with good cause were thus accursed, should worthilie be punished for their offenses by God, & so (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeere following, the said Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland against Brudeus king of the Picts, and being trained into straits within hils and craggie mounteins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeere of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

Ireland inuaded by the Northumbers.

King Egfride slain by Brudeus king of the Picts.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the same yeere vnto the bishops see of Lindesferne) that aduised him in no wise, either to haue taken this warre in hand against the Picts, or the other against them of Ireland, but he would not be counselled, the punishment appointed for his sinnes being such, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduised him for the best. From that time forth, the hope and power of the English people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recouered that part of their countrie which the Englishmen had held before in their possession, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britains tooke vpon them libertie, which they kept and mainteined a long time after, as Beda confesseth.

These Britains were those vnbountefolke & dwelt in the northwest parts of this Ile, and is not ment onlie by them of Wales.

Egfride died without issue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldrida, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, which liued with hir husband the forsaid Egfride twelue yeeres in perfect virginitie (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of hir husband, if he might haue persuaded hir to the contrarie, but finallie he was contented that she should keepe hir first vow of chastitie which she had made. She was both widow and virgine when he maried hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Sunbert a noble man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Norfolke, Huntingtonshire, & Cambridgeshire, howbeit he liued with hir but a small while. After she had obteined licence to depart from the court, she got hir first into Coldingham abbeie, and there was professed a nun. Then she went to Elie, and there restored the monasterie, and was made abbesse of the place, in the which after she had gouerned seuen yeeres, she departed this life, and was there buried. This same was she which commonlie is called saint Audrie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceiued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Ethelreda.

Girui.

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, Iohn archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloudshed, Coadwalla wasteth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Mollo burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enimies, Inas king of Westsaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vsurpers of the Kentish kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the Britishregiment, and how long the greatest part of this Iland was vnder their gouernement.

The xxxvij. Chapter.

After that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, or by violent means constreined) he liued as a banished man in Ireland, where applieng himselfe to studie, he became an excellent philosopher. And therfore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects the space of 20 yeares and more, with great wisedome and policie, but not with such large bounds as his ancestors had done: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one peece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was slaine in battell by the Picts, whose confins he had as then inuaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeere of our Lord 705.

Alfride 685.

698 Beda in Epit. Matt. VVest.

705 Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrids daies, Eata the bishop of Yerham being dead, one Iohn a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Wilfrid was restored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The said Iohn was remoued to the church of Yorke, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Bosa. At length the foresaid Iohn wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his see, and got him to Beuerley, where he liued a solitarie life for the space of foure yeares, and then died, about the yeere of our Lord 721, king Osrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued bishop for the space of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of preests at Beuerley aforsaid, in which church he lieth buried.

Iohn archbishop of Yorke.

He resigneth his see. 721

The same yeare, or in the yeere after that king Egfrid was slaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought against the Southsaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was sonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had mainteined warre against his vncle the said Lother, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the said battell striken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and seuen moneths. It was thought

686 saith Matth. West. Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound.

that he was diſquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finallie brought to his end before the natuꝛall courſe of his time, for a puniſhment of his wicked conſent giuen to the putting to death of his couſins Ethelbert & Ethelbꝛit, as appeared, in that when they were repoꝛted to be martyꝛs, becauſe it was knowen they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a ieſt at it, although his bꝛother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompenſe to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monaſterie.

Wil. Malm.

Capgraue ſaith, their ſiſter.

Edricke.

The foꝛeſaid Edꝛicke (after Lother was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, inſomuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was ſlaine in the ſame warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the Weſt ſaxons being thereof aduertiſed, ſuppoſing the time now to be come that would ſerue his purpoſe, as one ſtill coueting to woꝛke the Kentiſhmen all the diſpleaſure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waſte and ſpoile the ſame on ech ſide, till finallie the Kentiſhmen aſſembled themſelues togither, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo bꝛother to Ceadwalla was dꝛiuen from his companie, and conſtrained to take an houſe foꝛ his refuge: but his enimies that purſued him ſet fire thereon, and burned both the houſe and Mollo within it to aſhes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wꝛeake his wꝛath, and to reuenge the gꝛiefe which he toke foꝛ the death of his bꝛother, he waſted and deſtroied a great part of Kent per he returned home, and left (as it were) an occaſion to his ſucceſſoꝛ alſo to purſue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we ſée the cankerd nature of man, ſpeciallie in a caſe of wꝛong oꝛ diſpleaſure; which we are ſo far from tollerating & foꝛgiuing, that if with toth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will bꝛeake with a full conceit of wꝛath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwiſe to be affected, namelie,

Mollo bꝛother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death.

——— per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat,
Sed verbis aliſque modis fuge lædere quenquam,
Quod tibi nolles, aliꝛs feciſſe caueto,
Quódque tibi velles, aliꝛs præſtare ſtudeto;
Hæc eſt naturæ lex optima, quam niſi ad vnguem
Seruabis, non ipſe Deo (mihi crede) placebis,
Póſtque obitum infœlix non aurea ſydera adibis.

Which leſſon taught by nature, and commanded of God, if theſe men had followed (as they minded nothing leſſe in the fier of their furie) they would haue bẽne content with a competent reuenge, and not in ſuch outragious maner with fier and ſwoꝛd haue afflicted one another, noꝛ (which is moꝛe than tigerlike crueltie) haue miniſtred occaſion to poſteritie to reuenge wꝛongs giuen and taken of their anceſſoꝛs. But we will let this paſſe without further diſcourſe, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the pꝛoceſſe.

The Kentiſhmen being deſtitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and ſought to attaine thereto, as well by foꝛce as otherwiſe, to the great diſquieting of that pꝛouince foꝛ the ſpace of 6 yeares togither, at length in the 7 yeare after Edꝛicks death, Withꝛed an other of the ſonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell ouercome enuie at home, & with monie redéemed peace abꝛoad, was with great hope conceiued of his woꝛthineſſe made king of Kent, the 11 of Nouember, & 205 after the death of Hengiſt, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his ſubiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: foꝛ ouercomming all his aduerſaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre againſt him, he alſo purchaſed peace of Inas king of the Weſt ſaxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

Withꝛed made king of Kent.

A little before that Withꝛed was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Nidꝛed, oꝛ rather the ſame Withꝛed, if the pꝛinted copie of Bedas booke intituled *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria gentis Anglorum* haue not that name coꝛrupted: foꝛ where he ſheweth that the archbiſhop Theodoꝛus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the firſt daie of Julie one Bꝛightwald was choſen to ſucceed in the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie, Withꝛedus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withꝛedus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, oꝛ that ſome other named Nidꝛed, it foꝛceth not: foꝛ certeine it is by the agreement of other wꝛiters, that till Withꝛed obteined the whole rule, there was great ſtrife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that ſought and fought foꝛ it. But this ought to be noted, that the foꝛenamed Bꝛightwald was the eight archbiſhop in number, and firſt of the Engliſh nation that ſat in the ſée of Canturburie: foꝛ the other ſeuen that were pꝛedeceſſoꝛs to him, were ſtrangers boꝛne, and ſent hither from Rome.

Hen. Hunt. Beda. lib. 5. Suebhard and Nidꝛed kings by vſurpation and not by ſucceſſion, as Hen. Hunt. writeth.

Bꝛightwald the firſt archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

¶ Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Bꝛitains, now called Welſhmen, which toke that name of their duke oꝛ leader Wallo oꝛ Gallo; oꝛ elſe of a quœne of Wales named Gales oꝛ Wales. But howſoeuer that name fell firſt vnto them, now they are called Welſhmen, which ſometime were called Bꝛitains oꝛ Bꝛutons, and deſcended firſt of the Troians, and after of Bꝛute, and laſtlie of Mulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with ſundꝛie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called Engliſh that in their beginning were named Saxons oꝛ Angles. To concꝛlude therefoꝛe with this gouernement, ſo manie times intercepted by foꝛren power, it appeareth by courſe of hiſtoꝛies treating of theſe matters, that the laſt yeare of Cadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the yere of the woꝛld 4647. So that (as Fabian ſaith) the Bꝛitains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Bꝛute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxoniſh.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.

THE SIXT BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Inas king of the Weſtſaxons, the whole *monarchie of the realme falleth into their* hands, Inas for a ſumme of monie granteth *peace to the Kentiſhmen, whom he was purpoſed to* haue deſtroied, he & his coſen Nun fight with *Gerent king of the Britains, and Cheolred king of Mercia, and* Ealdbright king of Southſaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas deuiſe to perſuade Inas to forſake the world, he was the firſt procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become moonks; the ſetting vp of images in this land authoriſed by a viſion; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is ſlaine of his owne ſubiects by the ſuggeſtion of Bernred the vſurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

The firſt Chapter.

Inas. 689

After that Ceadwalla, late K. of the Weſtſaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is ſhewed) his coſen Inas or Ine was made king of the Weſtſaxons, begining his reigne in the yere of our Lord 689, in the third yeere of the emperor Iuſtinianus the third, the 11 yeere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and about the ſecond yeere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now becauſe the rule of the Britains commonlie called Welſhmen, ceaſſed in this realme, as by confeſſion of their owne writers it appeareth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the ſame realme came to the hands of the kings of Weſtſaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the ſame kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reſeruing the particular doings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the ſame haue fallen out, and ſhall come to hand.

The Britaine ceaſſe to reigne in this land.

Fabian. H. Hunt.

This Inas, whome ſome (miſtaking N for V) do wrongfullie name Iue or Iewe, proued a right excellent prince, he was deſcended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Weſtſaxons, as ſonne to one Kenred, that was ſonne to Ceolwald the ſon of Cutha or Cutwine, that was ſonne to Kenricke the ſonne of Certicus, the firſt king of Weſtſaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to reſt in his worthie perſon, than for the ſucceſſiue offspring of which he was deſcended. The firſt voiage that he made, was againſt the Kentiſhmen, on whome he purpoſed to reuenge the death of his coſen Mollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in freſh memorie. But when the Kentiſhmen perceiued, that to reſiſt him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and ſo obteined their purpoſe, vpon paiment made to him of thirtie thouſand marks of ſiluer. Matt. Weſtm. Wil. Malm.

After this, about the 21 yeere of his reigne, king Inas and his coſen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Weſtſaxons part was ſlaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chaſed. In the 26 yeere of his reigne, the ſame Inas fought a mightie battell againſt Cheolred king of Mercia, at Wodneſſburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part ſuſteined greater loſſe. In the 36 yeere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southſaxons with a mightie armie, and ſlue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinus king of the Southſaxons, and ioined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Weſtſaxons: ſo that from thenceforth the kingdome of thoſe Southſaxons ceaſſed, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the ſpace of fiue kings ſucceſſiuelie, that is to ſay, Ella, Ciſſa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this laſt Aldinius or Ealdbright. Anno 708, as is noted by Matt. Weſt. H. Hunt. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith 718. Matth. Weſt. ſaith 722. The end of the kingdome of the Southſaxons.

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeeres, and 1002 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he ſhewed himſelfe verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the chriſtian religion. He made and ordeined alſo good wholeſome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and tranſlated into the Latine in times paſt, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by Iohn Day, in the yeere 1568, togither with the lawes and ſtatutes of other kings before the conqueſt, as to the learned mate apeere. Inas went to Rome and there died.

Moreouer, king Ine builded the monaſterie of Glaſtenburie, where Joſeph of Arimathea in times paſt builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other chriſtians came into this land in the daies of Aruiragus, & taught the goſpell heere to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto ſaint Andrew, where afterwards a biſhops ſee was placed, which at length was tranſlated vnto Saliſburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had beene earneſt with him a long time to perſuade him to forſake the world: but ſhe could by no meanes bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, till vpon a time the king and ſhe had lodged at a manor place in the countrie, where all prouiſion had beene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in moſt ſumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houſhold, as alſo in coſtlie viands, and all other things needfull, Polydor. Ethelburga. Will. Malmeſ.

full, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quéene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had bén brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Hereupon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she persuaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

The deuise of quéene Ethelburga to persuade hir husband to forsake the world

Now when he was returned to that house, which before séemed to the eie a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to behold the same, she toke occasion thereupon to persuade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, togither with the corruption of the fleth, being a filthie lumpe of claie, after it should once be dissolued by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moue him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that hir words lastlie toke effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his cosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbeie of Barking, where she was made abbesse, and finallie there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie houshold within his dominion a penie.

Peter pence.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yéeres, became a monke in the abbeie of Bardenie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Osfrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Wulfher to succéed him in the kingdome. The said Osfrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, about the yéere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of maners. In the fift yéere of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where he was made a monke: and finallie died there, in the yéere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a monke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbeie of Euesham, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

King Ethelred becommeth a monk.
Osfrida.
Beda in Epit.
697
King Kenred
711
Nauclerus.
Egwin bishop of Worcester.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set vp an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope approuing the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Wright wald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yéere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the foresaid Kenred.

A fabulous and trifling deuise.
Bale.
712

After Kenred succéeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yeere of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succéeded Ethelbaldus that was descended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslie. In the 18 yéere of his reigne, he besieged Sommerton and wan it. He also inuaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him. Ran. Cestr.

He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioined as confederats with Cuthred ia. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yéere of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yéeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yéere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secandon, or Sekenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, toke vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succéeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton. Hen. Hunt. Bereford. 755 Thyrne in his from Tamworth. Wil. Malm. 758 Matth. West.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Mentz or Moguntz, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the releefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdoers: but in that he abstained from marriage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and defloured other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreouer, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vsed to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cutbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whoredome. The bishops of Magd. Nuns kept for concubines. Pilgrimage of nuns.

Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other *go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a* moonke, succession in the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Nor*thumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he *is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kingdome becom*meth a moonke, bishop Wilfrid twise restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two dioceses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses; Ethelard succeedeth Inas in regimone, two blasing starres seene at once, and what insued, the king dieth: the successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops; of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

The second Chapter.



In this meane time Sighard and Seufred, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succéeded in gouern- ment Kings of the Eastsaxons. Beda lib. 5. cap. 20. Offa king of Eastsaxons.

ment of that kingdome, a man of great towardnesse, and of right comelie countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being moued with a religious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine bishop of Worcester, and being there shaven into the order of monks, so continued till he died. After him one King Seired. Seired the sonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eastsarons the tearme of 38 yeares. After Aldulfe the king of Eastangles departed this fraile life, which 688 chanced about the yeare of our Lord 688, his brother Elewold or Akwold succeeded him, and reigned about twelue yeares. After whose decease one Beorne was made king of Eastangles, and reigned about 26 yeares. In this meane while, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumberland being dead, his sonne Osred, a child of 8 yeares 705 of age succeeded him in the kingdome, and reigned Wil. Malm. Osred king of Northumberland. 11 yeares, spending his time when he came to ripe yeares in filthie abusing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.

About the seuenth yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 711, one of his capteins named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obteining the victorie, slue an huge number of the enimies. At length king Osred by the traitorous means of his cosens that arreared warre against him, was slaine in battell, and so ended his reigne, leauing to those that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reigning two yeares, and Osricke ten yeeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthilie punished for shedding the bloud of their naturall prince and souereigne lord, they finished their liues with dishonourable deaths, as they had well deserued. Osricke before his death, which chanced in the yeare of our Lord 729, appointed Ceolwolfe the brother of his predecessor Kenred, to succeed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as king of the Northumbers by the space of 8 yeares 729 currant, and then renouncing his kingdom, became a monke in the Ile of Lindesferne.

In this meane while, bishop Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made bishop of Herham. The said Wilfride had beene bishop by the space of 45 yeares: but he liued a long time in exile. For first being archbishop of Yorke, and exercising his iurisdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after banished by king Egbert, and againe restored to the see of Herham, in the second yeare of king Alfride, and within fiue yeares after eftsoones banished by the same Alfride, and the second time restored by his successor king Osred, in the fourth yeare of whose reigne being the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Ripon. Moreouer, after John the archbishop of Yorke had resigned, one Wilfride surnamed the second was made archbishop of that see: which Wilfride was chapline to the said John, and gouerned that see by the space of fiftéene yeares, and then died. About the yeare of our Lord 710, the abbat Adrian 710 with Theodore the archbishop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) departed this life, about 39 yeares after his comming thither.

Also Ina the king of Westsarons, about the 20 yeare of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the Westsarons into two bishops sees, whereas before they had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the one of those sees, being placed at Winchester, hauing vnder him Suller, Southerie and Hamshire. And Adhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeshire, Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwall. This Adhelme was a learned man, and was first made abbat of Malmesburie, in the yeare of our Lord 675, by Eleutherius then bishop of the Westsarons, by whose diligence that abbeie was greatlie aduanced, being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Scottish man, but of so small reuenues afore Adhelms time, that the monks were scarse able to liue thereon. Also the same Adhelme was a great furtherer vnto king Ina in the building of Glastenburie.

The abbeie of Malmesburie

Ethelard. 728 Matt. West. saith 727.

Ethelard, the cosen of king Ina, to whome the same Ina resigned his kingdome, began to gouerne the Westsarons in the yeare of our Lord 728, or rather 27, which was in the 11 yeare of the emperor Leo Isaurus, in the second yeare of Theodorus king of France, and about the 8 or 9 yeare of Mordacke king of the Scots. In the first yeare of Ethelards reigne, he was disquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oswald a noble man, descended of the roiall bloud of the Westsaron kings, procured against him: but in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power was too strong for him, he fled out of the countrie, leauing it thereby in rest.

Matth. West. 729 Blasing starre

In the yeare 729, in the moneth of Ianuarie there appeered two comets or blasing starres, verie terrible to behold, the one rising in the morning before the rising of the sunne, and the other after the setting thereof: so that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the closing of the night, stretching forth their fierie brands toward the north; and they appeered thus euerie morning and euening for the space of a fortnight togither, menacing as it were some great destruction or common mishaps to follow. The Saracens shortlie after entred France, and were ouerthrowne. Finallie, when king Ethelard had reigned the terme of foureteene yeares currant, he departed this life.

Wil. Malm.

NOw when Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of 33 yeares, with great commendation for the good orders which he caused to be obserued amongst them, as well concerning matters ecclesiasticall as temporall, he departed this life, leauing behind him three sonnes, who successiuelie reigned as heires to him one after another (that is to say) Edbert 23 yeares, Ethelbert 11 yeares currant, and Alrike 34 yeares, the which three princes following the steps of their father in the obseruance of politike orders & commendable lawes, vsed for the more part their fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Canturburie was burned by casuall fire; and Alrike lost a battell against them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of their times was somewhat blemished: for so it came to passe, that whatsoeuer chanced euill, was kept still in memorie, and the good haps that came forward, were sone forgotten and put out of remembrance.

Beda lib. 5. cap. 24.

In the yeare of our Lord 731, Betrwald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life in the fift ides of Ianuarie, after he had gouerned that see by the space of 27 yeares, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whose place the same yeare one Tacwine was ordeined archbishop, that before was a priest in the monasterie of Bzudon within the prouince of Mercia. He was consecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell bishop of Winchester, Inguald bishop of London, Aldwin bishop of Lichfield, and Aldwulfe bishop of Rochester, the tenth day of June being sondaie. 731

¶ As touching the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the same was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerned touching the ecclesiasticall state by archbishop Tacwine, and bishop Aldwulfe. The prouince of the Eastsarons by bishop Ingwald.

Bishops what prouinces they gouerned.

Nuns kept for concubines.

Pilgrimage of nuns.

Kings of the Eastsarons. Beda lib. 5. cap. 20. Offa king of Eastsarons.

Ingwald, the prouince of Eastangles by bishop Cadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succeded next after Aldhelme in the see of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yeere of our Lord 738, left his bishopprike, and went to Rome in companie of the queene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laiemen, togither with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his see at Herford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Wiccies, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Ile of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisserne, Acca bishop of Herham, and Pechelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernors in that season.

Matth. West.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puisance he was.

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolbulfe had the soueregne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traines nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thrall and manicipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laieng armour and weapon aside, applied themselues to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come therof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yeere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the English men into this land, about 285 yeeres, according to his account.

732 In the yeere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him sith Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simplic but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got togither a great number of good bookes, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yeere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after noone, in somuch that the earth seemed to be couered with a blacke and horrible pentise.

732

Wil. Malm.

733

In the yeere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of June, and 26 of Maie, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cutbert monke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good bookes, and not to exercise themselues with fables and friuolous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Gerwie, distant fiue miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and was scholer to John of Beuerley. How thoughlie he was seene in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which he wrote do manifestlie beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wiremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certein questions moued there, which without his opinion might seeme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Gerwie and Wiremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop John, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be maruelled that a man borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should proue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his native countrie to seeke it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our schooles or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in townes and villages adioining.

Beda departeth this life.

Cranzius.

735 The same yeere died archbishop Tacuine, and in the yeere following, that is to say 735, Nothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yeere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Fruidberd, and Fruidwald. But some refer it to the yeere 744.

735

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is *greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of* Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuth*reds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against* him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth *with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth* sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moonks cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

The third Chapter.

Cuthred.

After the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his cosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yeeres. He began his reigne in the yeere

740 yeere of our Lord 740, in the twentie fourth yeere of the emperour Leo Isaurus, in the 14 yeere of the reigne of the second Theodorus Cala lus of France, and about the 6 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to do against Edilbald king of Mercia, who one while with stirring his owne subiects the Westsaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and sometime by secret craft and subtill practises sought to disquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioining their powers togither, they went against the Welshmen, & gaue them a great ouerthrow, as before is partlie touched. In the 9 yeere of this Cuthreds reigne, his sonne Henrie was slaine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman yong in yeeres, but of a stout courage, and verie forward, wherby (as was thought) he came the sooner to his wofull end.

Mar. West. Hen. Hunt.

Henrie the kings sonne slaine.

749 Marian. West.

751 In the 11 yeere of his reigne, Cuthred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, aduentured to giue battell though he had the smaller number of men; and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant receiued, his periurie had not beene punished, and the kings iust cause aduanced to triumph ouer his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 yeere of his reigne, king Cuthred being not well able to sustaine the proud exactions and hard dealings of Edilbald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Edilbald at Hereford, hauing before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant prowesse he put great hope to atteine victorie: neither was he deceiued, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the lofty pride of king Edelbald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after soare and terrible fight continued and maintained euen to the vttermost point. In the 24 yeere of his reigne, this Cuthred fought ofsones with the Welshmen, and obteined the vpper hand, without anie great losse of his people: for the enimies were easilie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the yeere after, king Cuthred fell sicke, and in the 16 yeere of his reigne he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enimies.

752 Matth. West.

K. Edilbald put to flight.

Sigibert. AFter him succeeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie neere ended. He intreated his subiects verie euill, setting law and reason at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admonished him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the rest of his nobles assembled themselues togither with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his estate in the beginning of the second, or (as some say) the first yeare of his reigne. When Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeswald, and there hid himselfe, but by chance a swineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Priuetsfloud found him out, and perceiuing what he was, slue him in reuenge of his maisters death.

755

¶ Lo here you may see how the righteous iustice of God rewardeth wicked doings in this world with worthie recompense, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes sometimes to reigne for the punishment of the people, according as they deserue, permitting some of them to haue gouernement a long time, that both the froward nations may suffer long for their sins, and that such wicked princes may in an other world tast the more bitter torments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppression, and also that the naughtie ruler for his misdemeanour may speedilie receiue due punishment.

Cuthred.

Ethelred. AFter Beorne king of Eastangles one Ethelred succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of good and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his sonne Ethelred (which succeeded him) so in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

738

Egbert king of Northumberland. After that Ceolwulfe king of Northumberland was become a monke in the abbie of Lindesferne, his vncles sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Ceolwulfe) succeeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the same right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a monke, by the example both of his predecessor the foresaid Ceolwulfe, and also of diuers other kings in those dates, so that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a monks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth).

758

Changing of crownes for monkes cowles.

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reigne) and Vnguist king of Picts came to the citie of Alcluid with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their subiection, the first day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Duan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part lost and destroied. ¶ The same yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the mone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length she came to hir accustomed shew, after a marueilous meanes, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like distance as it kept in following hir before she lost hir vsuall light.

Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and Westsaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eastangles by a policie or subtill deuise of profered curtesie, he inuadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishops see of Canturburie remoued to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatiue is depriued by king Offa, he seizeth vpon churches and religious houses; mistrusting his estate, he alieth himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had done to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reigne of his sonne.

The fourth Chapter.

Offa. AFter that Offa had slaine Bernred the vsurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa toke vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoeuer he conceiued in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and marueilous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otteford, and the Northumbers also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight. With Kenwulfe king of Westsaxons he fought

758 Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

The victories of king Offa. Matth. West. 772

fought in open battell, and obteined a noble victorie, with small losse of his people; although the same Kenwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capteine.

Falsehod in fellowship.

Againe, perceiuing that to proceed with craft, should sooner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be striken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent workmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. He remoued the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & prehemínence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obteined it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning the Romane see. And so Eadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him; namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werebertus bishop of Chester, Eadulfus bishop of Dorcester, Wilnardus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elsham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbishops see remoued from Canturburie to Lichfield.

785 Matt. VVest.

The archbishop Lambert defended his cause.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he trauelled earnestlie to maintaine his prerogatiue. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuennes that he held or inioied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also toke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fleeced the house of Malmesburie of a part of hir reuennes. Because of these & other his hard doings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Westsaxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperor & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, although before there had depended a peece of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staied for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alcwine, by whose persuasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare.

Offa alieth himselfe with other princes.

Matt. Westm.

The intercourse of merchants staied.

Alcwine an Englishman.

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuennes, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing monkes in the same, of the order of saint Benet, as before he had done at saint Albons. Moreouer he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subiect

Polydor.

775

by way of tribute vnto the church of Rome, appointing that euerie house within the limits of his dominions, should yearelie pay vnto the apostolike see one penie, which paiment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.

Peter pence or Rome Scot.

Will. Malm. 797 Offa departeth this life.

Amongst other the doings of this Offa, which suerlie were great and maruellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes of his countrie, and the Welsh confines, to diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offaditch euer after, and stretched from the south side by Basslow, vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Seuerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuer falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approued good doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued of his further good proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied.

Offaditch

Egfrid king of Mercia.

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murthered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitie of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of misfehaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greuouslie, and becommeth a nun, the decaie of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to rauish virgine Friswide, and at hir praiers restored to his sight.

The fift Chapter.

When Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a monke, his sonne Osulphus succéeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorouslie murthered by his owne seruants at Milkilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succéeded one Moll, otherwise called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our sauiour 759.

Eadbert king of Northumberland. 758

Simon Dur. Hen. Hunt.

Edilwold king of Northumberland. Simon Dur. Hen. Hunt.

This man proued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He slue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitcht field at Cadwines Cliue, and receiued the worthie reward of rebellion.

This

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a maruellous great snow, and therwith so extreame a frost, as the like had not beene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middest of the spring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and lost their liuelie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beasts on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, vnto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation. After that he was become a monke in the monasterie of Lindesserne, the monks of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, townes, and monasteries were defaced and sore wasted with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Giwento Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaster, &c.

Simon Dun. 764

Whence it grewe to drinke wine.

After that Poll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Altred. This Altred reigned ten years ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne subiects. Then was Ethelbert, named also Edelred, the sonne of the foresaid Poll, made king of Northumberland, and in the fift yeare of his reigne, he was driuen out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edelbald and Herebert, who mouing warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Bosa the generall of his armie at Kingescliffe; and after Kinewulfe and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Yelatherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recouerie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

Wil. Malm. Altred began his reigne in the yeare 765 as Sim. Dun. saith. Henr. Hunt. Matt. West. Ethelbert,

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succeeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he vtterlie abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better attelning to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie saiengs & doings of him, manifestlie bearing witnesse that there could not be a man more honorable, thankefull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselues: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke.

H. Hunt. John Capgraue. Matth. West. and others. Ethelbert king of Eastangles.

The saieng of king Ethelbert.

Moreouer he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in staidnesse of maners, and continencie of life. Whereby he wan to him the hearts of his people, who perceiuing that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not marriage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succeed him. At length the matter being referred to his councell, he was persuaded to follow their aduises. And so Alfreda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him: so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from hir fathers house.

Manie strange things that happened to him in taking vpon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no sooner mounted on his horsse, but that (as seemed to him) the earth shooke vnder him: againe, as he was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on each side, that he could not see nor discerne for a certeine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he laie one night asleepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the rose of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourablie receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuise in hir hart, & streightwaies went about to persuade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Tokens of mishap to follow.

The innocent mistrustfull of no euill.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murther was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had beene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, slue him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

Iohn Capgr. Winnebert.

Sim. Dun. saith 771. Offa conquereth Eastangles.

But when the bride Alfreda vnderstood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, she cursed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that worthie punishment would shortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in perswading so detestable a deed: and according to hir words it came to passe, for hir mother died miserable within three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refusing the world, professed hirselfe a nun at Crowland, the which place began to war famous about the yeere of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Gutlake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to himselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeere of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbeie of monks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neere to the banke of a riuer called Lug.

Alfreda a nun Beda. Matth. West.

The kingdome of Eastangles from thencefoorth was brought so into decaie, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and somewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appeere.) After that Selred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yeeres, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expressed. After him succeeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yeere that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceassed and tooke end.

H. Hunt.

¶ About this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Frideswide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whome one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, she getting into the

Frideswide a virgine.

towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the maid by hir praiers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, hereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Oxford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest ouer the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that mischefe, he is slaine in sight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a councell holden at Mercia; iudge Bearne burnt to death for crueltie, Alfwold reigneth ouer Northumberland, his owne subiects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrarie to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

The sixt Chapter.

Kinewulf Hen. Hunt.

AFter that the Westsaxons had deprived their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced Kinewulfe or Cinewulfus, the which began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yeare of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yeare of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yeare of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obteined great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Bensington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yeare of his reigne: and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the certie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

756 Simon Dun. saith 755.

The Britains vanquished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled togither a knot of vngratious companie, and returning priuilie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whome he kept as paramour at Merton, whereupon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by courteous words to appease his enimies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could doo good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie neere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enimies, whilest he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, togither with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in seeking reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardise to yeeld themselues into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuertheless sore wounded and hurt.

Kinewulfe slaine by conspirators.

The brute of such an heinous act was streight waies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongst other, one Derike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their souereigne lord to passe vnpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofe. Whereupon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to plead his cause, to make large promises, to pretend cosenage, and so forth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or doo might not preuaile, he incouraged his companie to shew themselues valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vttermost of their powers. Hereupon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striuing to saue their liues, and the other to atteine honour, and punish the slaughter of their souereigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murtherer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, togither with fourescore and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Repingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeares.

Simon Dun. H. Hunt.

In the yeare of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Ieanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Eaubald archbishop of Yorke. These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, & namelie of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were conteined in the popes letters.

Eccle. hist. Magd. 786 H. Hunt. Legats from the pope.

Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.

There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propone on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obeieng of the other generall councels, with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of synods yeerelie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behauior of priests in wearing their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonestie might be discouered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made of the horne of an oxe, bicause the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in councels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to doo.

Nunnes concubines.

Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articled, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, auoiding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all maner of heathenish vsages and customes that sounded contrarie

Britricus K. of the Westsaxons, his inclination, *Egbert being of the bloud roiall* is banished the land, & why; crosses of bloudie *colour and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what* they did prognosticate; the first Danes that arriued *on the English coasts, and the cause of their comming: firie dragons* flieng in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poisoned of his wife Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wiues should not be called queenes, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertues, he restoreth the archbishops see to Canturburie which was translated to Lichfield, he inuadeth Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field, and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the great ioy of the people therevpon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and buriall.

The seuenth Chapter.

Britricus.

Hen. Hunt. Matt. VVest. saith 787. Sim. Dun. saith 786.

AFter Kenwulfe, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordeined king of Westsaxons, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yeere of the gouernment of the empresse Eirene with hir son Constantinus, and about the second yeere of the reigne of Achaius K. of Scots. This Brightrike was descended of the line of Cerdicus the first king of Westsaxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he stood in doubt of the noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after succeeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was in that season so confounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew in greatest power, strooe to be king and supreame gouernour. But specialliie Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and a man of great power and lustie courage. King Brightrike therefore to liue in more safetie, banished him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert vnderstanding certeinlie that this his departure into a forreine countrie should aduance him in time, obeied the kings pleasure.

Egbert banished.

About the third yeere of Brightrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, crosses of bloudie colour, and blood fell from heauen as drops of raine. Some tooke this wonder for a signification of the persecution that followed by the Danes: for shortlie after, in the yeere insuing, there arriued three Danish ships vpon the English coasts, against whome the lieutenant of the parties adioining made forth, to apprehend those that were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himselfe ouer rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countries about began to assemble, and were comming against them, they fled to their ships, and left their prey and spoile behind them for that time. These were the first Danes that arriued here in this land, being onelie sent (as was perceiued after) to view the countrie and coasts of the same, to vnderstand how with a greater power they might be able to inuade it, as shortlie after they did, and warred so with the Englishmen, that they got a great part of the land, and held it in their owne possession. In the tenth yeere of king Brightrikes reigne, there were seene in the aire firie dragons flieng, which betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. First a great dearth and famine: and secondlie a cruell war of the Danes, which shortlie followed, as ye shall heare.

A strange wonder.

Matt. West. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt.

Danes.

Fawine & warre signified.

W.q. Finallie

Curtailing of horsses.

But now to returne backe to speake of other doings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. About the yeere of our Lord 764, the see of Canturburie being void, one Jambert or Lambert was elected archbishop there, and in the yeere 766, the archbishop of Yorke Egbert departed this life, in whose place one Adelbert succeeded. About the 25 yeere of Kenwulf king of Westsaxons, the Northumbers hauing to their captaine two noble men, Oshald and Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named Wearne, bicause he was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reason required. In which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if he were so seuere as this attempt of the two noble men doth offer the readers to suspect) all such of his liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wherwith they should leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

764

Sim. Dun. saith 780.

Simon Dun. H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

Ecclesiast. Magd. 786 H. Hunt. Legats from the pope.

capit indulgentia mentes,
Asperitas odium sæuáque bella mouet.
Odimus accipitrem, quia viuit semper in armis,
Et pauidum solitos in pecus ire lupos.
At caret insidijs hominum, quia mitis hirundo est,
Quáque colat turres Chaonis ales habet.

Ouid. lib. 2. de art. am.

At the same time, one Aswald or Alfewald reigned ouer the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the same Alfwald had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yeeres, he was traitorouslie and without all guilt made away; the chiefe conspirator was named Siga. The same Alfwald was a iust prince, and worthilie gouerned the Northumbers to his high praise and commendation. He was murthered by his owne people (as before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the yeere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Yerham.

Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.

He began his reigne Anno, 779, as saith Simon Dun. and reigned but ten yeeres.

783 Matth. West. Simon Dun. 792

In the yeere 792, Charles king of France sent a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from Constantinople, conteining certeine articles agreed vpon in a synod (wherein were present aboue the number of three hundred bishops) quite contrarie and disagreeing from the true faith, namelie in this, that images ought to be worshipped, which the church of God vtterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatise confirmed with places taken out of holie scripture, which treatise, with the booke in name of all the bishops and princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yeere 800, on Christmasse euen chanced a maruellous tempest of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townes in diuerse places, and trees in great number, beside other harmes which it did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yeere following a great part of London was consumed by fire.

Sim. Dunel. 800

Nuns concubines.

Finallie, after that Brightrike had reigned the space of 16 yeeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated she would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so weake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap 25. Brightrike departed this life.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a yong gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) Hir purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the yong gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West saxons would not suffer their wiues to be called queenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bee shewed) manie yeeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countriemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

A decree of the kings of the west saxons against their wiues.

The end of Ethelburga. Simon Dun.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his cosine Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisedome, and vpright dealing, was worthie to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reproue. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops see againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldlie honour in his promotion, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and therupon entring that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Prenne, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For whereas he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of of his good nature.

Wil. Malm. Kenulfe.

The archbishops see restored to Canturburie.

The king of Kent taken prisoner.

There were present at that sight, Cuthred whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in reioising at the kings bountious liberalitie was marueilous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie monke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbeie, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soone murthered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Julie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Kentils liberalitie towards church men which was not forgotten by them in their histories.

Osrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine, Osred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his wife and marieth another, his people rise against him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driuen out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men afflict one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decaieth, the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his linage.

The eight Chapter.

Osred. 788. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

When Alswald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Osred the sonne of Alred tooke vpon him the rule of that kingdom anno 788, and within one yeere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yeeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yeeres, or (as some say) 7 yeeres; in the second yeere whereof duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laieng it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

Duke Ard taken and wounded.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force drawne out of the citie of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, one of them was named Alius, & the other Alfwin. In the yeere of our Lord 792, Osred vpon truse of the othes and promises of diuerse noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsoke him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cunburge on the 14 day of September. 792

The same yeere king Ethelbert maried the ladie Alfled the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, wherby his people tooke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yeeres, or (as other say) seuen yeeres, he could not auoid the destinie of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subiects at Cobre, the 18 day of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was expelled, and constreined to flie first into the Ile of Lindisferne, and from thence vnto the king of Picts.

Osred slaine 18 Aprill.

Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumbald, and

and three other bishops, the 25 of June, in the yeere 796. About two yeeres after, to wit, in the yeere 798, one duke Wade, and other conspirators which had beene also partakers in the murthering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardulfe, and fought a battell with him at Walleg, but king Ardulfe got the vpper hand, and chased Wade and other his enimies out of the field. In the yeere 799, duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Atheired king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Thorthmond, in reuenge of the death of his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortlie after, about the same time that Brightrike king of Westsarons departed this life, there was a sore battell fought ten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battels with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irksome to the readers, for the English people being naturallie hard and high-minded, continuallie scourged each other with intestine warres. About six or seuen yeeres after this battell, king Ardulfe was expelled out of the state.

796

walsege.

799

The English men afflicted each other with ciuill warre.

¶ Thus ye may consider in what plight things stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tumults and changings of gouernors, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edelred, diuers bishops and other of the chiefest nobles of the countrie disdaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dailie practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their native borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thencefoorth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpon him the kinglie gouernement amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogatiue thereof, as if it had beene Seians horsse, whose rider came euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is heeretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm. it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Ofred. 788 Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

Duke Ardulf taken and wounded.

Howbeit this is certeine, that the sundrie murtherings and banishments of their kings and dukes giue vs greatlie to gesse, that there was but sorie obedience vsed in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies were great rouers, had landed before in the north parts, & spoiled the abbeie of Lindisserne otherwise called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to inuade it (because that through their priuate quarelling there was little publike resistance to be loked for) at their comming home, entised their countriemen to make voiages into England, and so landing in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, bicause there was no ruler there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to incounter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partlie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongest the nobles and people themselues, no man being of authoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capteines of the countrie assembling togither at one time against the Danes that were landed about Tinmouth, constreined them by sharpe fight to flee backe to their ships, and take certeine of them in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that got to their ships, suffered great losse of men, and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

793

This chanced in the yeere of our Lord 790, as Simon Dun. saith.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

Holie Iland Irdulfe.

The Danes banquished. This was in anno 794. as Simon Dun. saith.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one superemiment, vnto whome all the residue should stoope: this fraile bodie of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as soueregne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by hir gouernement: whereto if the will be obedient there cannot creepe in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of a king in his kingdome; otherwise he may be called *Rex à regendo*, as *Mons à monendo*. For there is not a greater enimie to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cause a subuersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchie. But to proceed in the historie.

After that Alrike (the last of king Witchtreds sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble offspring of the kings there so decaied, and began to vade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got riches togither, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to vsurp the title of king, abusing by vnworthie means the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest others, one Edbert or Edelbert, surnamed also Pzenne, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeares, and was in the end vanquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is vncerteine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinebulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Edbert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

Edelbert.

After that Jambrith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primasie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken awaie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after the death of Eubald archbishop of Yorke, another of the same name called Eubald the second was admitted to succeed in that see. After that Brightrike the king of Westsarons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constreined by the said Brightrike to depart the countrie. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whome he remained for a time, till at length (through suit made by Brightrike) he perceiued he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands; and so Offa winking at the matter, he departed out of his countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertised of Brightriks death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all conuenient speed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall consent of the Westsarons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his worthie qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from Inigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alkemound, that was the sonne of one Eafka, which Eafka was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Inigils.

Lambert.

Egbert receiued a king of Westsexons his linage.

Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, *his practise or exercise in the time of his* exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen *and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia* taketh indignation at Egbert for the inlarging of his *roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert ouercommeth*, great ods betweene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warriour; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Sussex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlafe the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselues to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes inuade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

The ninth Chapter.

Egbert. 802 as Simon Dunel. and M. W. hath noted but 801.

THis Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Eirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had béene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slouthfulnes, in so much that hawnting the wars in France, in seruice of Charles the great, he atteined to great knowledge and experience, both in matters appertaining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he toke in hand, after he had atteined to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortlie ouercame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vnquiet Welshmen, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he inuaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anie person that durst resist him.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this land, in so much that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a lofttie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with himselfe, that if his chance should be to speed well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and therevpon intimated the same vnto Egbert; who supposing it should be a dishonor vnto him to giue place, boldlie prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they incountred togither at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the which a huge number of men were slaine, what on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfs souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

A battell fought at Ellendon.

Egbert wan the victorie.

Will. Malm. 826

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoo to ouercome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainelie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Herevpon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelwulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongest his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct therof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselues, out of the countrie, constreining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsarons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Esser, Southerie, and Susser. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had done to them latelie before, by inuading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Alstan bish. of Shireborne a warrior.

The conquest of the Westsarons.

Henr. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia slaine.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles eftsoones in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and ouercame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succéeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlafe king of Mercia (that succéeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yéere next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlafe, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauelford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

Simon Dun.

These were the Cornishmen as is to be supposed.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselues, and therevpon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselues wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert gladlie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the Westsarons, after the state had béen sore weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeares, beside the inuasion made by outward enimies, to the greeuous damage of the people.

King Egbert inuadeth Northumberland.

The Northumbers submit themselues to king Egbert.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with

with the citie of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obteined these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a councell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as soueraigne gouernour and supreame lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortlie after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

Wales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

The name of this Ile when it was chāged.

Now was king Egbert setled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arriued on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient spéd got togither an armie, and went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Herevpon incountring with them, there was a sore foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chiefe capteins Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Wigferd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yere of king Egberts reigne.

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomfited by Danes. Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West. 834

In the yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westwales, and there the Welshmen ioining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one author writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the inlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compasse, he departed this life, leauing to his issue matter of worthie praise to mainteine that with order which he with painefull diligence had ioined together. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulfe, otherwise named Athaulfe and Adelstan. The first he appointed to succéd him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelstan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Sussex, and Esser.

Danes and welshmen vanquished.

836 Matth. West.

Egbert departeth this life. 837 Matth. West.

¶ Here we sée the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well foren as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowesse inough to incounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a fowle discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the good choise that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and hauing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warinesse and heedtaking; for

Sæpius incautæ nocuit victoria turbæ.

The kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sister Quendred, the order of hir wicked practise; his death propheſied or foreſhewed by a ſigne, the kings of Mercia put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulfe in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marrieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulfe dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

The tenth Chapter.

WHen Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeres, as before is mentioned, he was constreined to giue place vnto one Baldred, that woke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yéres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but sorlie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the Westsaxons, he was easilie constreined to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yers, that is to say, from the yere of our Lord 464, vnto the yere 827. Suithred or Suthred king of Esser was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yére that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortlie after. This kingdome continued 281 yeres, from the yére 614, vnto the yere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set forth by Alexander Neuill appéreth. After the decease of Kenwulfe king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen yéres was admitted king, about the yere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, moued through ambition, enuied hir brothers aduancement, and sought to make him awaie, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Alhbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch hir innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Alhbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yéres and innocent age, vnto the world void of gilt, and yet thus traitorouslie murthered without cause or crime: he was afterward reputed for a maryr.

Wil. Malm.

The end of the kingdome of Kent. 827

The end of the kingdome of Esser.

Matt. Westm. 821

The wickednes of Quendred.

King Kenelm murthered.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white doue came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was conteined, In clenc kou bath, Kenelme kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued: that is, at Clenc in a cow pasture, Kenelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale

See legenda aurea. fol. 165. in the life of S. Kenelme.

I rehearse, not for anie credit I thinke it worthie of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the yong prince innocentlie lost his life.

Ceolwulfe K. of Mercia. 823

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his vncle Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yeere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yeere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsarons, and shortlie after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to reele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wightlafe, who first being vanquisht by Egbert king of Westsarons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paied to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his soueraignes and supreame gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsarons, as before is mentioned, in the yeere of our Lord 828, and in the yeere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet heere it toke not end, as after shall appeere.

Matt. Westm. 728

828

Ethelwulfus.

Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsarons in the yeere 837, which was in the 24 yeere of the emperor Ludouicus Pius that was also K. of France, in the tenth yeere of Theophilus the emperor of the East, & about the third yeere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to haue beene a priest, entered into the orders of subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolued of his vowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then maried a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsarons, he permitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Essex, with other. He aided Burthred the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in mariage.

Henrie Hunt. Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

Foure especiall destructions of this land.

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enimies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on ech side, as they had partlie begun in the daies of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes seemed more greeuous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it noblie without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded the north parts. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroie it: who if they were at anie time ouercome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new navie, and a greater armie was readie to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and an other in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

The Danes fought the destruction of this land.

This mischiefe began chieflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the space of two hundred yeeres, as by the sequele of this booke it shall appeere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and spectallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisedome. Amongst other, there were two notable prelats, Swithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Swithune was not so much expert in worldlie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chieflie counselled the king in things apperteining to his soules health: but Adelstan toke in hand to order matters apperteining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing forth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and happilie atchiued, as by writers hath beene recorded. He gouerned the see of Shireborne the space of 50 yeeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelats.

How long the persecution of the Danes lasted.

Will. Malm.

Two notable bishops in Ethelwulfs daies.

King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politikelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome he sent earle Wulhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obteined a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obteined the victorie. In the yeere following, earle Herbert fought against the Danes at Wherlware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yeere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, Eastangle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The next yeere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischiefe.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Danes discomfited. Matth. West.

Englishmen put to flight.

They are ouerthrowen vanquished.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yeere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arriued in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obteined the victorie at that time, and put the king to the worse. About the tenth yeere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelstan, with the Summersetshire men, and an other capteine called Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixteenth yeere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled

Carrum.

The Danes ouerthrowen in battell. Danes vanquished. Simon Dun. 851

all

Deley.

Two hundred and fiftie ships saith H. Hunt.

all their powers togither, gaue battell at Deley, to an huge host of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ships had arriued at Thames mouth, and destroied the famous cities of London and Canturburie, and also had chased Brightwulfe king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southerie, were incountered by king Ethelwulfe at Deley aforesaid, & after sore fight and incredible slaughter made on both sides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was giuen to those that beléeued on him, and the losse rested with great confusion to the miscreants.

The Danes ships vanquished.

Thus king Ethelwulfe obteined a glorious victorie in so mightie a battell, as a greater had not béene lightlie heard of to chance within the English dominions. The same yeare also Athelstan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by sea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of their ships, and chased the residue. Moreouer, one earle Ceorle hauing with him the power of Deuonshire, fought with the Danes at Winlesbore, and got the victorie. This yeare was verie luckie to the English nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter season in the Ile of Tenet. And this was the first time that they remained héere all the winter, vsing afore time but to come and make an inuasion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the prey.

Danes ouercome by sea.

The Deuonshiremen vanquish the Danes.

Simon Dun. 852

In the 18 yeare of king Ethelwulfes reigne, he aided Burthred king of Mercia against the Welshmen (as before is mentioned) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the solemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The same yeare king Ethelwulfe sent his sonne Alured as then but fiue yeares of age to Rome, where he was consecrated K. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receiued of him as if he had bæne his owne sonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentishmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought against the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great slaughter was made on both sides, the Englishmen preuailing in the beginning, but in the end, both their foresaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beside manie other that were slaine and drowned.

Great slaughter of Danes at Tenet.

In the 19 yeare of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe ordeined that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, should be free from all tribute, duties, or seruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receiued with great honour, and taried there one whole yeare: he tooke with him his sonne Alured, who had bæne there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Saxons schole, which Offa king of Mercia had sometime founded in that citie, and latelie had bæne sore decaied by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Englishmen from thence-forth should doo penance in bounds as he saw some there to doo before his face. It is also written, that he should acquit all the churches of his realme of paieng tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreouer couenanted to send vnto Rome euerie yeare three hundred marks, that is to say, one hundred marks to saint Peters church, an other hundred marks to saint Paules light, and the third hundred marks to the Pope.

The Saxons schole.

King Ethelwulfs liberalitie to churches. Will. Malmes. Simon Dun. Matth. Westm.

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Judith, daughter to Charles the bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of estate, with which deed he offended so the minds of his subiects, because it was against the order taken before him, for the offense of Ethelburga, that his sonne Ethelbald and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, with Enwulfe earle of Summerset, conspired to depose him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends, the matter was taken vp, and so ordered, that the kingdome was diuided betwixt the father and the sonne, with such partialitie, that the sonne had the better part lieng westward, and the father was constreined to content himselfe with the east part being the worst.

The ladie Judith.

Will. Malm.

Of this trouble of Ethelwulfe some write otherwise, after this manner word for word. ¶ Ethelwulfe king of the West Sarons being returned from Rome & the parties beyond the seas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelstane bishop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldest sonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alstride, the marriage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cause of this their manifest rebellion. Whereby he séemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Adelstane and his son, should proceed of the ambitious desire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie inough, or else this vnequall partition should neuer haue bene made.

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But howsoeuer the matter stood, king Ethelwulfe liued not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the West Sarons the space of 20 yeares and od moneths. His bodie was buried at Winchester. He left behind him foure sonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alfred or Alured, which was begotten of his first wife Osburga. A little before his death he made his testament and last will, appointing his sonne Ethelbald to succeed him in the whole regiment of his kingdoms of Westsex and Sussex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Essex he assigned to his son Ethelbright. About the same time also the Danes soiourned all the winter season in the Ile of Shepie.

Onelie westsex saith Matt. Westm. and Sim. Dunel. saith that Ethelbright had Sussex also, and so doth H. Hunt.

¶ The old Sarons drawing the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following.

Matth. Paris.

Ethelwulfe the sonne of Egbert,

the son of Alemund,	the son of Frethelwold,
the son of Eafka,	the son of Freolaffe,
the son of Eopa,	the son of Frethewolfe,
the son of Ingils,	the son of Finnie,
the son of Kenred,	the son of Godulfe,
the son of Coelwald,	the son of Geta,
the son of Cudwine,	the son of Deathwie,
the son of Ceawlin,	the son of Beame,
the son of Kenric,	the son of Sceldie,
the son of Cerdic,	the son of Sceafe,
the son of Elsie,	the son of Heremod,
the son of Gewise,	the son of Itermod,
the son of Wingie,	the son of Hordie,
the son of Freawin,	the son of Wale,
the son of Fridagare,	the son of Bedwie,
the son of Brendie,	the son of Sem,
the son of Beldegie,	the son of Noah,
the son of Woden,	and so forth to Adam, as

*De quo Sedulius in car. pasch.

you shall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verse vnto the first of the fift chapter of Genesis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people also haue obserued: as the Spaniards, who reckon their descent from Hesperus, before the Gothes and Moors ouerran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lumbards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mired with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gwiskon; and other people from their farre fetcht ancestrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulfe it is written, that he was so well learned & deuout, that the clerks of the church of Winchester did chuse him in his youth to be bishop, which function he vndertooke, and was bishop of the said see by the space of seuen yeares before he was king.

John Castor. Simon Dun Matt. Parker. A kings son and heire a bishop.

Bertwolfe

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to the Westsaxons, the fame of Modwen an Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Winchester destroied by the Danes, they plaied the trucebreakers and did much mischiefe in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the Westsaxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred, Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelstan, his departure out of this life.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Bertwolfe. of Mercia.

AFter Wightlafe king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the Westsaxons, the space of 13 yeeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which maried Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowmed in the world, vnto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir meanes he recouered health, and therefore when hir monasterie was destroied in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herevpon built two monasteries, one at Poulelworth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Milth and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yeeres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yeeres. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestine, and elsewhere.

Matth. West. saith the daughter. Ranulf. Cest. Iohn Capgraue.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright. 857

ETHelbald and Ethelbright diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the Westsaxons and the Southsaxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Essex, in the yeere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yeere of the emperor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yeere of Donald the sixt of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch tooke to wife his mother in law queene Iudith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fiue yeeres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorrow of his subiects whome he ruled right worthilie, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the Westsaxons & them of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.

The vnlawful mariage of Ethelbald. Wil. Malm.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroid the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barkeshire men gaue the enimies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the sixt yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arriued in the Ile of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and walked all the east part of Kent: wherevpon the Kentishmen assembled togither, made towardes those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yeere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the Westsaxons fiue yeeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Hen. Hunt. Winchester destroied by Danes. Danes vanquished.

Ethelred. 867

AFter Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons and the more part of the English people, in the yeere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yeere of the emperour Lewes, in the 27 yeere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yeere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what apperteined to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape vnpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

Foure yeres six moneths saith Harison. Wil. Malm. Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yeere.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath béene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yeere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their forragers, and such as straied abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and ouerthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

But here is to be vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilest Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the Westsaxons, and tooke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to sustéine the enimies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie.

The Danes grow in puissance.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilest the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euerie late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arriued vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowmed capteins Hungar and Vbba, men of marueilous strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay

Hungar and Vbba.

lay all the winter season in Estangle, compounding with them of the countrie for truce vpon certeine conditions, sparing for a time to shew their force for quietnesse sake.

In the second yere of king Ethelred, the said captains came with their armies into Yorkshire, finding the country vnprouided of necessarie defense bicause of the ciuill discord that reigned among the Northumbers, the which had latelie expelled king Osbright, that had the gouernement of those parts, and placed one Ella in his roome: howbeit now they were constreined to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yer that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this inuasion attempted by forren enimies, and then raising their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine, were lodged.

Hen. Hunt. King Osbright deposed and Ella placed.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a sore battell insued betwirt them: but in the end the two kings Osbright and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Northumbers, what within the citie, and what without lost their lines at that time, the residue were constreined to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palmsunday, in the yere 657.

Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine.

It must be vpon the 10 kalends of April, or else it will not concurre with Palmsunday. See Mat. West.

¶ Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Northumbers calling home king Osbright (whome before they had banished) incountred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Yorke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fire and burnt, togither with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing subdued the Northumbers, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that sort six yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuer of Tine. In the same yeare, Adelstane bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that see the terme of 50 yeares. This Adelstane was a man of high wisedome, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulfe returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had done in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, whereupon by this bishops means Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulfe was established king, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwirt them, as before is mentioned. Finallie, he greatlie inriched the see of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie set vpon couetousnesse, he was neuertheles verie free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable; yet simplie & in truth they were vtterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which bideth that none should do euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelstane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnes, which is termed the root of all mischiefe, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had greedilie gotten togither, he must needs incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

Yorke burnt by Danes.

Fourre yeres six moneths saith Harison. Wil. Malm.

Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yere.

The commendation of Adelstan bishop of Shirborne.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

Bishop Adelstan couetous. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes grow in puissance.

Hunger and Vbba.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid beseegeth the Danes in Notingham, Basreeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers inuade the Westsaxons, they are incountred by Ethelwulfe earle of Barkeshire; King Ethelred giueth them and their cheefe guides a sore discomfiture; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Iuarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of Eastangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is by them most cruellie murthered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Osbright rauisheth the wife of one Bearne a noble man, a bloodie battell insueth thereupon, wherein Osbright and Ella are slaine.

The twelft Chapter.

IN the yeare following, that is to say, in the third yere of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish captaines Hungar and Vbba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had won the towne for the winter season. Whereupon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themselues in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinence from war, which they obteined, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they sojourned the most part of all that yeare.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes besieged in Notingham.

In the first yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force and power came into the countries of the Westsaxons vnder two leaders or kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and within three daies after the earle of Berrockshire Edelwulfe fought at Englefield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

Basreeg and Halden.

Edelwulfe earle of Barkshire fought at Englefield with the Danes.

The Danes won the victorie at Reading.

After this alsd king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with those Danes at Aschdon, where the armies on both sides were diuided into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewise on the English side king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to incounter with the earles. Whereupon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening comming on caused them to deferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should ioine, king Ethelred staied in his tent the heare diuine seruice, whilest his brother vpon a forward courage hasted to incounter his enimies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staied his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discouraged the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had serued) the Danes finallie were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Dreeg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Osberne, Freine,

The Danes discomfited.

Freine, and Harold. This battell was sore fought and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 14 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought eftsones with the Danish armie at Basing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two moneths after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes, after they had béene put to the worse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of worthie fame and good account.

A battell at Merton.

He was bishop of Shireborne as Matt. West. saith.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there soiourned for a time. ¶ These things agrée not with that which Polydor Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie inuaded the countrie adioining. Against whome Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and incountring the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day together, and was in danger to haue béene put to the worse, but that the night seuered them asunder. In the morning they ioined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whome (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recouered themselues togither, and found out a conuenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indeuored themselues by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes eftsones fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an ouerthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

Polyd. Virg.

Iuarus.

Danes put to flight.

Agnerus and Hubba.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe receiued a wound, whereof he shortlie after died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the truth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers do record of these matters, and namelie touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may sée more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt receiued in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certeine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the first yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came vnto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to giue battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Framingham, where being enuironed with a siege by his enimies, he yéelded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a tree, and shot arrowes at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the same into a thicke groue of bushes. But afterwards his friends tooke the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Egleston; where afterward also a faire monasterie was builded by one bishop Aswin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundsburie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they conquered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyrannie it remained without anie gouernor by the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrum, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eastangles and the Eastsarons.

Winborne abbeie.

Agnerus. Fabian.

870

Edmund K. of the Eastangles.

Framingham castell.

King Edward shot to death.

Egleston.

Wil. Malm.

Eastangles without anie gouernor.

Guthrum Dane king of Eastangles.

Ye haue heard how the Danes slue Osrike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obteined, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongest other cruell dæds, they destroied the citie of Aeluid, which was a famous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers doth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrike king of Northumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who tooke such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his cosin of the iniurie done to him by king Osbright. Wherevpon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarell against them of Northumberland, furnished forth an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder the leading of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Osbright, and after king Ella, at a place beside Yorke, which vnto this day is called Ellas crosse, taking that name of the said Ella, being there slaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was elected king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Osbright.

Polychron.

Caxton.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and *the greatest part of England, the Danes* afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make *waste of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole* winter, they inuade Mercia, the king whereof (Burthred by name) *forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome,* his death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland among his people; Alfred incountreth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abingron, the victorie vncerteine, seuen foughten fieldes betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes soiourne at London.

The xiij. Chapter.

Alured or Alfred.

871, as Matt. West. & Dunelm. do note it. Henr. Hunt.

After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfred succéeded him, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperour Lewes the second, and 32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleuenth yeare of Constantine

tine the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdome and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

Alured persecuted by Danes.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in manie great troubles and miseries, specially by the persecution of the Danes, which made sore and grieuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroieng the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worse, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindsey, and there lodged all that winter at Torksey. In the yeare following, the same Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Elketell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Burthred king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeares, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enimies: wherevpon he was constreined to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, neere to the English schole.

Marc. Westm.

The Danes obteine the victorie.

The Danes wintered at London.

Polychron.

874 Repton.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Caxton.

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter season neere to the riuer of Tine, where hee diuided the countrie amongst his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, tooke one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next insuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they sware to him (which they had not vsed to do to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Exceter, sustained great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swanewicke.

875 The Danes went into Northumberland.

The Danes at Cambridge

876

The Danes take an oth. Hen. Hunt.

Moreouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Exceter in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Exceter, and there he approched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of such couenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Elketell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Bristow, & there pitched their tents.

The Danes went to Exceter.

Henr. Hunt.

877

Polydor.

King Alured aduertised hereof, hasted thither, and lodging with his armie neere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldlie came forth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie incountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enimies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceiued that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leghers of the enimies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one vpon an other; and so of force were constreined to retire: and therewithall did cast themselues into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged togither on heaps, that they had no roome to stir their weapons. Which disaduantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongest other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish capteins. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be briefe, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namelie the Danes interred the bodie of their capteine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which done, they held out their tournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortlie after came also, and incamped fast by the enimies.

Hubba slaine.

The victorie doubtfull.

Abington.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had béene discomfited by the Danes, because that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hasted to come to his succour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie readie to fight into the field: neither were the enimies slacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie sore on both sides: so that it séemed the Englishmen had not to do with those Danes, which had béene diuerse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and luskie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in so much that the horsemen alighting on foot, and putting their horsses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the sorest foughten fields that had bæne heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was vterlie vncerteine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seuen times that yeare did the English and Danes incounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were sore diminished, they agréed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anie further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land anie new supplie of souldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of inriching themselues with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The same yeare the Danes soiorned in the winter season at London, according as they had done often times before.

The Danes and Englishmen fight neer to Abington.

Uncerteine victorie. Thus farre Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

A peace agreed vpon.

The Danes soiourned at London.

N.f. Rollo

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with *a fresh power entreth England, and beginneth to waste it, king Alured giueth him batell, Rollo saileth ouer into France; who first inhabited* Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the *Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and* Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vnsuspected, assaileth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

The xiiij Chapter.

Ann. 876 saith Simon Dun.

ABout the same time, or shortlie after, there came into England one Rollo, a noble man of Denmarke or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithstanding the peace concluded betweene the Englishmen and the Danes) began to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there died a great number of men on both sides, but the greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew Westmin. saith, that the Englishmen were put to flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left England, & sailed ouer into France, where he found fortune so fauourable to him, that he obteined in that region for him and his people a countrie, the which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northerne people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you maie see more at large.

30 yeres after this he was baptised.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue heard) shortlie after, vpon the first occasion, brake the same, and by often inuasions which they made into the countrie of Westsaxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there remained to king Alured but onelie the three countries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summersetshire, in so much that he was constreined for a time to keepe himselfe close within the fennes and maresh grounds of Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called Edlingsey, that is to say, the Iland of noble men, enuironed about with fennes and mareshes.

King Alured driuen to his shifts.

Edlingsey.

Whiles he was thus shut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath beene said, saint Cuthbert appeered to him as he laie in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him that this should proue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring home great plentie, although the season was against them, by reason that the waters were frosen, and that a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that time being in sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their sleepe, in came his men with so great foison of fish, that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of men, for the victelling of them at that season.

A vision if it be true.

Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpon him the habit of a minstrell, and going forth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie accompanied with one trustie seruant, and tarrieng there certeine daies togither, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had seene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had seene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamage them. Whereupon they conceiuing a maruellous good hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was assembled togither, and spies sent forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, and certificat made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, hauing them at great aduantage.

King Iland disguiseth himselfe. Polydor. Fabian.

Henr. Hunt. 877 878 Matth. West.

About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelue hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had walked all afore them with fire and sword, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings.

Simon Dun.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out oftentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yeere of his reigne, king Alured went to Eglerighston, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioising greatlie to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of foureteene daies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and couenants to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond, a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Alured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at the fontstone, named him Adelstan, and gaue to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelue yeeres.

Athelney.

Edanesdune.

This battell should seme the same that Polydor speaketh of fought at Abingdon. Polychron. John Pike.

Gurthrun or Gurmond baptised, and named Adelstan, is made king of Eastangle.

Diuerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun, and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is to be thought) was the league concluded betwixt king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmond, in which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set forth thus: First therefore let the bounds or marshes of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so forth streight vnto Bedford: and finallie going alongst by the riuer of Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet.

" " " "

This league being made with the aduise of the same

sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set forth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes or ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see more at large.

King Alured disguiseth himselfe. Polydor.

Fabian.

Th'English called diuers people Danes *whom the French named Normans, wherevpon that generall name was giuen them; Gurmo Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Frotto* was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, *Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out* of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth forth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourablie giuen him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flie to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.

The xv. Chapter.

HEre is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wlondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) vsed to roaue on the seas, and to inuade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, bicause he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

Simon Dun.

Ethelred.

Edandunus.

This battell should seeme the same that Polydor speaketh of fought at Abingdon. Polychron. John Pike.

Gurthrun or Gurmond baptised, and named Adelstan, is made king of Eastangle.

Hen. Hunt. 878

In the eight yeere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yeere an other armie of strangers called Wincigi laie at Fulham, and in the yeere following departed forth of England, and went into France, and the armie of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yeere of king Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approched to the reskue, the enimies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a nauie of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the riuer called Sture, incountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their praises, they incountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were ouercome and vanquished.

878

879 Simon Dun. Matth. West.

Rochester besieged. 885

889 London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.

In the yeere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within it fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioising that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered into the keeping of duke Eldred, which had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued K. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of K. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Limene in the east part of Kent, neere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did conteine in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

Wil. Malm. Ethelfleda. Colwolphus.

Limer, now Rother. Andredesleg.

A castell built at Appledore.

893

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constreined by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aldred was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifieng that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuerthelesse this Hasting was euer most vntrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to spoile and waste the kings countries, Alfred toke that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got togither of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, bicause he was their godfather.

Simon Dun. At Milton.

Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiueth an oth.

Beamfield faith M. West.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore inuaded Esser, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell neere vnto the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Esser. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking preies. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which comming out of Northumberland toke the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constreined to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compas about North-wales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Esser, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Luie. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, toke preies about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

This enterprise was atchiued by Ethelred duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as Matth. West. hath noted. Excester besieged.

Seuerne.

Chester taken by Danes.

Great famine

Hen. Hunt.

The water of Luie, now Lee.

In the yere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Luie, began to build a castell neere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. and Matt. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be diuided into three chanels, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes

Hen. Hunt.

The Londoners victorie against the Danes.

Muathbridge or Wakebridge.

perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners tooke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

Thus for the space of three yeeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Lute, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues sustained more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yeere after their comming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsaxons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred tooke order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to incounter with the enimies ships.

The Danish armie diuided into parts.

The death of king Alfred.

His issue.

Elfleda.

Thus like a worthie prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yeeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succeeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfleda or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Edgiua, and Ethelwitha.

How Elfleda king Alfreds daughter *(being maried) contemned fleshlie pleasure*; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, *his lawes for the redresse of theeues, his diuiding of* countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries *he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie* of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholers, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

The xvj. Chapter.

IN the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whome we made report of Elfleda, who (as you haue heard) was maried vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie pleasure, for bearing hir husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered, she euer after forbare to companie with hir husband, saieng that it was great folishnesse to vse such pleasure which therwith should bring so great griefe.

The notable saieng of Elfleda.

To speake sufficientlie of the worthie praise due to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indeuour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to see his subiects gouerned in good and vpright iustice. And albeit that good lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greeued with theeues and robbers, which in time of warre greiu and increased, deuised good statutes and wholsome ordinances for punishing of such offendors. Will. Malm. King Alfred his lawes.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters conteining a certeine number of townships adioining togither, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his good demeanor: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was giltie fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, should be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged vp aloft on hils where anie common waies lay, to see if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namelie in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the bishop of Shireborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and sweet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a peece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

Foundation of monasteries

Moreouer king Alfred founded three goodlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he liued sometime when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Somersetshire about fiue miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgiua abbesse. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highlie esteemed for his vertue and lerning with Alfred. This worke he tooke in hand about the 23 yeere of his reigne, which was in the yeere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as Polydor gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yeere of our Lord 630.

895. Polydor. The vniuersitie of Oxford erected.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, insomuch that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English tong, gathered togither and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as *Orosius, Pastorale Gregory, Beda de gestis Anglorum, Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ*, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented by death. So this worthie prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little esteemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his subiects

The vertuous zeale of Alured to bring his people to an honest trade of life.

tects in the trade of leading an honest life, and to incourage them generallie to imbrace learning. He would not suffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were lerned: and yet he himselfe was twelue yeres of age before he could read a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers persuasion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

He is persuaded by his mother, to applie himselfe to learning.

Will. Malmes. King Alfred his lawes.

Herevpon going to his booke in sport, he so carnestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time he profited maruellouslie, and became such a fauorer of learned men, that he delighted most in their companie, to haue conference with them, and allured diuerse to come vnto him out of other countries, as Asserius Meneuensis bishop of Shirborne, & Werefridus the bishop of Worcester, who by his commandement translated the bookes of Gregories dialogs into English. Also I. Scot, who while he was in France translated the book of Dionysius Ariopagita, intituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latine, and after was scholemaister in the abbeie of Malmesburie, and there murthered by his scholers with pennifues. He had diuerse other about him, both Englishmen & strangers, as Pleimond afterward archbishop of Canturburie, Grimbald gouernor of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

Asserius Menevensis. Werefridus. John Scot.

Grimbald.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Alured, he was so carefull in his office, that he diuided the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in three parts, so that eight houres he spent in writing, reading, and making his prayers, other eight he employed in relieuing his bodie with meat, drinke and sléepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching of businesse concerning the gouernement of the realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts, whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the seruitor, to whome that charge was committed, by burning of this candle, warned the king euer how the time passed away. A little before his death, he ordeined his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods iustlie gotten, vnto such monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first vpon his seruants in household, the second to such labourers and workemen as he kept in his works of sundrie new buildings, the third part he gaue to strangers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so diuided, that the first portion thereof was dispersed amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore scholers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea. He was diligent in inquirie how the iudges of his land behaued themselues in their iudgements, and was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among strangers. He maried his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstride vnto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and Adulfe, the first succéeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the yonger was made earle of Bullogne.

Alured diuided the time for his necessarie vses.

His last will and testament

Foundation of monasteries

895 Polydor. The vniuersitie of Oxford erected.

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the bishops church: but afterwards, because the Canons raised a fond tale that the same should walke at nights, his sonne king Edward remoued it into the new monasterie which he in his life time had founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine learned clarke made an epitath in Latine, which for the worthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for verse, and in a maner word for word) translated by Abraham Fleming into English, whose no little labor hath béene diligentlie imploied in supplieng sundrie insufficiences found in this huge volume.

NObilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem
Nobilitie by birth to thee (ô Alfred king in armes)
(Armipotens Alfrede) dedit, probitatique laborem,
Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor toilsome harmes,
Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
And toilesome hammes an endlesse name, whose ioies with sorowes alwaies meete
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Wish sorow, and whose hope with fearc was euermore perplexe.
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella parabas,
If this day thou were conqueror, the next daies warre thou dreadst,
Si modò victus eras, in crastina bella parabas,
If this day thou were conquered, to next daies war thou spedst.
Cui vestes sudore iugi, cui sica cruore
Whose clothing bewixt dailie swet, whose blade with bloudie staine,
Tincta iugi, quàm tutum sit onus regnare probârunt.
Do prone how great a burthen tis in roialtie to raine,
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
There hath not beene in anie part of all the world so wide,
Cui tot in adductis vel respirare liceret,
Who that was atilé breath to take, and troubles such abide,
Nec tamen augustro contritus ponere fessum,
And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse labores:
Or with the sword the toilesomnesse of life by death diuide.
Iam post transactos regni vitæque labores,
Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)
Christus ei sit vera quies sceptrúmque perenne.
Christ is to him the quietnesse and scepter void of end.

In the daies of the foresaid king Alured, the kingdome of Mercia tooke end. For after that the Danes had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulfe that was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Paula in Lumbardie. The Danes hauing got the countrie into their possession, made one Cewulfe K. thereof, whome they bound with an oth and deliuerie of pledges, that he should not longer kéepe the state with their pleasure, and further should be readie at all times to aid them with such power as he should be able to make. This Cewulfe was the seruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after the Danes returned, and tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto Cewulfe. But within a few yeares after, king Alured obteined that part of Mercia which Cewulfe ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countries of the Eastangles, some part of Mercia, and other.

Cewulfe.

The yeare, in the which king Alured thus obteined all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which Cewulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of our Sauiour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this last Cewulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not past 270 yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the last Cewulfe for none, who began his reigne vnder the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

886 Matth. West.

The Eastangles and the Northumbers in these daies were vnder subiection of the Danes, as partlie may be perceiued by that which before is rehearsed. After Guthrun that gouerned the Eastangles by the terme of 12 yeares, one Eohtrike or Edrike had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned 14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his gouernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alured, as after shall appeare. But now, although that the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder sot by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accustomed matter to stirre tumults and rebellion against their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare 872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the countrie (as before you haue heard) but also their

Guthrun K. of the eastangles died 890. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

872 Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.

archbishop Wilfehere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Riglig or Riclige succéeded as king, and the archbishop Wolfehere was restored home.

Egbert departed this life. Riclig.

The Danes winter in Lindsele.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindsele, at a place called Torksele, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Riclig the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome an other Egbert succéeded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselues there, chose Guthred the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Wittingham: But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redéemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthred king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsarons.

975 Riclig departed this life.

983 Guthred ordeined king of Northumberland.

The bishops sée remoued frō holie Iland to Chester in the street.

When Guthred was established king, he caused the bishops sée to be remoued from holie Iland vnto Chester in the street, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Teise and Tine. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindnesse and misse superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and péeres of this age (who prétend religion with zeale, and profesSe (in shew) the truth with feruencie) not to impouerish the patrimonie of the church to inrich themselues and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall liuings into temporall commodities, not to séeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole townships for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seueralles; but like good and gratious common-wealth-men, in all things to préferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

Priuiledges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine.

Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoeuer fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie & seuen daies. And this frédome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthred, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthred departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of a 11 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthred, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthred or Gurmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and toke it into his owne hands.

894 Polydor. Will. Malmes.

Wil. Malm. Sithrike.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured *in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother* Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to *the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards* prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the *Danes, Adelwold with a nauie of Danes entreth Eastangles*, the Essex men submit themselues, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselues, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castels he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subiects murther him for his crueltie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfleda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during hir life.

The xvij. Chapter.

Edward the elder.

After the decease of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

901

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and maried a nun there, whome he had defloured, & attempted manie things against his brother. Whereupon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was ioifullie receiued of the Danes. The king toke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vncles sonne.

Winborne.

Hen. Hunt. Adelwold fleeth to the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies, which the Danes vsed to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garrisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suerlie the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the inuasion of the enimies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capteine, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they ouermatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorne of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Esser men yeelded themselues vnto him. In the yeare

The Englishmen practised in warre go commonlie awaie with the victorie.

Hen. Hunt. Esser rebell to Edward.

yere following he inuaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, wasting and spoiling the same vnto Critkelade, and there passing ouer the Thames, rode forth till he came to Basingstoke, or (as some bookes haue) Brittenden, harieng the countrie on each side, and so returned backe vnto Eastangles with great ioy and triumph.

Ran. Higd.

Brittenden.

Hen. Hunt.

King Edward awakened herewith, assembled his people, and followed the enimies, wasting all the countries betwixt the riuer of Ouse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gaue commandement that no man should stale behind him, but come backe together for doubt to be forelaid by the enimies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seuen messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came togither, and fiercelie fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themselues. But in the end the Danes obteined the victorie, although they lost more people there than the Kentishmen did: and amongst other, there were slaine the foresaid Adelwold, and diuerse of the chiefe capteins amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlem or Sigbelme, with sundrie other men of name, both temporall and also spirituall lords and abbats. In the fift yere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Eastangle and Northumberland at Itingford. But in the yere following, he sent an armie against them of Northumberland, which slue manie of the Danes, and tooke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the space of fiue weekes.

The Kentishmen disobeieng the kings commandement, are surprised by the enimies.

Adelwold king Edwards bro-ther.

Fortie daies saith Simon Dun.

The yere next insuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spoile the countrie, against whome king Edward sent a mightie host, assembled togither of the Westsaxons & them of Mercia, which set vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and slue of them an huge multitude, togither with their chiefe capteins and leaders, as king Halden, and king Eolwils; earle Uter, earle Scurfa, and diuerse other. In the yere 912, or (as Simon Dunel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edzed or Ethelzed departed this life, and then king Edward seized into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Elfleda to inioy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Oxford, which he still reteined in his owne hand. This Elfleda was wife to the said duke Edzed or Ethelzed, as before you haue heard: of whose worthie acts more shall be said hereafter.

Hen. Hunt.

In the ninth yere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at Hertford, and likewise he builded a towne in Esser at Wightham, and lay himselfe in the meane time at Maldon, otherwise Mealdun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his subiection, which before was subiect to the Danes. In the yere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Oxfordshire. And shortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went forth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being assembled togither, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the spoile which they had got, and also their horsses.

Wightham.

Chester, or rather Leicester, as I thinke.

Digetune.

In the 11 yere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and so tooke preies in Wales: they also tooke prisoner a Welsh bishop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, paieng them fortie pounds for his ransome. After that the armie of Danes went forth to spoile the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Chester, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout assembled togither, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and slue one of their noble men called earle Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of earle Uter, with a great part of their armie, & draue the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gaue hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the coasts about Seuerne to be watched, that they should not breake into his countrie: but yet they stale twise into the borders: neuertheless they were chased and slaine as manie as could not swim, and so get to their ships. Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, bicause they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.

Irchenfield.

Danes discomfited.

The Ile of Stepen.

Deomedun.

Danes saile into Ireland.

The same yere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two castels, the one vpon the one side of the water of Ouse, and the other vpon the other side of the same riuer. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. speaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish rouers at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that should be (as he noteth) 8 yeres before this supposed time, as in the yere 904, which was about the third yere of king Edwards reigne.

Turketillus an earle.

Simon Dun.

After this, other of the Danes assembled themselues togither, and in Staffordshire at a place called Tottenhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and so likewise were they shortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worse in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrie, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meane time, Ericke the king of those Danes which held the countrie of Eastangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agreement they might set vpon the English nation, and vtterlie subdue them.

Anno, 911.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

Ericke king of Eastangles.

King Edward hauing intelligence hereof, purposed to preuent him, and thereupon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie wasted and spoiled the same. King Ericke hauing alreadie his people in armor through displeasure conceiued hereof, and desire to be reuenged, hasted forth to incounter his enimies: and so they met in the field, and fiercelie assailed eche other. But as the battell was rashlie begun on king Ericks side, so was the end verie harmefull to him: for with small a dw, after great losse on both sides, he was vanquished and put to flight.

King Edward inuadeth the countrie of the Eastangles.

Ericke put to flight.

After his comming home, bicause of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had vsed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Eastangles so highlie against him, that they fell vpon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to haue

done:

dome: for shortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrie, were compelled to submit themselues vnto king Edward. And so was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortlie after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his sister Elfleda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.

The kingdom of the Eastangles subdued by K. Edward

Elfleda the sister of king Edward highlie commended for gouernment, what anecessarie staie she was vnto him in hir life time, what townes she builded and repared, hir warlike exploits against the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why; a prouinciall councell summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie prouinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth an other.

The xviij. Chapter.

NOt without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfleda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wise and politike order vsed in all hir doings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but specialie in reparing and building of townes & castels, wherein she shewed hir noble magnificence, in so much that during hir gouernment, which continued about eight yeares, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and repare these towns, whose names here insue: Tamworth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburie, Watersburie or Weddesburie, Elilsburie or rather Eadsburie, in the forrest of Delamere besides Chester, Brimsburie bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the riuer of Mercia with other. Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had beene greatlie defaced, was newlie repared, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie inlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Simon Dun.

Tamworth was by hir repared, anno 914.

Eadsburie and Warwike. 915

Chester repared, 905. Sim. Dun.

Moreouer she boldlie assalted hir enimies which went about to trouble the state of the countrie, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and tooke the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Brecenamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adioining. In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in so much that they slue foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, euen fast by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was won: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constreined them of Yorkeshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subiects: some vowed to aid hir, and some sware to be at hir commandement.

Queene of the Welshmen taken. Brecenamere Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt. 918

Darbie won from the Danes.

Finallie, this martiall ladie and manlie Elfleda, the supporter of hir countriemen, and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Tamworth about the 12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne; as by Matth. West. it should appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceased in the yeare of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yeare of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Gloucester, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswald from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroied by Danes. But Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worcester, repared an other in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elfleds magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir tombe.

Anno 915 Matth. West. Simon Dun.

Ranul.

O Elfleda potens, ô terror virgo virorum,
O Elfleda potens, nomine digna viri.
Te quóque splendidior fecit natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Tenuitate decet sed solum nomina sexus,
Tu regina potens & quæ trophea paras.
Iam nec Cæsareos tantum mirere triumphos,
Cæsare splendidior virgo virago, vale.

O puissant Elfled, ô thou maid
of men the dread and feare,
O puissant Elfled worthie maid
the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
a maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue also hath procurde
a manlie name to thee.
It dooth but onelie thee become,
of sex to change the name,
A puissant queene, a king art thou
preparing trophes of fame.
Now maruell not so much at Cæsars triumphs [trim to viev;]
O manlike maiden more renowmd
than Cæsar was, adieu.

Translated by Abraham Fleming.

After the decease of Elfleda, king Edward tooke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his neece Alfwen or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfleda, taking hir awaie with him into the countrie of Westsaxons. By this meanes he so amplified the bounds of his kingdome, that he had the most part of all this Iland of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen; namelie the king of Strecled, and of the Scots, acknowledging him to be their chiefe souereigne lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to aplie the building and reparing of cities, townes, and castels, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Notingham on the southside of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repared Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, neere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of souldiers: diuerse other townes and castels he built, as two at Buckingham on either side the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. He likewise built or new repared the townes of Toceter and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yeare of his reigne. Some also he destroied which seemed to serue the enimies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

This Alfwen was sister to Edelsted, as H. Hunt. saith.

Strateclud or Streteled, a kingdome in Wales.

K. Edward a great builder and reparer of townes. Notingham bridge built.

Matt. West. Manchester repared. Anno 816. Simon Dun.

Henr. Hunt.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat aboue the tearme of 25 yeares, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his

his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three wiues, or (as some haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succéeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hath béene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a mone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine thereof gaue light ouer all England: and telling hir dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniecturing by the dreame that which followed, toke care of hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good maners and like a gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Polydor. Dreame.

Hereupon when she came to ripe yéeres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, vpon the first sight was streight rauished with hir beautie (which in déed excelled) that she could not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of hir the foresaid Adelstan: by hir he had also a daughter that was maried vnto Sithrike a Dane and K. of Northumberland. The Scotish writers name hir Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His second or rather his first wife (if he were not maried to Eguina mother to Adelstan) was called Elfleda or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Ethelme, by whom he had issue; to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and Edwin, which immediatlie departed this life after their father; and sir daughters, Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgina. Elfleda became a nun, and Ethelhilda also liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in a laie habit.

Matt. West. Polydor. Translated by Abraham Fleming. This issue of K. Edward.

Alias Edgiua Wil. Malm.

Edgitha was maried to Charles king of France, surnamed Simpler. And Ethilda by helpe of hir brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most highlie esteemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgiua and Elgiua were sent by their brother Adelstan into Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestowed one of them vpon his sonne Otho, that was after emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wife named Edgiua, he had also two sonnes, Edmund & Edred, the which both reigned after their brother Adelstan successiuelie. Also he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a nun, and Edgiue a ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan gaue in mariage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine. This Iffwen was sister to Edelsted, as H. Hunt. saith. Strateluid or Stretcled, a kingdome in Wales.

Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. K. Edward a great builder and reparer of townes. Nottingham bridge built.

Whilest this land was in continuall trouble of warres against the Danes, as before is touched, small regard was had to the state of the church, in so much that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by the space of seuen yéeres togither (in the daies of this king Edward) remained without anie bishop, to take order in matters apperteining to the church. Matt. West. Manchester repared. Anno 816. Simon Dun.

England first accursed. Anno 903. Wherevpon the pope had accursed the English people, bicause they suffred the bishops sées to be vacant so long a time. King Edward to auoid the cursse, assembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the prouince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it should be diuided into fiue dioceses, euerie of them to haue a peculiar bishop.

When all things were ordered and concluded in this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and in one day at Canturburie ordeined seuen bishops, as fiue to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say, Fridestane to the sée of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwall, Werstan to Shireborne, Adelme to Welles, and Eduise to Kirton. Also to the prouince of Sussex he ordeined one Bernegus, and to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Cenulfus. Winchester. Cornwall. Shireborne. Welles. Kirton. Mercia.

¶ Here ye must note, that where William Malme. Polychro. and other doo affirme, that pope Formosus did accurse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops sées to be vacant, it can not stand with the agréement of the time, vnlesse that the curse pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began to gouerne the Romane sée about the yéere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papasie not past fiue yeeres, so that he was dead before king Edward came to the crowne. But how so euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope what the king had decréed & done, in the ordeining of bishops to their seuerall sées, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chiefle vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appeareth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops (as before ye haue heard) seemed then alone to be sufficient. Wil. Malm. saith that pope Formosus pronounced this curse. 904. Polydor.

Moreouer, I thinke it good to aduertise you in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightwold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that gouerned the sée, succéeded Tadulin, that sat three yéeres, Notelin fiue yéeres, Cuthbert 18 yéeres, Brethwin three yeeres, Lambert 27 yéeres, Adelard 13 yéeres, Wilfred 28 yéeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yéeres, Celuotus or Chelutus 10 yéeres. Then succéeded Aldred, of whome king Edward receiued the crowne, and he was predecessor to Pleimond. A little before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberland killed his brother Nigellus, and then king Reinold conquered the citie of Yorke. Hen. Hunt.

Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward *in the kingdome, Alfred practising* by treason to keepe him from the gouernement, *sanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his* oth for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed *himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he* did to satisfie the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king Edwards daughter maried to Sithrike a Danish gouernor of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, practises of treason, the ladie Beatrice strangelie put to death by hir stepsons for being of counsell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father king Edward, and how chronographers varie in the report of this historie.

The xix. Chapter.

Adelstan. Matt. West. Will. Malmes. 924

ADelstane the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yéere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Henrie the first, in the 31 yéere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, three moneths after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yéere of Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This Adelstane

delstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Aldelme the archbishop of Canturburie, who succéeded Pleimond. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the Westsaxons. There were in the beginning some that set themselues against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: but he was apprehended yer he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe giltie or not giltie. And as he tooke his oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenlie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants tooke him vp, and bare him into the English schole or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Alfred striueth in vaine to keepe Adelstane from the gouernment. Wil. Malm. See more hereof in the acts and monuments set forth by M. Fox, vol. 1. leafe 195.

Pope Iohn the tenth sent vnto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian burtall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and saint Peter. The cause that moued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the worthinesse of thine ancestors, sith that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indeuored himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to insue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First therfore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yéere after he had so maried hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succéeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulafe fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reignold which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Rigellus, as before is mentioned.

Anno 925. Simon Dun. Polydor.

Wil. Malm.

H. Hunt.

¶ The Scotish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that mariage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a iolie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioising of all the Danes, least if he had surviued his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

Hect. Boetius. The Scotish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scotish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.

About the same time Adelstane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortlie after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Auala ſſus, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard rosted egs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armepits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Adelstane slieth the realme.

Beatrice put to death by strange torments.

Thus haue the Scotish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers decease was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yéere of his reigne, giuen in mariage (as before ye haue heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish bloud, who for the loue of the yong ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortlie after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserablie ended his life. Whervpon the yong ladie, hir virginitie being preserued, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polleswoorth in Warwikeshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praieng, and doing of almesdéedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scotish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike.

Editha a virgine.

Adelstane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulafe sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vnsuspected, he is discouered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfiteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeis & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what pretious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

The xx. Chapter.

After that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Yuduale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him.

Here-

...Malm. Herevpon with all conuenient spéd assembling his power, he went against them, and with like good fortune subdued them both, and also Uimer or Wulferth K. of Northwales, so that they were constreined to submit themselues vnto him, who shortlie after moued with pitie in considering their sudden fall, restored them all three to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselues to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saieng, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

Matth. West. The noble saieng of king Adelstane.

926

We must vnderstand, that (as it appeareth in the Scotish chronicles) the Scotishmen in time of wars that the Danes gaue the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their possession, and so by reason of their nére adioining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although in déed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, constreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey him as their king and gouernour. Godfrie (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much preuaile there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the same into Northumberland, besiged the citie of Duresme, soliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladlie haue done, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out. King Adelstane being sore moued against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

Polydor.

934

Ran. Higd. At his comming into Yorkshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint John of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redéeme the same with a worthie price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, wasted the countrie by land vnto Dunfoader and Wertermore, and his nauie by sea destroied the coasts alongst the shore, euen to Catnesse, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enimies to subiection at his pleasure, constreining the same K. of Scots to deliuer him his son in hostage.

Sim. Dun.

The Scots subdued.

It is said, that being in his iournie nére vnto the towne of Dunbar, he prayed vnto God, that at the instance of saint John of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succéed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his sword smote vpon a great stone standing nére to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a clift in the same stone to the length of an elne, which remained to be shewed as a witnesse of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he redéemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

A token shewed miraculouslie that the Scots ought to be subiect to the kings of England.

Wil. Malm. Matt. West. 934

After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, whereupon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without rower or mariner, onelie accompanied with one esquier, so that being launched forth from the shore, through despaire Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquier that was with him recouered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withsand besides Canturburie. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders saieth, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a créeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his cosin germane, and honorablie buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which déed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartilie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adelstane after his displeasure was asswaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could neuer abide the man that had giuen the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recouered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, saieng, One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other: which words cost him his life. For the king remembring that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue béene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

Repentance too late.

In this meane while, Aulafe the sonne of Sitherike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Iles) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to inuade the countrie. This Aulafe had maried the daughter of Constantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulafe toke in hand this iournie. King Adelstane aduertised of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient spéd hasted towards them, and approching nérer vnto them, pitcht downe his field at a place called by some Brimesburie, by others Brimesford, and also Brunanburgh, and by the Scotish writers Browmingfield.

Wil. Malm.

937

Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.

Matth. West. Hector Boet. Ran. Higd.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulafe enterprised a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offring himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musicke vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to plaie afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammisado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to the king what he knew. The king séemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulafs departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: We must remember (if it like your grace) that the same faith which I haue giuen vnto you, I sometime owght vnto Aulafe, therfore if I should haue betraied him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter do the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduise, remoue your tent, least happilie he assaile you vnwares. The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulafe came to assaile the English campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged, which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine. which slaughter executed, Aulafe passed forward,

Aulafe disguised, commeth to view the English camp

Aulafe assaileth the English campe.

ward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme (as Ran. Higd. saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie prosecuted forth vpon his enimies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an huge number. Wil. Malm. The enimies discomfited. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and fiue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welnere all the armie of those strange nations which Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scotish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.

Ran. Higd. When K. Adelstane had thus vanquished his enimies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they couenanted to pay him yearlie in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of siluer, and 25 head of neate, with hawks and hounds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongest the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Englishmen and them. Finallie the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmesburie.

Tribute. The Cornish men subdued. Excester repared. 940 Simon Dun. The decease of king Adelstane.

The description of king Adelstane. He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stoping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie ioined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeis. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and an other at Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new peece of building, iewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolfan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie inriched that bishoprike. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselues happie if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in mariage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horsses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine relikes: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauiour was pearced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuile saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth. Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithon at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreouer, the king of Norwaie sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the daies of this Adelstane reigned that right worthie Guy earle of Warwike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him. Wolfan archbishop of Yorke. His estimation in forraine realmes. Harding.

Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the *kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland* rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene *Aulafe their king and king Edmund vpon conditions*, Aulafe dieth, another of that name succeedeth *him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth* them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmails sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scotish chroniclers error in peruerting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshewed to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reproueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

The xxj. Chapter.

After that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succéed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, tooke vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otho the 1, in the 13 of Lewes surnamed Transmarinus king of France, and about the 38 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordeined Aulafe to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulafe, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Norwaie, & hauing a great power of men with him, marched forth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enimies at Leicester. Howbeit, yer the matter came to the vttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Odo and Wolfan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land which lieth from Watlingstréet southward, & Aulafe should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same stréet northward. Then Aulafe toke to wife the ladie Aldiua, daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obteined the vpper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroied the church of saint Walter, and burned Cuningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, toke vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

Edmund. Wil. Malm. 941 Simon Dun. A peace concluded. 941 Matth. West. Aulafe departeth. Another Aulafe taketh vpon him rule. 941

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and townes of Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Nottingham,

ham, conſtreining them to receiue the chriſtian faith, and reduced all the countries euen vnto Humber vnder his ſubiection. This done, Aulafe and Reinold the ſonne of Sarmo, who (as you haue heard) ſubdued Yorke, as a meane the ſooner to obteine peace, offered to become chriſtians, & to ſubmit themſelues vnto him: wherevpon he receiued them to his peace. Here be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was ſonne to king Sithrike, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realme: but they agree, that this ſecond Aulafe was a Dane alſo, & being conuerted to the faith as well through conſtraint of the kings puiſſance, as through the preaching of the goſpell, was baptiſed, king Edmund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the foreſaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the verie fontſtone, and to Reinold at his confirmation at the biſhops hands. Neuertheleſſe, their wicked natures could not reſt in quiet, ſo that they brake both promiſe to God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the yeare next following driuen both out of the countrie, and puniſhed by perpetuall exile. And ſo king Edmund adioined Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat gouernor, vnto his owne eſtate.

Sarmo or Godfrey. Will. Malm.

944 Simon Dun.

Moreouer, he waſted and ſpoiled whole Cumberland, becauſe he could not reduce the people of that countrie vnto due obeiſance, and conformable ſubiection. The two ſonnes of Dunmaile king of that prouince he apprehended, and cauſed their eies to be put out. Herewith vpon conſideration either of ſuch aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that time, or ſome other friendlie reſpect, he aſſigned the ſaid countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king of Scots, to hold the ſame by fealtie of him and his ſucceſſors. The Scottiſh chronicles, peruerting the time and order of the acts and doings of the Engliſh kings which reigned about this ſeaſon, affirme, that by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme king of Scotland, and Adelſtan king of England, it was agreed, that Cumberland ſhould remaine to the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at full expreſſed. And againe, that Indulfe, who ſucceeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided king Edmund againſt Aulafe, whom the ſame chronicles name Aualaſſus, but the time which they attribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not alow the ſame to ſtand. For by account of their writers, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after the deceaſſe of king Adelſtan, who departed this life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme ſucceeded Conſtantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare of king Edmunds reigne, and after Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) ſucceeded Indulfe in the yeare 959. The like diſcordance proceedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent reader, in conferring their chronicles with ours, manifeſtlie appeareth. We therefore (to ſatiſfie the deſirous to vnderſtand and ſee the diuerſitie of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the ſame as we found it.

Lewlin king of South-wales aided king Edmund in this enterpriſe.

946

Wil. Malm. 940

Simon Dun.

A peace concluded.

But now to the other doings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and wholſome lawes, verie profitable and neceſſarie for the commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by ruſt of time, the conſumer of things worthie of long remembrance (as ſaith Polydor:) but ſithens his time they haue beene recouered for the more part, & by maiſter William Lambert turned into Latine, & were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568, as before I haue ſaid. Finallie, this prince king Edmund, after he had reigned ſixe yeares and a halfe, he came to his end by great miſfortune. For (as ſome ſay) it chanced, that eſpieng where one of his ſeruants was in danger to be ſlaine amongeſt his enimies that were about him with drawen ſwords, as he ſtept in to haue holpen his ſeruant, he was ſlaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as other haue) Michelſbourgh.

Polydor. The lawes of king Edmund.

941 Matth. Weſt. Aulafe deceaſeth. Another Aulafe taketh vpon him to rule.

942

Five yeares and 7 months hath Si. Dun.

Other ſay, that keeping a great feaſt at the aforeſaid place on the day of ſaint Auguſtine the Engliſh apoſtle (which is the 26 of Maie, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tueſday) as he was ſet at the table, he eſpied where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome ſometime he had baniſhed the land, and now being returned without licence, he preſumed to come into the kings preſence, wherewith the king was ſo moued with high diſdaine, that he ſuddenlie aroſe from the table, and flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the theefe, hauing faſt hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him alſo, and with his knife ſtroke him into the bellie, in ſuch wiſe, that the kings bowels fell out of his cheſt, and there preſentlie died. The theefe was hewen in peeces by the kings ſeruants, but yet he ſlue and hurt diuers before they could diſpatch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie to the Engliſh people, which by the ouertimelie death of their king, in whome appeared manie euident tokens of great excellencie, loſt the hope which they had conceiued of great wealth to increaſe by his prudent and moſt princelie gouernement. His bodie was buried at Glaſtenburie where Dunſtane was then abbat.

Prouerbe ſaith Si. Dun. Will. Malm. Matth. Weſt.

946

There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was ſignified aforehand to Dunſtane, who about the ſame time attending vpon the ſame king, as he remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompanie himſelfe with a noble man, one duke Elſtane, and as they rode togither, behold ſuddenlie Dunſtane ſaw in the waie before him, where the kings muſicians rode, the diuell running and leaping amongſt the ſame muſicians after a reioiſing maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he ſaid to the duke; Is it poſſible that you may ſee that which I ſee? The duke anſwered that he ſaw nothing otherwiſe than he ought to ſee. Then ſaid Dunſtane, Bleſſe your eies with the ſigne of the croſſe, and trie whether you can ſee that I ſee. And when he had done as Dunſtane appointed him, he ſaw alſo the feend in likeneſſe of a little ſhort euill fauoured Aethiopian dauncing and leaping, whereby they gathered that ſome euill hap was towards ſome of the companie: but when they had croſſed and bleſſed them, the foule ſpirit vaniſhed out of their ſight.

Capgraue.

A vaine tale.

Croſſing driueth away the ſight of the diuels, and croſſing driueth them away.

Now after they had talked of this viſion, and made an end of their talke touching the ſame, the duke required of Dunſtane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in ſleepe, and that was this: He thought that he ſaw in a viſion the king with all his nobls ſit in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were there making merrie togither, the king chanced to fall into a dead ſleepe, and all the noble men, and thoſe of his councell that were about him were changed into robucks and goats. Dunſtane quicklie declared that this dreame ſignified the kings death, and the changing of the nobles into dum and inſenſible beaſts betokened that the princes & gouernors of the realme ſhould decline from the waie of truth, and wander as fooliſh beaſts without a guide to rule them. Also the night after this talke when the king was ſet at ſupper, Dunſtane ſaw the ſame ſpirit, or ſome other, walke vp and downe amongſt them that waited at the table, and within three daies after, the king was ſlaine, as before ye haue heard.

Dunſtane an interpretor of dreames.

Dunſtan ſeeth the diuell often, but now he was become a ſwatter at the table when Dunſtane ſat with the king.

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund *in the realme of England, the Northumbers* rebell against him, they and the Scots *sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their* oth and ioine with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth *into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people* expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the rereward of his armie is assalted by an host of his enimies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselues, and put awaie Hericius their king, Wolstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glastenburie, his practise of cousenage touching king Edreds treasure.

The xxij. Chapter.

Edred.

EDred the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgiue his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yeere of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelfe yeere of the emperor Otho the first, and in the 21 yeere of the reigne of Lewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and annointed the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, whervpon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This done, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselues vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulafe which had beene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioifullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeeres, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one Yirke or Hericius the sonne of one Yarrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yeere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroied the countrie with fire & sword, sleaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbeie of Ripon, which was kept against him.

946

Hen. Hunt. The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

Aulafe returned into Northumberland.

Yirke or Hericius.

Wil. Malm. The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.

As he was returning homeward, an host of enimies brake out of Yorke, and setting vpon the rereward of the kings armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselues so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Yirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteined pardon. But bicause that Wolstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his countriemen in reuolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericius, king Edred toke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Matth. Westm. reciteth an other cause of Wolstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yeere of Grace, saith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in close prison, bicause of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Theadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vniustlie slaine and murthered.

Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.

Easterford.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned. Matth. West.

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After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgiua, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies sore decaied and fallen into ruine. Finallie, after he had reigned nine yeeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of men, and reioising of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. ¶ Here is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iewels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glastenburie.

Wil. Malm.

Edred dieth & departeth this life.

Dunstanes fauour.

Afterward, when king Edred perceiued himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sickenesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane toke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hasted forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sickenesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saieng; Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horsse whereon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

But was as this a deuise thereby to ascertaine the treasure for I do not read that he deliuered it out of his hands.

An angell, as some thinke a simple creature.

Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdome *of England, his beastlie and incestuous* carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the *verie day of his coronation, he is reproued of Dunstane* and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, *Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnlawfull* lust and lewd life, the diuell reioised at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a fauourer of moonks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessiue quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars time seuerelie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Edwin.

AFter the decease of Edred, his nephue Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne

955 reigne ouer the same in the yeere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yeere of the emperor Otho the first, in the 28 and last yeere of the reigne of Lewes king of France, and about the twelfe yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were set in councell about weightie matters touching the gouernment of the realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his neere kinswomen, and there had to do with hir, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane latelie before named abbat of Glastenburie, did not onlie without feare of displeasure reproue the K. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constreine him to forsake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

Will. Malmes. Polydor.

Edredus departeth this life.

John Capgraue.

Where be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whome king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, sought to satisfie the kings lust, in hope that either he would take hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest trauell banished the land. This is also reported, that when he should depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and ioifull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiuing his behauiour, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, do not so greatly reioise at the matter, for thou doest not now so much reioise at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.

Dunstane in fauour.

Dunstane banished the realme.

Dunstane hath not the diuell.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flanders, where he remained for a time within a monasterie at Gant, finding much friendship at the hands of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious houses of their goods, and droue out the monks, placing secular priests in their roomes, as namelie at Malmesburie, where yet the house was not empaired, but rather inriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which tooke vp the bones of saint Aldelme, and put the same into a shrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement ouer them, wherwith king Edwine tooke such griefe, for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedie the matter, that shortlie after, when he had reigned somewhat more than foure yeeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbeie.

Dunstane departed into exile.

But was not this a deuise thereby to determine the treasure? for I do not read that he deliuered it out of his hands. An angell, as some think a woorke creature.

Wil. Malm. Edwine displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their roomes.

Rebellion raised against king Edwine Simon Dun.

Edwin departeth this life.

Edgar.

EDgar the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decease of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yeere of our Lord God

959 959, in the 22 yeere of the emperour Otho the first, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the comming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the last yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingstone vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not past 16 yeeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He was a great fauorer of monks, and specially had Dunstane in high estimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserue the same, to the commoditie & aduancement of his subiects.

Polydor.

Edgar a fauorer of monks.

When he had established things in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great nauie of ships, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to wast about the coast, that no forren enimie should approch the land, but that they might be incountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yeere after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his ships should assemble togither in their due places: and then would he with the east nauie saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending those ships backe, he would with the west nauie saile into the north parts; and with the north nauie come backe againe into the east. This custome he vsed, that he might scowre the seas of all pirats & theeues. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, searching out how the iudges and great lords demeaned themselues in the administration of iustice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subiects, nor molested by forren enimies.

The diligent prouision of K. Edgar for defense of the realme.

Wil. Malm.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselues by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Maleutius an archpirat, or (as we may call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Dufnall, Girffith, Huuall, Jacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne oathes receiued, sware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie therof, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himselfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he caused those eight high princes to row the barge vp and downe the water, shewing thereby his princelie prerogatiue and roiall magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that were his subiects. And there vpon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successours account themselues kings of England, when they inioied such prerogatiue of high and supreme honor.

Maleutius.

Kings of Welshmen.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

The fame of this noble prince was spred ouer all, as well on this side the sea as beyond, insomuch that great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the state of his court, as Saxons and other, yea and also Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauored in deed the Danes (as hath beene said) more than stood with the commoditie of his subiects, for scarse was anie street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conuersation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessiue quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Saxons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a disordered fiercenesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tendernesse of bodie: where before they reioised in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnpossessable manners of strangers.

Ran. Higd. King Edgar fauoureth Danes.

English learned to quaffe of the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

Englishmen learne other vices of strangers.

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the see of London committed vnto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might do verie much with the king. Also Oswald, which had beene a monke in the abbeie of Floxie in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the see of Yorke, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Iustice in his daies was strictlie obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offendors, so that no person of what estate or degree soeuer he was escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be giltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued vpon sucking the bloud of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudwall or Ludwall king of Wales to present him with three hundred woolues yearelie in name of a tribute, but after three yeares space, there was not a woolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yeare after it began to be paid.

Ethelwold made bishop of Winchester.

Oswald. Floxiacum.

Monks must needs write much in praise of Edgar who had men of their cote in such estimatiõ

A tribute instituted of Walsh kings.

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife *(or concubine) causeth him to fall into a* fowle offense, an example teaching men to *take heed how they put others in trust to woo for* them; earle Ethelwold coseneth the king of his *wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull* eies; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnnaturall speach of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to do the like, moonks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodilie qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the amplenesse of his dominions.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Osborne and Capgraue hold that she was not his wife but a nun. Wil. Malm.

IN this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the fame went, that Yorgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to see if the yoong ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong iollie gentleman, tooke his iournie into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was streight rauished so far

Yorger.

in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obteined the same in deed. Herevpon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought worthie to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Erle Ethelwold beteacheth the loue of his wife.

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was maried and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obteine his purpose, he shortlie after contriued Ethelwolds death, and maried his wife.

King Edgar seeketh the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would see hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the vttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called Warlewood, after Horewood, not shewing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, wherto he answered; Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me. With which answer the king was so pacified, that he indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murther of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yong, and Ethelred or Egelred.

King Edgar a murtherer.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, moued also by wanton loue, with a yong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselfe into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he tooke hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should be brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be deflowred: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidseruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

His licentious life & incontinencie.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made hast to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my dames worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith she be-

ing

ting ſtaied by the king, as it were againſt hir will, ſhe fell downe on hir knees, & required of him that ſhe might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (ſaith ſhe) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath taſted the pleaſure of the kings bodie ſhould anie more ſuffer ſeruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a ſharpe & rough miſtreſſe.

The king then being moued in his ſpirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that tooke great indignation at the doings of the dutcheſſe, and pitied the caſe of the poore wench. But yet in fine (turning earneſt to a ieſt) he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue thoſe that had rule of hir afore, ſo that ſhe ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vſed hir as his paramour, till he maried the foreſaid Alfred.

For theſe youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauiſhing of Wilfride (which though ſhe were no nun, yet the offenſe ſeemed verie heinous, for that he ſhould not once touch anie woman ſhadowed vnder that habit) he greatlie diſpleaſed Dunſtane, ſo that by him he was put to his ſeuen yeares penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yeare of his reigne or more. For ſome write that he was not crowned nor annointed king, till the 30 yeare of his age, which ſhould be about the 13 or 14 yeare of his reigne by that account, ſith he entred into the rule of the kingdome about the 16 yeare of his age. In deed one author writneſſeth, that he was conſecrated at Bath on a Whitſunday, the 13 yeare of his reigne, and that by Dunſtane archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Oſwold archbiſhop of Yorke. But ſome which ſuppoſe that he was conſecrated king immediatlie vpon the death of Edrius, affirme that he was crowned and annointed king by the archbiſhop Odo, Dunſtane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlie reuoked by Edgar, and firſt made biſhop of Worceſter (as hath beene ſaid) and after the deceaſe of Odo was aduanced to be archbiſhop of Canturburie. But by ſome writers it appeareth, that Dunſtane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yeare 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard:) and that in the yeare following the archbiſhop Odo died, after whome ſucceeded Alfin biſhop of Wincheſter, who alſo died the ſame yeare that king Edward deceaſſed, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Brightelme biſhop of Worceſter was elected archbiſhop. But becauſe he was not able to diſcharge ſo great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunſtane.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welſhmen moued ſome rebellion againſt him. Wherevpon he aſſembled an armie, and entering the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the ſame, chaſtiſing the inhabitants verie ſharpelie for their rebellious attempts. Amongſt other ſpoiles taken in thoſe parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of ſaint Ellutus was taken away, and hanged about a horſſes necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to reſt, whereupon in ſleepe there appeared one vnto him, and ſmote him on the breaſt with a ſpeare. By reaſon of which viſion he cauſed all things that had beene taken away to be reſtored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie ſuch thing chanced, or that he had anie ſuch viſion it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the 37 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 16 yeares and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Julie, and was buried at Glaſtenburie.

This Edgar is highlie renowmed of writers for ſuch princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chiefflie for that he was ſo beneficiall to the church, namelie to monks, the aduancement of whome he greatlie ſought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in reparing thoſe that were decaied: alſo by inriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monaſteries, remouing ſecular prieſts, and bringing in monks in their places. There paſſed no one yeare of his reigne, wherein he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glaſtenburie which his father had begun he finiſhed. The abbeie of Abington alſo he accompliſhed and ſet in good order. The abbeies of Peterborough & Thornie he eſtabliſhed. The nunrie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was profeſſed, and at length became abbeſſe there. To be briefe, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeies and monaſteries, in ſome of which he placed monks, and in ſome nuns. By his example in thoſe daies, other nobles, as alſo prelates, & ſome of the laitie, did begin the foundation of ſundrie abbeies and monaſteries: as Adelwold biſhop of Wincheſter builded the abbeie of Elie, and (as ſome ſay) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were eſtabliſhed by the king (as before is mentioned.) Alſo earle Ailewin, at the exhortation of the ſame biſhop Adelwold, builded the abbeie of Ramſey, though ſome attribute the doing thereof vnto Oſwold the archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſome to king Edward the elder.

To conclude, the religious orders of monks and nuns in theſe daies flouriſhed, and the ſtate of ſecular prieſts was ſmallie regarded, inſomuch that they were conſtreined to auoid out of diuerſe colleges, and to leaue the ſame vnto monks, as at Worceſter and Wincheſter, where in the new monaſterie, becauſe the kings liued not in ſuch ſort as was then thought requiſite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vſe themſelues no better, but rather worſe than the other before them, they were likewiſe put out, and monks placed in their roomes by authoritie of pope John the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vſed by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell againſt his owne people, and wanton in luſting after young women (as you haue heard before.) Of ſtature & proportion of bodie he was but ſmall and low, but yet nature had incloſed within ſo little a perſonage ſuch ſtrength, that he durſt incounter and combat with him that was thought moſt ſtrong, onelie doubting this, leaſt he which ſhould haue to do with him ſhould ſtand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feaſt (where oftentimes men vſe their tongs more liberallie than needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots caſt out certeine words in this maner: It may (ſaith hee) ſeeme a maruell that ſo manie countries and prouinces ſhould be ſubiect to ſuch a little ſillie bodie as Edgar is. Theſe words being borne awaie by a ieſter or minſtrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiſelie diſſembled the matter for a time; although he kept the remembrance thereof incloſed within his breaſt: and vpon occaſion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing cauſed one of his ſeruants to conuey two ſwords into a place within the forreſt by him appointed in ſecret wiſe, of purpoſe he withdrew from the reſidue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scotiſh king, came to the place where the ſwords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scotiſh king, willing him now to aſſaie his ſtrength, that they might ſhew by proſe

Erle Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.

Wherfore Edgar is praiſed of ſome writers.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.

Ran. Higd. lib. 6. cap. 9.

Matt. Weſt. Monks eſtæmed & ſecular prieſts little regarded.

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Tho. Eliot.

Edgar ſmall of ſtature but ſtrong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scots.

The noble courage of king Edgar.

Of the deth and buriall of Dunſtane.

Ran. Higd. Testament of Gaimar de Co-lenna. Wil. Malm.

King Edgar ſeeketh the deſtruction of earle Ethelwold.

Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Hig.

Polydor.

King Edgar a murtherer.

Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. The welſhmen rebel and are chaſtiſed.

His licentious life & incontinencie.

Will. Malmeſ. Hen. Hunt. King Edgar departeth this life.

pose whether of them ought to be subiect to the o-
ther; Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it
is a shame for a king to be full of brags at bankets,
and not to be readie to fight when triall should be
made abroad. The Scotish king herewith being a-
stonied and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his
feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault,
& desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his
humble submission king Edward easilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mighty duke named Ordiner, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Edgar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentiouslie, the elements shewed themselues verie fauorable, according to the course of times: peace was maintained, and no inuasion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

Wil. Malm.

Ireland subiect to king Edgar.

Contention amongest the peeres and *states about succession to the crowne, the* monkes remoued and the canons and secular *priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his* adherents, a blasing starre with the euents insuing *the same, the rood of Wincheſter speaketh, a prettie shift of* moonks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the moonks and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelred, hir diuelish purpose to murther Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepensed murther, doth penance, and imploieth hir substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

The xxv. Chapter.

Edward.

Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succeed him. Simon Dun. Iohn Capg.

After the decease of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & peeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladlie haue aduanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled togither, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfleda the nun, for which offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for leeing with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whose mother and such as tooke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were likelie inough to turne all vpside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Esser and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. ¶ About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was seene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby famine amongest the people, and murraine of cattell.

After he had (as Mercians other write) put the vpon Edgars death before the crowne was established, remoued the monks and restored the canons. Simon Dun.

975

Wil. Malm.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroied the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had beene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were done to them, in that they had beene put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of doing could not please God, not yet be allowed of anie good man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue beene an other mans vndoing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the monks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edelwin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brighnode earle of Esser, withstood this doing, & gathering an armie, with great valiancie maintained the monks in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Herevpon were councels holden, as at Winchester, at Kirthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia.

Iohn Capg. Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in councell, vttered certeine words in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the monks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had beene an oracle, that the priests had their suit dashed, and all the trouble was ceassed. So the monks held those possessions, howsoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phebus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

Polydor.

A prettie shift of the monks to disappoint the priests. Polydor.

The

The matter therefore was not so quieted, but that vpon new trouble an other councell was had at a manour house belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, sat in an vpper lost. The king by reason of his yong yéares was spared, so that he came not there. Héere as they were busied in arguing the matter, either part laieng for himselfe what could be said, Dunstane was sore reuiled, and had sundrie reproches laid against him: but suddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the ioists of the lost failed, and downe came all the companie, so that manie were slaine and hurt, but Dunstane alone standing vpon one of the ioists that fell not, escaped safe and sound. And so this miracle with the other made an end of the controuersie betwéene the priests and monks, all the English people following the mind of the archbishop Dunstane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Wil. Malm.

Dunstane by working miracles had his will, when arguments failed.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himselfe by good counsell of such as were thought discréet and sage persons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous steps, as alreadie he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to hir sonne Egelred, vsed himselfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a forrest néere the castell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the said Egelred then soiourned, when all his companie were spred abroad in following the game, so that he was left alone, he tooke the waie streight vnto his mother in lawes house, to visit hir and his brother. The quéene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, for that she had occasion offered to worke that which she had of long time before imagined, that was, to slea the king hir sonne in law, that hir owne sonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore she required him to alight, which he in no wise would yéeld vnto, but said that he had stolne from his companie, and was onelie come to sée hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forrest againe to sée some more sport.

Polydor. Wil. Malmſ.

The wicked purpose of quéene Alfred.

The quéene perceiuing that he would not alight, caused drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir seruants stroke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon féeling himselfe wounded, he set spurres to the horsse thinking to gallop awaie, and so to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horsse, so as one of his féet was fastened in the stirrup, by reason whereof his horsse drew him forth through woods and launds, & the bloud which gushed out of the wound shewed token of his death to such as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horsse had left him. That place was called Corfes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie solemne funerals at Warham.

The shameful murther of K. Edward.

Matth. West. Fabian. Sim. Dun. Wil. Malm.

For they which enuied that he should inioy the crowne, enuied also the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not so secretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For sundrie miracles shewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the same famous (as diuerse haue reported) for there was sight restored to the blind, health to the sicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are easilier to be told than beléeued.

Miracles.

Quéene Alfred also would haue ridden to the place where he lai, moued with repentance (as hath béene said) but the horsse whereupon she rode would not come néere the graue, for anie thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the said horsse could the matter be holpen: for euen the same thing happened to the other horsses. Héerevpon the woman perceiued hir great offense towards God for murthering the innocent, and did so repent hir afterward for the same, that besides the chastising of hir bodie in fasting, and other kind of penance, she imploied all hir substance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and reparing of churches and monasteries. She founded two houses of nuns (as is said) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambresburie, and finallie professed hirselfe a nun in one of them, that is to say, at Warwell, which house she builded (as some affirme) in remembrance of hir first husband that was slaine there by king Edgar for hir sake (as before is mentioned.)

Building of abbeies in those daies was thought to be a full satisfaction for all maner of sinnes.

The bodie of this Edward the second, and surnamed the martyr, after that it had remained three yeeres at Warham where it was first buried, was remoued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who also did sore repent himselfe, in that he had béene against the aduancement of the said king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he escape worthie punishment: for within one yéere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the history be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned three yéeres, or (as other write) three yéeres and eight moneths. ¶ Whatsoeuer hath béene reported by writers of the murther committed on the person of this king Edward, sure it is that if he were base begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it should appéere he was in déed) great occasion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto quéene Alfred to séeke reuenge for the wrongfull kéeping backe of hir son Egelred from his rightfull succession to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, she might yet haue deuised some other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpose, and not so to haue procured the murther of the yong prince in such vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthilie allowed, nor throughlie excused, although those that occasioned the mischiefe by aduancing hir stepsonne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter.

Elfericus.

Polydor. Will. Malmeſ.

Thus farre the sixt booke, comprising the first arriuall of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 135, *at which time the most miserable state of England tooke beginning.*

THE

THE SEVENTH BOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Egelred ſucceedeth Edward *the martyr in the kingdome of Eng-* land, the decaie of the realme in his *reigne*, *Dunſtane refuſing to conſecrate* him is therevnto inforced, Dunſtans prophe- *ſies of the Engliſh people and Egelred their king*, his ſlouth and idlenes accompanied with other vi- *ces, the Danes arriue on the coaſts of Kent and make ſpoile of* manie places; warre betwixt the king and the biſhop of Rocheſter, archbiſhop Dunſtans bitter denunciation againſt the king becauſe he would not be pacified with the biſhop of Rocheſter without moncie; Dunſtans parentage, his ſtrange trance, and what a woonderfull thing he did during the time it laſted, his education and bringing vp, with what good qualities he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was reuoked from louing and luſting after women whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obteined by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

The firſt Chapter.

Egelred.

IN the former booke was diſcourſed the troubled ſtate of this land by the manifold and mutinous inuaſions of the Danes; who though they ſought to ingroſſe the rule of euerie part and parcell therof in to their hands; yet being reſiſted by the valiantneſſe of the gouernors ſupported with the aid of their people, they were diſappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie a diſhonorable or rather reprochfull repulſe at their aduerſaries hands. Much miſchiefe doubtleſſe they did, and more had done, if they had not beene met withall in like meaſure of extremitie as they offred, to the offenſe and ouerthrow of great multitudes. Their firſt entrance into this land is controuerſed among writers, ſome ſaieng that it was in the daies of king Bjitricus, other ſome affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (ſith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour loſt to vſe manie words: onelie this by the waie is notewoꝛthie, that the Danes had an vnperfect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, ſo long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, politike at home, and warlike abroad. But when theſe kind of kings diſcontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a peꝛzant not a puiſſant prince, a man euill qualified, diſſolute, ſlacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his owne perſon, nor fauoring the good eſtate of the people; the Danes who before were courſed from coaſt to coaſt, and purſued from place to place, as more willing to leaue the land, than deſirous to tarrie in the ſame; tooke occaſion of ſtomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waring more bold and confident, more deſperate and venturous, ſpared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let ſlip no aduantage that they might poſſiblie take, to put in practiſe and fullie to accompliſh their long conceiued purpoſe.

Now bicauſe the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that remedileſſe) ſo often as they did encounter, and ſeeking the totall regiment, were diſpoſſeſſed of their partile principalitie, which by warlike violence they obteined; and for that the Saxons were intereſſed in the land, and theſe but violent incrochers, vnable to keepe that which they came to by conſtreint; we haue thought it conuenient to compriſe the troubled eſtate of that time in the firſt booke; the rather for the neceſſarie conſequence of matters then in motion: and heere deeme it not amiſſe, at ſo great and ſhamefull looſenelſe (ſpeciallie in a prince) miniſtring hart and courage to the enimie, to begin the ſeuenth booke. Wherin is expreſſed the chiefeſt time of their flouriſhing eſtate in this land; if in tumults, vproares, battels, and bloudſhed, ſuch a kind of eſtate may poſſiblie be found. For heere the Danes lord it, heere they take vpon them like ſouereignes, & heere (if at anie time they had abſolute authoritie) they did what they might in the higheſt degree: as ſhall be declared in the vnfortunate affaires of vngratious Egelred or Etheldzed, the ſonne of king Edgar, and of his laſt wife queene Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the ſame Edward was diſpatched out of the waie, and began his reigne ouer this realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 979, which was in the ſeuenth yeere of the emperor Otho the ſecond, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France, and about the ſecond or third yeere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland. 979. Simon Dun.

This Egelred or Etheldzed was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the firſt king of the Weſtſaxons: through his negligent gouernment, the ſtate of the commonwealth fell into ſuch decaie (as writers do report) that vnder him it may be ſaid, how the kingdome was come to the vttermoſt point or period of old and feeble age, which is the next degree to the graue. For whereas, whileſt the realme was diuided at the firſt by the Saxons into ſundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increaſing from youthfull yeeres) to one abſolute monarchie, which paſſed vn-

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der the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelstane, Edgar, and others, so that in their daies it might be said, how it was growne to mans state, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned vpside downe, and weakened on ech part, that rightlie might the season be likened vnto the old broken yéeres of mans life, which through féeblenesse is not able to helpe it selfe. Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie was thought to haue foreséene this thing, and therfore refused to annoint Egelred king, which by the murther of his brother should atteine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and so he consecrated him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, assisted by Oswald archbishop of Yorke, and ten other bishops.

Will. Malmes. But (as hath béene reported) Dunstane then said that the English people should suffer condigne punishment generallie, with losse of ancient liberties, which before that time they had inioied. Dunstane also long before prophesied of the slouthfulnesse that should remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he ministred the sacrament of baptisme to him, shortlie after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath béene said:) whervpon Dunstane being troubled in mind; By the Lord (saith he) and his blessed mother, this child shall prooue to be a slouthfull person. It hath béene written also, that when he was but ten yéeres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was slaine, he so offended his mother with wéeping, because she could not still him, that hauing no rod at hand, she toke tapers or lights that stood before hir, and beat him so sore with them, that she had almost killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie such candels lighted before him.

Polydor. This Egelred (as writers say) was nothing giuen to warlike enterprises, but was slouthfull, a louer of idlenesse, and delighting in riotous lusts, which being knowne to all men, caused him to be euill spoken of amongst his owne people, and nothing feared amongst strangers. Herevpon the Danes that exercised rouing on the seas, began to conceiue a boldnesse of courage to disquiet and molest the seacoasts of the realme, in so much that in the second yéere of this Egelreds reigne, they came with seuen ships on the English coasts of Kent, and spoiled the Ile of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yéere following they destroied S. Petroks abbeie in Cornwall, Porthland in Deuonshire, and diuerse other places by the sea side, specially in Deuonshire & Cornwall. Also a great part of Chestire was destroied by pirats of Norway.

Ran. Higd. 980

Sim. Dun.

Ran. Higd.

982 The same yéere by casualtie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yeere of our Lord 983, Alfer duke of Mercia departed this life, who was cosen to king Edgar, & his sonne Alfrike toke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within three yéeres after was banished the land. About the eight yéere of his reigne, Egelred maried one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yeere of his reigne, vpon occasion of strife betweene him and the bishop of Rochester, he made warre against the same bishop, wasted his lordships, and besieged the citie of Rochester, till Dunstan procured the bishops peace with paiment of an hundred pounds in gold. And because the K. would not agree with the bishop without monie at the onelie request of Dunstane, the said Dunstane did send him word, that sithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patrone of the church of Rochester, and more of couetousnesse than of him being the archbishop, the mischiefs which the Lord had threatned would shortlie fall and come to passe, but the same should not chance whilest he was aliue, who died in the yeere following, on the 25 of Maie, being saturdaie.

983 Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed this life. Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia. Fabian.

979 Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. Matt. West.

Of this Dunstane manie things are reported by writers, that he should be of such holinesse and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whilest he liued heere on earth, and also after his decesse. He was borne in Westsaron, his father was named Heorstan, and his mother Cinifride, who in his youth set him to schoole, where he so profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell sicke of an ague, which vexed him so sore that it draue him into a frensie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his disease grew so on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had béene dead, and after that he suddenlie arose, & by chance caught a staffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hils and dales, and laid about him as though he had béene afraid of mad dogs. The next night (as it is said) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine ladders that stood there for workemen to mend the roofe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerouslie, but in the end came safelie downe, and laid him to sléepe betwéene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he maruelled how he came there. Finallie, recouering his disease, his parents made him a priest, and placed him in the abbeie of Glastenburie, where he gaue himselfe to the reading of scriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinsmen as certeine other did raise a report of him, that he gaue not himselfe so much to the reading of scriptures, as to charming, conjuring and sorcerie, which he vtterlie denied: howbeit learned he was in déed, & could do manie prettie things both in handie worke and other deuises: he had good skill in musicke and delighted much therein. At length he grew in such fauour, that he was aduanced into the seruice of king Adelstane.

Vita Dunstani. John Capgr. Osborne. Ran. Higd.

Upon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans house with his harpe, and hong the same on the wall, while he shaped a priests stole, the harpe suddenlie began to plaie a psalme, which draue the whole household in such feare, that they ran out and said, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: whereupon he was accused of necromancie, and so banished out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfeagus then bishop of Winchester and his cosen, perswaded him to become a monke, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue maried a yong damosell, whose pleasant companie he dailie inioied. But being sone after striken with such a swelling disease in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had béene infected with a foule leprosie, he bethought him selfe, and vpon his recouerie sent to the bishop, who immediatlie shore him a monke, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holinesse, as he in time became abbat of Glastenburie: where on a time as he was in his praiers before the altar of S. George, he fell aslépe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglie rough beare came towards him with open mouth, and set his forefoot vpon his shoulders readie to deuoure him, he suddenlie wakening for feare, caught his walking staffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a paire of pinsors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda nére kinswoman to king Adelstane bare him to hir dieng day, with a great manie of other such like matters, I leaue as friuo-

Polychron.

lous,

lous, and wholie impertinent to our purpose: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obteined in the time of king Edgar, first the bishoprike of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But leauing Dunstane and the fond deuises depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes inuade England on each *side, they are vanquished by the English,* Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in *a battell fought at Maldon kill Brightnod earle of* Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds *paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the* English subiects, they cease their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people despaire to resist them; Egelred addresseth a nauie against the Danes vnder the erles Alfrike and Turold, Alfrike traitorously taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great wast in many parts of this Iland, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they driue king Egelred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulafe king of Norwey is honorablie interteined of Egelred, to whome he promiseth at his baptisme neuer to make warre against England, the great zeale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.

The second Chapter.

Wil. Malm. Matt. Westm. The Danes inuade this land.

SHortlie after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each side, wasting and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arriued in so manie places at once, that the Englishmen could not well deuise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoiled a place or towne called Wichport, and from thence passing further into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who giuing them battell, lost their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunel. saith, that the Englishmen in deed wan the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died an other valiant man of warre named Strenwold. In the yeare 991, Brightnod earle of Eſſex, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Iustine and Guthmond had spoiled Gipswich) and was there ouercome and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obteined in that place the victorie.

Alias Weceberport. H. Hunt. Simon Dun. Danes vanquished.

Simon Dun.

Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine.

Matt. VVest.

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In the same yeare, and in the 13 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wasted and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had beene grashoppers: by the aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the second of that see after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paid to them by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiects anie further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto such Danes as king Egelred afterwards reteined in his seruice, to defend the land frm other Danes and enimies that sought to inuade his dominions. But by what name so euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that herevpon they ceassed from their most cruell inuasions for a time. But shortlie after they had refreshed themselues, and recouered new strength, they began to play their old parts againe, doing the like mischeefe by their semblable inuasions, as they had vsed before. By reason hereof such feare came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enimies.

Ten thousand pounds paid to the Danes. Danegilt.

Wil. Malm. 992

The king yet caused a nauie to be set forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had banished) to be high admerall, ioining with him earle Turold. This nauie did set forward from London toward the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrike, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and incountered with the kings fleet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes side. ¶ Matt. West. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deed being one of the chiefe capteins of the fleet, aduertised them by forewarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they should come to ioining, the same Alfrike like a traitor fled to the Danes, and after vpon necessitie being put to flight escaped away with them: but the other capteins of the kings fleet, as Theodred, Elstan, and Elfwen, pursued the Danes, toke one of their ships, and slue all those that were found therein. The Londoners also (as the same Matt. West. saith) met with the nauie of the Danish rouers as they fled away, and slue a great number, and also toke the ship of the traitor Alfrike with his souldiers & armor, but he himselfe escaped, though with much paine, hauing plaied the like traitorous part once before, and yet was reconciled to the kings fauor againe. Vpon this mischiefe wrought by the father, the king now toke his sonne Algar, and caused his eies to be put out.

Hen. Hunt. A nauie set forth.

Alfrike a traitour to his countrie. Matth. West.

Henr. Hunt. The son punished for his fathers offence. 993

About the same time was Bamburgh destroied by the Danes, which arriued after in Humber, and wasted the countrie of Lindsey and Yorkeshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to giue them battell, before they ioined, the capteines of the English armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to flie away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the ouerthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should appeare, that after the Danes had destroied all the north parts, as they spred abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie sore assault to the citie, and assaied to set it on fire: but the citizens so valiantlie defended themselues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their losse, so that they were constreined to depart thence with dishonor. Then they fell to and wasted the countries of Eſſex, Kent, Sussex, and Hamshire, and ceassed not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Simon Dun. Polydor. Matth. West.

Iulafe king of Norways sweyn king of Denmarks were capteins of this fleet, as saith Simon Dun.

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Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The king compounded with the Danes for monie.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeare at Southampton, the king procured Aulafe king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in most honorable maner. The same time was Aulafe baptised, king Egel-

Matt. West. Simon Dun. Iulafe king of Norway baptised.

red

...ude. red receiuing him at the fontstone, and so he promised neuer after to make anie war within this land. And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned into his countrie, and kept his promise faithfullie: but the euils toke not so an end, for other of the Danes sprang vp, as they had béene the heads of the serpent Hydra, some of them euer being readie to trouble the quiet state of the English nation.

John Leland. Simon Dun. 995

About this season, that is to say, in the péere of our Lord 995, bishop Aldaine which was fled from Chester in the street (otherwise called Cunecester) with the bodie of saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuasion of Danes, vnto Ripon, brought the same bodie now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation of a church; so that the sée of that bishoprike was from thencefoorth there established, and the woods were there cut downe, which before that time couered and ouergrew that place, whereupon it began first to be inhabited. Earle Uthred, who gouerned that countrie, greatlie furthered the bishop in this worke, so that all the people inhabiting betweene the riuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to rid the woods, and to helpe forwards the building of the church and towne there.

The church of Durham builded.

Earle Uthred

Durham towne and minster builded.

The Danes inuading the west parts of *this land make great hauocke by fire and* sword, they arriue at Rochester, and conquer *the Kentishmen in field, king Egelred ouercom-* meth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and *wasteth the countrie, the Summersetshire men are foiled: the* miserable state of the realme in those daies; the English bloud mixed with the Danes and Britaines, and what inconueniences grew thervpon, the disordered gouernement of king Egelred, sicknesses vexing the people, treason in the nobles, the tribute paid to the Danes vnmercifullie inhansed, the realme brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politike persuasion and counsell marrieth Emma the duke of Normandies daughter, vpon what occasion the Normans pretended a title to the crowne of England, they conquer the whole land, what order king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his kingdome, and what rule they bare in this realme yer they were murdered, the thraldome of the English people vnder them, whereof the word Lordane sprang.

The third Chapter.

997 The Danes inuade the west parts of this land.

IN the nintéenth yere of king Egelreds reigne, the Danes sailed about Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne sea, they robbed & toke préies in the coasts of Deuonshire & Southwales, and landing at Michepoze, they burned vp the countrie, and came about vnto Penwithstréet on the south coast, and so arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidford, and there wasted all afore them with force of fire. They burned, amongst other places, the monasterie of saint Mdulfe at Essingstocke. After this they came into Dorcetshire, and passed through the countrie with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to resist them. The same yéere also they soiourned in the Ile of Wight, and liued vpon spoiles & préies which they toke in Hampshire and Sussex. At length they came into the Thames, and so by the riuer of Medwey arriued at Rochester. The Kentishmen assembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and so left the field to the Danes. After this, the same Danes sailed into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he ouercame with sore warre, and wasted almost all Cumberland, taking great spoiles in the same. About the same time, or shortlie after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there assaulted the castell, but they were repelled by them that kept it. After this they spread abroad ouer all the countrie, exercising their accustomed trade of destroieng all before them with fire and sword. The men of Summersetshire fought with them at Pentho, but the Danes got the vpper hand.

998 Taunstocke

999 The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000

1001 Exmouth.

Pentho.

Thus the state of the realme in those daies was verie miserable, for there wanted worthie chieftains to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did amisse. There was no trust in the noble men, for euerie one impugned others doing, and yet would not deuise which way to deale with better likelihood. When they assembled in councell, and should haue occupied their heads in deuising remedies for the mischiefe of the common wealth, they turned their purpose vnto altercation, about such strifes, contentions and quarels as each one had against other, and suffered the generall case to lie still in the dust. And if at anie time there was anie good conclusion agreed vpon, for the withstanding of the enimie, & releefe of the common wealth, anon should the enimie be aduertised thereof by such as were of aliance or consanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr. and others say) the English bloud was so mixed with that of the Danes and Britains, who were like enimies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the one side a parent of some of them.

Disagréement with councellors what fruit it bringeth.

Whereby it came to passe, that neither the secret purposes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect; neither their assemblies proue quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Manie also being sent forth with their powers one way (whilest the king went to make resistance another) did reuolt to his enimies, and turned their swords against him (as you haue heard of Elfrike and his complices, and shall read of manie others) so that it was no maruell that Egelred sped no better, and yet was he as valiant as anie of his predecessors, although the monks fauour him not in their writings, because he demanded aid of them toward his warres, and was nothing fauorable to their lewd hypocrisie. But what is a king if his subiects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be diuided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings great and famous kingdomes haue oft times proceeded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdoms haue oftner bene brought to ruine. And so it proued here, for whilest priuat quarels are pursued, the generall affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whilest ech nation séeketh to preferre hir owne aliance, the Iland it selfe is like to become a desert.

But to proceed with our monasticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, saieng that he was a man giuen to no good exercise, he delighted in fleshlie lusts and riotous bankettings, and still sought waies how to gather of his subiects what might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwise. For he would for feined or for verie small & light causes disherit his native subiects, and cause them to redéeme their owne possessions for great summes of monie. Besides these oppressions, diuers kinds of sicknesses vexed the people also, as the bloodie flix, and hot burning agues which then raged through the land, so that manie died thereof. By such manner of meanes therefore, what through the misgouernance of the king, the treason and disloialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongst the people, and by such other scourges and mishaps as afflicted the English nation

The misgouernement of the king.

Sicknesse vexing the people.

Treason in the nobilitie.

tion in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agreement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was inhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the relme was emptied in maner of all that monie and coine that could be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina or Ethelgina the queene. Shortlie after it was deuised that the king should be a suter vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of Normandie. This suit was begun and toke such good successe, that the king obteined his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he maried the said Emma with great solemnitie.

The inhancing of the tribute paid to the Danes.

The death of queene Elgina. Emma.

Hen. Hunt. 1002

Emma daughter of R. duke of Normandie maried to K. Edgar.

This mariage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Norman princes in those daies: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obteined and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare. Egelred being greatlie aduanced (as he thought) by reason of his mariage, deuised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murthered in one day. Herevpon he sent priuie commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certeine day prefired, being saint Brices day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murther began, and was according to the commission and iniunction executed. But where it first began, the same is vncerteine: some say at Wellowin in Herefordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Holwnhill, & others in other places, but wheresoeuer it began, the doers repented it after.

1012

The 13 of November. The murder of the Danes.

Holwnhill, or Houndhill, a place within Werchington parish beside the forest of Needwood, somewhat more than two miles from Worcester.

But now yer we proceed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murthered, as in some bookes we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & do all maner of labour and toile to be done about husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and gaines that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants, vsing and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarse haue such sustenance of meats and drinkes as fell for seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all at their commandements, eating and drinking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardlie come to his fill of the worst. Besids this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anie of them soiourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to méet at anie bridge or streight passage, the Englishman must staie till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the Danes vse the Englishmen in most vile manner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot be sufficientlie vttered.

The thraldome of the Danes.

Hector Boet.

Lordane whereof the word came.

A fresh power of Danes inuade England *to reuenge the slaughter of their countrimen* that inhabited this Ile, the west parts *betraied into their hands by the conspiracie of a* Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike feined *himselfe sicke when king Egelred sent vnto him to leuie a* power against the Danes, and betraieth his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriueth on the coast of Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the truce taken betweene him and Vikillus is violated, and what reuengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine returneth into his owne countrie, he arriueth againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was vnable to preuaile against him, the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make cruell waste, king Egelred paieth him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light vpon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide of land conteineth, Egelreds order taken for ships and armour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies aduantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

The fourth Chapter.

VPon knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all speed they made forth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, toke the citie of Excester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman borne, whome queene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or shirife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerrun and wasted.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. The Danes returne to inuade England. Excester taken. 1003

Hugh a Norman conspireth with the Danes.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Herevpon the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire rose and got togither: but when the armies should ioine, earle Edzicus surnamed de Streona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his people, of whome he had the conduct: for they perceiuing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, which towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Salisburie, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were aduertised that the king was comming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next insuing, that is to saie 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of K. Egelreds reigne, Sweine or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Norwich, and comming thither toke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when he had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Vikillus or Wilketell

The counterfeit sickenesse of duke Edrike.

Wilton spoiled.

Simon Dun. 1004

Sweine king of Denmarke.

Norwich taken by the Danes. Thetford burnt.

ketell gouernor of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Norwich. In reuenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Aikillus, or Wilfeketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to maintéine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their waies to their ships.

Aikillus or wilfeketell gouernour of Norffolke.

Hen. Hunt.

1005 Swaine returned into Denmarke. Simon Dun.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fléet, partlie constrained so to dw (as some write) by reason of the great famin & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie néere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the haruest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted maner spared not to exercise their vnmercifull crueltie, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of preies in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enimies still conueied themselues with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

1006 Hen. Hunt. Swaine returned into England.

The Danes winter in the Ile of wight. They inuade Hampshire, Barkeshire, &c.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Ile of Wight, & in the time of Christmasse they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barkeshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Colesete, and then approching to Ellington, came to Achikelmeslawe, and in euerie place wheresoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning vp their innes and sleaing their hoalls. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but inrich their enimies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in maner of triumph, with vittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next insuing, by the aduise of his councell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

Winchester.

1007 36000 pound saith Si. Dun.

In the same yeare K. Egelred created the traitor Edzike earle of Mercia, who although he had maried Edgiua the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the councell vnto the enimies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatlie prouided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his falshod, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied dailie how to bring the realme into vtter destruction, aduertising the enimies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreouer, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat of peace, he persuaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his diuine prouidence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had iustlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

Edzike de Strreona made duke or earle of Mercia.

Wil. Malm.

In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he tooke order that of euerie three hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fléet was brought togither at Sandwich, and such souldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fléet. There had not béene séene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in ante kings daies before. But no great profitable péece of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble yong man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting togither twentie sailes, laie vpon the coasts taking prices where he could get them. Withike the brother of earle Edzike, being desirous to win honor, take forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enimie dead or aliue. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outragious wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shore: and Wilnot comming vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie dispersed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

In hundred acres is an hide of land.

1008 Prouision for ships and armour.

Matt. West.

After this, in the haruest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three capteines, Turkill, Henning, and Aulafe landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subiects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harieng the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edzike with forged tales (deuised onelie to put him in feare) had not dissuaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

Danes land at Sandwich.

1009 3000 pound saith Si. Dun.

Sussex and Hampshire spoiled.

The Danes returne into Kent.

After the feast of Christmasse they passed through the countrie and woods of Chilterne vnto Oxford, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to wasting of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the riuer, passed the same riuer at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repare & amend their ships that were in anie wise decaied. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Gipswich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and inuading the countrie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmere or Rigmere, vnto Aikill or Wilfeketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the fift of Maie. The men of Northfolke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgeshire men sticked to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulnesse amongest them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Mireneheued, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an euerlasting reproch.

1010 Oxford burnt.

Stanes.

Gipswich in Suffolke. Simon Dun.

Caput formicæ.

The Danes obteining the vpper hand, for the

space of three moneths together went vp and downe the countries, & wasted those parties of the realme, that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of the great and wealthie abbies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroied Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine-countrie of Bellham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degree or sex. After this also they entred into Essex, and so came backe to their ships; which were then arriued in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as soone after, when they had somwhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the countrie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroied a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finallie about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hartfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingtonshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was done in the countries that lie on the northside of the riuer of Thames. On the southside of the same riuer, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Barkeshire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

Thetford. Cambridge. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1011

Northampton burnt by Danes.

How manie shires the Danes wasted.

King Egelred offereth the Danes great *summes of moneie to desist from destroieng* his countrie, their vnspeakable crueltie, bloudthirstinesse, *and insatiable spoiling of Canturburie* betraied by a churchman; their merciles murthering *of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie, Turkillus the* Dane chiefe lord of Norfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English vpon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beautifull Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

The fift Chapter.

THe king and the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is aboue mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadors vnto the Danes, offering them great summes of moneie to leaue off such cruell wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to receiue the moneie, but yet could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of bloud and spoile satisfied with the wasting and destroieng of so manie countries and places as they had passed through. Where vpon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of twentie daies. In the end of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserued from death.

The king sendeth to the Danes. Simon Dun.

1011

Canturburie woone by Danes.

The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it doth and maie appeere.) For they slue of men, women, and children, aboue the number of eight thousand. They tooke the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Lefwin and Alfeword the kings bailife there. They spared no degree, in so much that they slue and tooke 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, slaieng all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserued the tenth: so that of all the monks there were but foure saued, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

Fabian. Ran. nius.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. Hen. Hunt.

Antonius. Vincentius.

Wil. Lamb. *ex Assero Menenensi, &c.*

But now to our purpose. In the yeere next insuing, vpon the saturday in Easter weeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had beene kept prisoner with them the space of six or seuen moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, because he would not redeeme his libertie with three thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue beene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murther was committed at Greenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certeine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paule, where it rested for the space of ten yeares, till king Cnute or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was remoued to Canturburie.

1012 Henr. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus murthered.

Miracles.

Elphegus buried in London.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murthered, held Northfolke and Suffolke vnder his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spred abroad in the countrie, soiorning in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most conuenient harbour. Moreouer, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were reteined to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue prouision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one author hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

Translated to Canturburie. Wil. Malm.

Turkillus held Norfolk and Suffolk.

48 thousand pound as saith Sim. Dun. and M. West. Henr. Hunt.

Matth. West.

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes vpon S. Brices day, to haue chanced in the yeere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the yeere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Edrike. But because all other authors agree that the same murther of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearsall thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it may be, that she became hostage either in the yeere 1007, at what time king Egelred paied thirtie thousand pounds vnto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or else

Gunthildis the sister of K. Swaine murthered.

else might the be deliuered in hostage, in the yéere 1011, when the last agréement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time soeuer she became hostage, this we find of hir, that she came hither into England with hir husband Palingus, a mightie earle, and receiued baptisme héere. Wherevpon she earnestlie trauelled in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother and king Egelred: which being brought to passe chiefly by hir suite, she was contented to become an hostage for performance thereof (as before is recited.) And after by the commandement of earle Edrike she was put to death, pronouncing that the shedding of hir bloud would cause all England one day sore to rue. She was a verie beautifull ladie, and toke hir death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though she saw hir husband and hir onelie sonne (a yong gentleman of much towardnesse) first murthered before hir face.

Wil. Malm.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. Hen. Hunt.

Antoninus. Vincentius.

Wil. Lamb. ex Asserio Menenensi, & alijs.

1012 Henr. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus murthered.

Miracles.

Elphegus buried in London.

Translated to Canturburie. Wil. Malm.

Turkillus held Norffolk and Suffolke.

48 thousand pound as saith Sim. Dun. and M. West. Henr. Hunt.

Matth. West.

Gunhildis the sister of K. Swaine murthered.

Turkillus the Danish capteine telleth *king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles,* & commons of this realme, he inuadeth Eng*land, the Northumbers and others submit themselues to him, Danes receiued into seruice vnder Egelred, London assalted by Swaine, the citizens behaue themselues stoutlie,* and giue the Danish host a shamefull repulse, Ethelmere earle of Deuonshire and his people submit themselues to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, commeth backe againe into England with a fresh power, is incountred with all of the Englishmen, whose king Egelred is discomfited, his oration to his souldiers touching the present reliefe of their distressed land, their resolution and full purpose in this their perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine, he sendeth his wife and children ouer into Normandie, the Londoners yeeld vp their state to Swaine, Egelred saileth ouer into Normandie, leauing his land to the enimie.

The sixt Chapter.

Turkillus discloseth the secrets of the realme to K. Swaine.

NOw had Turkillus in the meane time aduertised king Swaine in what state things stood here within the realme: how king Egelred was negligent, onlie attending to the lusts & pleasures of the flesh: how the noble men were vnfaithfull, and the commons weake and féeble through want of good and trustie leaders. Howbeit, some write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes which remained héere in England, was in league with king Egelred, in somuch that he was with him in London, to helpe and defend the citie against Swaine when he came to assalt it (as after shall appéere.) Which if it be true, a doubt may rise whether Swaine receiued anie aduertisement from Turkillus to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but such aduertisements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Simon Dun.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade England.

He landeth at Sandwich. 1013

Gainsbourgh

Swaine therefore as a valiant prince, desirous both to reuenge his sisters death, and win honor, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ships, with the which he made towards England, and first comming to Sandwich, taried there a small while, and taking ensignes the sea, compassed about the coasts of the Eastangles, and arriuing in the mouth of Humber, sailed vp the water, and entering into the riuer of Trent, he landed at Gainesbourgh, purposing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men brought into great feare, for that they had béene subiect to the Danes in times past, and thinking therefore not to reuolt to the enimie, but rather to their old acquaintance, if they should submit themselues to the Danes, streight waies offered to become subiect vnto Swaine, togither with their duke named Wighthred. Also the people of Lindsey and all those of the northside of Watlingstreet yeelded themselues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appointed his sonne Cnutus to haue the keeping of those pledges, and to remaine vpon the safegard of his ships, whiles he himselfe passed forward into the countrie. Then marched he forward to subdue them of south Mercia: and so came to Oxford & to Winchester, making the countries subiect to him through out wheresoeuer he came.

The Northumbers yeeld to Swaine.

The people of Lindsey yeeld themselues to him. Simon Dun.

South Mercia.

With this prosperous successe Swaine being greatlie incouraged, prepared to go vnto London, where king Egelred as then remained, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was reteined in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of some authors it maie appeare) and were now readie to defend the citie against their countriemen in support of king Egelred, togither with the citizens. Swaine, bicause he would not step so farre out of the way as to go to the next bridge, lost a great number of his men as he passed through the Thames. At his comming to London, he began to assault the citie verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in such feare that he should despaire of all relefe and comfort, or at the least trie what he was able to do. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in some feare by this sudden attempt of the enimies, yet considering with themselues, that the hazard of all the whole state of the realme was annexed to theirs, sith their citie was the chiefe and metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie stood in defense of themselues, and of their king that was present there with them, beating backe the enimies, chasing them from the walles, and otherwise doing their best to kéepe them off. At length, although the Danes did most valiantlie assault the citie, yet the Englishmen to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not shrinke, but boldlie sallied forth at the gates in heapes togither, and incountered with their aduersaries, and began to fight with them verie fiercelie.

Sim. Dunel.

Swaine assaulteth London.

Polydor.

Swaine whilest he went about to kéepe his men in order, as one most desirous to reteine the victorie now almost gotten, was compassed so about with the Londoners on each side, that after he had lost a great number of his men, he was constreined for his safegard to breake out through the midst of his enimies weapons, and was glad that he might so escape: and so with the residue of his armie ceassed not to iournie day and night till he came to Bath, where Ethelmere an earle of great power in those west parts of the realme submitted himselfe with all his people vnto him, who shortlie after nevertheless (as some write) was compelled through want of victels to release the tribute latelie couenanted to be paied vnto him for a certeine summe of monie, which when hée had receiued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning shortlie to returne againe with a greater power.

Wil. Malm. Erle of Deuonshire as saith Matt. West. Polydor.

Swaine returneth into Denmarke.

King Egelred supposed that by the paiment of that monie he should haue béene rid out of all troubles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of the realme thought otherwise, and therefore willed him to prepare an armie with all spéed that might be made. Swaine tarried not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with swift spéed he returned againe into England, and immediatlie vpon his arriuall was an armie of Englishmen assembled and led against him into the field. Herevpon they ioined in battell, which was sore foughten for a time, till at length by reason of diuerse Englishmen that turned to the

Swaine returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred discomfited in battell.

enimies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter vpon the English host, that king Egelred well perceiued the state of his regall gouernement to bee brought into vtter danger. Wherevpon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this manner.

The oration of king Egelred to the *remanent of his souldiers.*

IShould for euer be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if their lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Trulie to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confesse it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enimies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betraid into their hands. Againe, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that haue bene false and disloiall: whereby we haue bin constreined to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to ouercome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath bene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernement, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroied for euer. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irrecouerable ruine.

Herevpon they fell in consultation, euerie one alledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the woolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselues, the armie should be betraied into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselues readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yeeld themselues. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they tooke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserued from death, and in time to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had maried. But bicause he would not do this vnaduisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife queene Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of hir, Alfred and Edward, that by their interteinment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephues verie ioifullie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselues on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselues to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Greenwich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finallie after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law ioifullie receiued & greatlie comforted in that his time of necessitie.

King Egelred determineth to send place bim Swaine.

He sendeth his wife & sonnes ouer into Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Turkill.

1014.

King Egelred passeth into Normandie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed *king of this land, he oppresseth the English* people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, *the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine* vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles *write parciallie of him and his end, Cnute succeedeth his father* Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred word of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne commeth ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certeintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnute made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants therof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capteine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarrie in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

The seuenth Chapter.

SWaine hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be prouided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leuied through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Greenewich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, releeuing, succouring, and sustaining thereof. Swaine vsed the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suertie. The yeere in which he obteined the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constreined to flie into Normandie, was in the 35 yeere of the same Egelred his reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gouernment, did not onelie vse much crueltie in oppressing the laitie, but also stretched forth his hand to the church, and to the ministers

Swaine handleth the Englishmen hardlie.

niſters in the ſame, fleecing them and ſpoiling both churches and miniſters, without anie remorſe of conſcience, inſomuch that hauing a quarell againſt the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but alſo rifled and ſpoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of ſaint Edmund reſted.

Where vpon ſhortlie after, as he was at Gainesborough or Thetford (as ſome ſay) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good ſucceſſe in conquering of this land, he was ſuddenlie ſtriken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouſlie, for no man will how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie, he ended his life with grieuous paine and torment in yelling and roring, by reaſon of his extreame anguiſh beyond all meaſure. There hath ſprong a pleaſant tale among the poſteritie of that age, how he ſhould be wounded with the ſame knife which king Edmund in his life time vſed to weare. Thus haue ſome of our writers reported, but the Danish chronicles report a farre more happie end which ſhould chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the ſaid chronicles report, that after he had ſubdued England, he tooke order with king Egelred, whome they name amiſſe Adelſtane, that he ſhould not ordeine any other ſucceſſor, but onlie the ſaid Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vſing himſelfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Fabian. S. Edmund ſlaieth for the wealth, honor for the daughter of the people. Simon Dun. 1115

Albericus Cranz. Saxo Grammaticus.

Notwithſtanding all this, when or howſoeuer he died, immediatlie after his deceaſſe the Danes elected his ſonne Cnute or Knought to ſucceed in his dominions. But the Engliſhmen of nothing more deſirous than to ſhake off the yoke of Daniſh thraldome beſides their necks & ſhoulders, ſtreightwaies vpon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all ſpeed aduertiſed king Egelred thereof, and that they were readie to receiue and aſſiſt him if he would make haſt to come ouer to deliuer his countrie out of the hands of ſtrangers. Theſe newes were right ioifull vnto Egelred, who burning in deſire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer tariance to ſet that enterpriſe forward. But yet doubting the inconſtancie of the people, he ſent his elder ſon (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderſtand whether they were conſtant or wauering in that which they had promiſed.

Wil. Malm. H. Hunt. Comites or Cnute.

...red ſent ...ons.

Edmund K. Egelreds eldeſt ſonne.

The yong gentleman hailing ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like ſpeed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in ſafetie if he would make haſt. King Egelred then conceiued an aſſured hope to recouer his kingdom, aided with his brother in laws power, and truſting vpon the aſſiſtance of the Engliſhmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioifull and moſt acceptable to the Engliſh people, as to thoſe that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was moſt ſharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulneſſe and courteous dealings to haue reteined them vnder his obeiſance.

King Egelred returneth into England

Cnutes endeuor to eſtabliſh himſelfe in the kingdome.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the adminiſtration in the common wealth, he ſought firſt to appeaſe his wrath, and alſo to make amends to ſaint Edmund for his fathers offenſe committed (as was thought) againſt him: inſomuch that after he had obteined the kingdome, he cauſed a great ditch to be caſt round about the land of ſaint Edmund, and granted manie freedoms to the inhabitants, acquiting them of certeine taſkes and paiments, vnto the which other of their neighbours were contributarie. He alſo builded a church on the place where ſaint Edmund was buried, and ordeined an houſe of monks there, or rather remoued the canons or ſecular prieſts that were there afore, and put monks in their romes. He offered vp alſo his crowne vnto the ſame S. Edmund, and redeemed it againe with a great ſumme of monie; which maner of doing grew into an vſe vnto other kings that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie rich iewels, and indowed the monaſterie with great poſſeſſions. Polydor. Fabian.

S. Edmunds ditch.

But theſe things were not done now at the firſt, but after that he was eſtabliſhed in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then ſoiourning at Gainesborough, remained there till the feaſt of Eaſter, and made agreement with them of Lindſey, ſo that finding him horſſes, they ſhould altogither go forth to ſpoile their neighbors. King Egelred aduertiſed thereof, ſped him thither with a mightie hoſt, and with great cruelties burned vp the countrie, and ſlue the more part of the inhabitants, becauſe they had taken part with his enimies. Cnute as then was not of power able to reſiſt Egelred, and therefore taking his ſhips which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & ſailed about the coaſt, till he came to Sandwich, and there ſore grieued in his mind to remember what miſchefe was fallen and chanced to his friends and ſubiects of Lindſey, onelie for his cauſe; he commanded that ſuch pledges as had beene deliuered to his father by certeine noble men of this realme, for aſſurance of their fidelities, ſhould haue their noſes ſlit, and their eares ſtuffed, or (as ſome write) their hands and noſes cut off.

Cnute driuen to forſake the land.

He was driuen thither by force of contrarie winds as ſhould appeare by Math. Weſt.

The cruell decree of Cnute againſt the Engliſh pledges. Will. Malmeſ.

When this cruell act according to his commandement was done, taking the ſea, he ſailed into Denmarke: but yet tooke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthineſſe of the land, compounded with the Engliſhmen, and choſe rather to remaine in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted ſuch commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as ſome thought) he did not forſake his ſouereigne lord Cnute for anie euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time ſerued) to recouer the poſſeſſion of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithſtanding that he was now reteined by K. Egelred with fortie ſhips, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, ſo that Cnute returned but with 60 ſhips into his countrie: yet ſhortlie after, erle Turkill with 9 of thoſe ſhips ſailed into Denmarke, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Cnute, counſelled him to returne into England, and promiſed him the aſſiſtance of the reſidue of thoſe Daniſh ſhips which yet remained in England, being to the number of thirtie, with all the ſouldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did ſo much by his earneſt perſuaſions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got togither a naute of two hundred ſhips, ſo roiallie decked, furniſhed, and appointed, both for braue ſhew and neceſſarie furniture of all maner of weapons, armor & munition, as it is ſtrange to conſider that which is written by them that liued in thoſe daies, and take in hand to regiſter the doings of that time. Howbeit to let this pompe of Cnutes fleete paſſe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, conſider a little and looke backe to Turkill, though a ſworne ſeruant to king Egelred, how he did direct all his drift to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purpoſed treacherie with pretended anitie, as ſhall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hoſtilitie.

This Turkill was reteined in ſeruice with Egelred, as I thinke.

Encomium. Emmæ.

A great waste by an inundation or in-breaking of the sea, a tribute of 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a councell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Edmund the kings eldest sonne marieth one of their wiues, and seizeth vpon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both sustaine losse; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund preuenteth Edriks purposed treason, Edrike de Streona flieth to the Danes, the Westernemen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assembleth an armie against them in vaine; Edmund & Vtred with ioined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to preuent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Vtred submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute pursueth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the citie, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wiues, what issue he had by them, his infortunatenesse, and to what affections and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to releeue his decaied kingdome.

The eight Chapter.

1015

Matt. VVest.

BVt now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaid accustomed mischiefes an vnwonted misaduenture happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that ouerflowing the countries next adioining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroied. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be leuied to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Grænewich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councell at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Morcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Edrike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West. A councell at Oxford.

Sigeferd and Morcad murdered.

Their seruants take in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maisters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Friswids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Malmsburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, take occasion vpon pretense of other businesse to go thither, and there to see hir, with whome he fell so far in loue, that he take and maried hir. That done, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles liuing, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to do, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to receiue him for their lord.

Edmund the kings eldest sonne marrieth the widow of Sigeferd.

Whilest these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recouer the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Herevpon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obteined licence to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Edrike gouernor of Norwaie made a rode likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the nauie. After this iournie atchiued thus by Edrike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others write, he marched forth into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, take his iournie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, & Wiltshire.

Encomium Emmæ.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Cossam; and his sonne Edmund had got togither a mightie hoast, howbeit yer he came to ioine battell with his enimies, he was aduertised, that earle Edrike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Edrike to make his traitorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Herevpon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yeeld, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Edrike passed the Thames at Kirkelade, & entring into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroie the countrie, and namelie Warwikeshire.

King Egelred sicke. Matth. West.

Edrike de Streona fleeth to the Danes. Simon Dun. The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yeeld. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt.

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Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes.

In the meane time was king Egelred recouered of his sickenesse, and sent summons forth to raise all his power, appointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might incounter the enimies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraie him. Herevpon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vtred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and persuading him to ioine his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their reuolting, that others might take example thereby.

King Egelred recouered of his sickenesse.

He assembleth an armie in vaine.

Wil. Malm. Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabout they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with doing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Nottinghamshire, & so into Yorkeshire, not sparing to do what mischefe might be deuised in all places where he came. Vtred aduertised hereof, was constreined to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enimies, was constreined to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for shortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his

Cnute returneth into England.

Cnute, what countries he passed through.

Earle Vtred deliuered pledges to Cnute.

his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did banish out of the realme, because that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had. After that Cnute had subdued the Northumbers, he pursued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and staied there with his father. Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the citie of London.

In the meane time, king Egelred sore worne with long sicknesse, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast-day of saint Gregorie for saint George. He reigned the tearme of 37 yeares, or little lesse. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north Ile beside the quere, as by a memoriall there on the wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before is mentioned.) By Elgina his first wife he had issue three sonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelstane; besides one daughter named Egiua. By his second wife Emma, daughter to Richard the first of that name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard the second, he had two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

This Egelred (as you haue heard) had euill successe in his warres against the Danes, and besides the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, maniе other miseries oppressed this land in his daies, not so much through his lacke of courage and slouthfull negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie disherit diuerse of his owne English subiects without apparant cause of offense by plaine forged cauillations; and also caused all the Danes to be murdered through his realme in one day, by some light suspicion of their euill meanings: but also gaue himselfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with naughtie strumpets, forsaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamie & shame of that high degrée of maiestie, which by his kinglie office he bare and sustained. To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the exercise of warres; more giuen to pleasures of the bodie, than to anie vertues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of worldlie affaires, and prooфe of passed miseries, he sought (though in vaine) to haue recouered the decaied state of his common wealth and countrie.

¶ In this Egelreds time, and (as it is recorded by a British chronographer) in the yeere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalhon, the second sonne of Ieuaf tooke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and first made warre with Ionauall his cosen, the sonne of Meyric, and right heire to the land, and slue him, but Edwall the yongest brother escaped awaie priuilie. The yeere following, Meredith the sonne of Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight slue Cadwalhon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Meyric his brother, and conquered the land to himselfe. Wherein a man maie see how God punished the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall Voell did to their eldest brother Meyric, who was first disherited, and afterward his eies put out, and one of his sonnes slaine. For first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago; then Iago with his sonne Constantine, by Howell the son of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric, were slaine and spoiled of all their lands.

Edmund Ironside succedeth his father *in the kingdome, the spiritualtie fauouring* Cnute would haue him to be king, the Londoners *are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund* their king honorablie and ioifullie, Cnute is proclaimed *king at Southampton, manie of the states cleaue vnto him,* he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him the foile, he incountreth with king Edmund and is discomfited, two battels fought betweene the Danes and English with equall fortune and like successe, the traitorous stratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeateth Edriks trecherie, 20000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards London is pursued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incountred, and vanquished; queene Emma prouideth for the safetie of hir sonnes; the Danes seeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more easilie to betraie him; Cnute with his armie lieth neere Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them, both armies haue a long and a sore conflict, the Danes discomfited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assemble at Essex and there make waste, king Edmund pursueth them, Edrike traitorouslie reuolteth from the English to succour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by heapes; what noble personages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmish was fought.

The ninth Chapter.

Edmund Ironside.

After that king Egelred was dead, his eldest sonne Edmund surnamed Ironside was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, hauing the assistance of some lords of the realme, although the more part, and specialtie those of the spiritualtie fauoured Cnute, because they had afore time sworne fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his siege both by water and land verie strongline about the citie of London, before Egelred departed this life, and immediatlie vpon his decease was receiued into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not consenting vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironside (whome they had chosen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers with new supplies, meaning eftsones to trie the fortune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute perceiuing the most part of all the realme to be thus against him, and hauing no great confidence in the lotaltie of the Londoners, tooke order to leauie monie for the paiment of his men of warre and mariners that belonged to his naule, left the citie, and imbarking himselfe, sailed to the Ile of Sheppie, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and continuing there till the spring of the yeere, made himselfe strong against the enimies.

This Edmund for his noble courage, strength of bodie, and notable patience to indure and sufferall such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 1016, in the sirteenth yeere of the emperor Henrie the second surnamed Claudius, in the twentieth yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the first yeere of Malcoline the second king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne in the citie of London by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke, he assembled togither such a power as he could make, and with the same marched forth towards the west parts, and made the countrie subiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king

The pride of king Egelred alienated the harts of his people.

The kingdom goeth where the spiritualtie fauoureth.

The author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* saith that it was reported that Edmund offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going from the citie, but Cnute refused it.

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Cnute prepareth to besiege London.

King Egelred departed this life. Simon Dun. Matth. West.

He is buried in the church of S. Paul at London.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

King Egelred sicke. Matth. West.

Edrike de Strecona fleeth to the Danes. Simon Dun.

The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yeeld. Matth. West, Hen. Hunt.

1016

Warwickeshire wasted by the Danes.

King Egelred recouered of his sicknesse

He assembleth an armie in vaine.

Wil. Malm. Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

Cnute, what countries he passed through

Earle Uted deliuereth pledges to Cnute.

See the historie of Cambria pag. 62, 63

Ran. Higd.

king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporaltie there togither assembled, vnto whome he sware to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and vprightlie ministred.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth. Ma-

London besieged.

nie great assalts he caused to be giuen vnto the citie, but the Londoners and others within so valiantlie defended the wals and gates, that the enimies got small aduantage, and at length were constreined to depart with losse. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpose there, withdrew westward, and besides Gillingham in Dorsetshire, in-

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

countred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after sore & sharpe battell was put to the worse, and constreined to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger. Shortlie after, king Edmund hearing that

Polydor.

an other armie of the Danes had besieged Salisburie, marched thither to succour them within, and immediatlie Cnute followed him, so that at a place

Salisburie besieged.

in Worcestershire called Scorastan, on the foure and twentith of June, they incountred togither, and

Simon Dun. Matt. West. Wil. Malm.

fought a verie cruell battell, which at length the night parted with equall fortune. And likewise on the next

A battell with equall fortune.

day they buckled togither againe, and fought with like successe as they had done the day before, for towards euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

In other battell with like successe.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the vpper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Osmear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shaking his sword bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the

Edrike de Streona his treason. Simon Dun.

"Englishmen; Flee ye wretches, flee and get awaie,
"for your king is dead, behold heere his head which I
"hold in my hands. Herewith had the Englishmen
"fled immediatlie, if king Edmund aduised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him aliue and lustie. Herewith also the traitor Edrike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in sunder, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had beene by consent. The third day they remained in armor, but yet abstaining from battell, sate still, in taking meate and drinke to relieue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had beene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reckoned, rose to the point of twentie thousand and aboue.

Twentie thousand dead bodies.

In the night following, Cnute remoued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a maner remained besieged by the nauie of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discouered the departure of his enimies, followed them by the tract, and comming to London with small adoo remoued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shortlie after he

The armies dislodged.

The Danes ouercome at Brentford. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Fabian. Caxton. Polydor.

fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while queene Emma the widow of king Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, sent hir two sonnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie vnto hir brother duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirselfe with them (as some write.)

Moreouer, earle Edrike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought meanes to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contentations, which yet long he brought about. This was done (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that E-

Hen. Hunt.

drike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easilie deuise waies how to betraie him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great bootie and preie out of the countries next adioining, repared to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawen into the riuer that passeth by Rochester

The riuer of Medwaie.

called Medwaie. Heere Cnute remained certeine daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enimies ment to do, the which he easilie vnderstood.

King Edmund, who hated nothing worse than to linger his businesse, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enimies, approched neere vnto them, & pitcht downe his tents not farre from his enimies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to do their good wills, at length by one battell so to ouerthrow them, that they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them cleerelie out of the realme. With these and the like words he did so incourage his souldiers, that they disdaining thus to haue the enimies dailie prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eger minds and fierce courages offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receiue whensoeuer the Englishmen approched: and heerewith bringing his men into arate, he came forth to meet his enimies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & continued foure houres, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrinke, which when Cnute perceiued, he commanded his horsemen to come forward into the forepart of his dawnted host.

King Edmunds diligence.

The battell is begun.

But whilest one part of the Danes gaue backe with feare, and the other came slowlie forward, the arraie of the whole armie was broken, & then without respect of shame they fled amaine, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and fiue hundred men; and of king Edmunds side, not past six hundred, and those were footmen. This battell was fought as should appeere by diuerse writers, at Okeford or Otesord. It was thought, that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enimies in such wise as he safelie might haue done, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to staie and giue time to his people to refresh their wearie bodies. Then Cnute with his armie passed ouer the Thames into Essex, and there assembled all his power togither, and began to spoile and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund aduertised thereof, hasted forth to succour his people, and at Alhdone in Essex three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell to Cnute, where after sore and cruell fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discomfort of the Englishmen.

The Danes put to flight.

The number of Danes slaine. Polydor. Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matt. West.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes. Edrikes counsell.

Herevpon king Edmund was constreined in the end to depart out of the field, hauing first done all that could be wished in a worthie chieftaine, both by words to incourage his men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point to haue giuen backe, but that Cnute aduised

aduiſed thereof, ruſhed into the left wing where moſt danger was, and ſo relieued his people there, that finallie the Engliſhmen, both wearied with long fight, and alſo diſcouraged with the running awaie of ſome of their companie, were conſtreined to giue ouer, and by flight to ſéeke their ſafegard, ſo that king Edmund might not by anie meanes bring them againe into order. Hereupon all the waies and paſſages being forelaid and ſtopped by the enimies, the Engliſhmen wanting both carriage to make longer reſiſtance, and perceiuing no hope to reſt in fleeing, were beaten downe and ſlaine in heapes, ſo that few eſcaped from that dreadfull and bloudie battell.

Noble men ſlaine at the battell of Aſhdone. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

There died on king Edmunds ſide, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Godwine, with earle Ulfketell or Archell of Eaſtangle, and duke Aileward, that was ſonne to Ardelwine late duke of Eaſtangle; and to be briefe, all the floure of the Engliſh nobilitie. There were alſo ſlaine at this battell manie renowmed perſons of the ſpiritualtie, as the biſhop of Lincolne, and the abbat of Ramſey, with others: king Edmund eſcaping awaie, got him into Glocеſterſhire, and there began to raiſe a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet ſeuen or eight hils, wherein the carcaſes of them that were ſlaine at the ſame field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of ſtone, of which the one laie with his head towards the others fét, and manie chaines of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horſſes) were found in the ſame hill. But now to the matter.

King Edmund withdraweth into Glocеſterſhire

London & other great cities & townes *ſubmit themſelues to Cnute, he haſteth after* Edmund with his power, both their armies *being readie to incounter by occaſion are ſtaied,*

the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hoſts; *the title and right of the realme of England is put to the triall* of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is ouermatched, his words to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme diuided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorouſlie ſlaine, the diſſonant report of writers touching the maners of his death and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute cauſeth Edrike to be ſlaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treaſon is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipſed ſtate of England after his death, and in whoſe time it recouered ſome part of it brightneſſe.

The tenth Chapter.

IN the meane while that Edmund was buſie to leauie a new armie in Glocеſter, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got ſo great a victorie (as before is mentioned) receiued into his obeiſance, not onelie the citie of London, but alſo manie other cities and townes of great name, and ſhortlie after haſted forward to purſue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie hoſt to trie the vttermoſt chance of battell if they ſhould eftſoones ioine. Hereupon, both the armies being readie to giue the onſet, the one in ſight of the other at a place called Dearehurſt, neere to the riuer of Seuerne, by the drift of duke Edrike, who then at length began to ſhew ſome token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as ſome haue written, without anie more adoo. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue ioined, one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane or an Engliſhman, it is not certeinlie told) ſtood vp in ſuch a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldlie vttered his mind in forme following.

Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

Simon Dun.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith this was Edrike.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the Engliſh and Daniſh armie.

WE haue, moſt worthie capteins, fought long inough one againſt another, there hath beene but too much bloud ſhed betweene both the nations, and the valiancie of the ſouldiers on both ſides is ſufficientlie ſeene by triall, & either of your manhoods likewiſe, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he purſueth him that is ouercome; and if he chance to be vanquiſhed, he reſteth not till he haue recouered new ſtrength to fight eftſoones with him that is victor. What ſhould you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke ſhooteth your greedie deſire to beare rule, and your exceſſiue thirſt to atteine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, diuide it betweene you two, which ſometime was ſufficient for ſeuen kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the ſame are driuen to try the hazard whether ye ſhall command or obeie, deuiſe the waie whereby ye may without ſo great ſlaughter, and without ſuch pitifull bloudſhed of both your guiltleſſe peoples, trie whether of you is moſt worthie to be preferred.

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his laſt motion, and ſo order was taken, that they ſhould fight togither in a ſingular combat within a litle Iland incloſed with the riuer of Seuerne called Oldney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, ſhould be king, and the other to reſigne his title for euer into his hands. The two princes entering into the place, appointed in faire armour, began the battell in ſight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either ſide the riuer, with doubtfull minds, and nothing ioifull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfullie aſſailed either other, without ſparing. Firſt, they went to it on horſſebacke, and after on foot. Cnute was a man of a meane ſtature, but yet ſtrong and hardie, ſo that receiuing a great blow by the hand of his aduerſarie, which cauſed him ſomewhat to ſtagger; yet recouered himſelfe, and boldly ſtept forward to be reuenged. But perceiuing he could not find aduantage, and that he was rather too weake, and ſhrewdlie ouermatched, he ſpake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wiſe: What neceſſitie (ſaith he) ought thus to moue vs, moſt valiant prince, that for the obteining of a kingdome, we ſhould thus put our liues in danger. Better were it that laieng armour and malice aſide, we ſhould condeſcend to ſome reaſonable agreement. Let vs become ſworne brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale ſo friendlie, that thou maiſt vſe my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine. King Edmund with thoſe words of his aduerſarie was ſo pacified, that immediatlie he caſt awaie his ſword, and comming to Cnute, ioined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the ſame fortune to fall on their countries, which ſhould happen to

The two kings appoint to try the matter by a combat. Oldney.

Matt. Weſtm. Cnute of what ſtature he was.

Cnute ouermatched. Cnutes words to Edmund.

H. Hunt.

They take vp the matter betwixt themſelues.

to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloudshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus togither in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, bicause (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldnesse of stomach, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most conuenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constreined to be contented therewith.

Wil. Malm.

¶ Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reprooue, or rather but to mistrust that which hath beene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, doth report in this behalfe. Which is that through persuasion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatelie after the battell fought at Assdone, sent ambassadors vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie inioy the south parts, and thereupon haue pledges deliuered interchangeablie on either side.

Encomium Emmæ.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, staied to make answer till he heard what his councell would aduise him to doo in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decaid number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish captens, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Herevpon Cnute calling the ambassadors before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. For (saith he) I haue vndertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to anie peace. The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies discharged. But God saith mine author being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmond out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should haue liued in danger. And incontinentlie herevpon was Cnute chosen and receiued for absolute king of all the whole realme of England. Thus hath he written that liued in those daies, whose credit thereby is much aduanced.

"This is alledged for the parting of the kingdome."

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieth from this, who do affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the serpent of enuie and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Orford, as he sat on a priuie to doo the necessaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatlie after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (saith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe can not long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie vpon the English kingdome, least if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeth also Simon Dunel. who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickenesse, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andrew next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

R. Glouc. writeth that he was slaine at Orford.

Fabian. Simon Dun.

This is also agreed with the praise of Edmunds naturall death.

Fabian.

And this should seeme true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, do also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hasted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Whereupon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: Bicause thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head aboue all the lords of England, and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some bookes. Howbeit this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honor, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and vsed his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sonnes also, Edmund and Edward.

Ranul. Hig. Hen. Hunt.

Some think that he was duke of Mercia before, and now had greater authoritie therein.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuented thereof (as the manner is) we will let the residue of their reports passe; sith certeine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare, and so much more as is betweene the moneth of June and the latter end of November. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie, where his vncle Edgar. With this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious maiestie of the English kingdome, the which afterward as it had beene an aged bodie being sore decaied and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recouered after the space of 26 yeers vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor: and shortlie thereupon as it had beene falne into a resiluation, came to extreame ruine by the inuasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and marking reader both muse and maruell, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath beene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the fraile and miserable estate of this mortall life, which is no more free from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties wherewith our life is inclosed and beset with round about, are manifold: so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they vnauoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdoms doth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discontinue. But to the processe of the matter.

Diuerse and discordant reports of Edmunds death. Ran. Hig. Wil. Malm.

Cnute

Cnute vndertaketh the totall regiment of this land, he assembleth a councell at London, the nobles doo him homage, he diuideth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned by his assignes; Edwin and Edward the sonnes of Edmund are banished, their good fortune by honorable marriages, King Cnute marieth queene Emma the widow of Egelred, the wise and politike conditions whereupon this mariage was concluded, the English bloud restored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praised for hir high wisedome in choosing an enimie to hir husband; Cnute dismisseth the Danish armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewraieth his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through rashnesse and follie, the discordant report of writers touching the maner & cause of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and banished out of England, Cnute a monarch.

The xj. Chapter.

Cnute, Knought or Cnute.

CNute, or Cnute, whome the English chronicles do name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, tooke vpon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, in the seuenteenth yeere of the emperour Henrie the second, surnamed Claudus, in the twentith yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Cnute shortlie after the death of king Edmund, assembled a councell at London, in the which he caused all the nobles of the realme to do him homage, in receiuing an oth of loiall obeisance. He diuided the realme into foure parts, assigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Ircke or Ircius, Mercia vnto Edzike, and Eastangle vnto Turkill, and reseruing the west part to his owne gouernance. He banished (as before is said) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but such as were suspected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he caused to be put to execution: whereby it should appeere, that Edzike was not then in anie wise detected or once thought to be giltie.

1017

Wil. Malm.

The said Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as some write) but shortlie after traitorouslie slaine by his owne seruants. He was called the king of charles. Others write, that he came secretlie into the realme after he had beene banished, and keeping himselfe closelie out of sight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Tauestocke. Moreouer, Edwin and Edward the sonnes of king Edmund were banished the land, and sent first vnto Sweno king of Norweie to haue bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorse of conscience sent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon, insomuch that Edwin maried the daughter of the same Salomon, but had no issue by hir. Edward was aduanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperour Henrie, and by hir had issue two sonnes, Edmund and Edgar surnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Christine, of the which in place conuenient more shall be said.

Ran. Higd.

King of charles. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

When king Cnute had established things, as he thought stood most for his suertie, he called to his remembrance, that he had no issue but two bastard sonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwine. Wherefore he sent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue queene Emma, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, and so obteined hir, not a little to the wonder of manie, which thought a great ouersight both in the woman and in hir brother, that would satisfie the request of Cnute herein, considering he had beene such a mortall enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie consent, that his said sister should be maried vnto Cnute, but also he himselfe tooke to wife the ladie Yestritha, sister to the said Cnute.

Polydor. King Cnut: maried to queene Emma the widow of Egelred, in Julie, anno. 1017.

Polydor.

¶ Here ye haue to vnderstand, that this mariage was not made without great consideration & large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obteine queene Emma to his wife, it was sullie condescended & agreed, that after Cnuts decease, the crowne of England should remaine to the issue borne of this mariage betwixt hir & Cnute, which couenant although it was not performed immediatlie after the decease of king Cnute, yet in the end it toke place, so as the right seemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away nor abolished: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had vsurped, Hardicnute succeeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agreement made at the time of the mariage solemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once established in the kingdome, he ordeined his brother Edward to succeed him, whereby the Danes were vtterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the English bloud restored thereto, chieflie by that gratious conclusion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and queene Emma. For the which no small praise was thought to be due vnto the said queene, sith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match so beneficiall to hir selfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recouered out of the hands of the Danes, and restored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatise which some haue intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in those daies, it doth and may appeare. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giueth vndoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time.

The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emma.

The english bloud restored.

The praise of queene Emma for hir wisedome.

Encomium Emmæ.

But now to our purpose. Cnute the same yeare in which he was thus maried, through persuasion of his wife queene Emma, sent awaie the Danish nauie and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them fourescore and two thousand pounds of siluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yeare 1018, Edzike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priuie chamber, and there in reasoning the matter about some quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie presumptuouslie to vpbraid the king of such pleasures as he had before time done vnto him; I did (said he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forsake my souereigne lord king Edmund, and at length for your sake slue him. At which words Cnute began to change countenance, as one maruellouslie abashed, and straightwaies gaue sentence against Edrike in this wise; Thou art worthie (saith he) of death, and die thou shalt, which art guiltie of treason both towards God and me, sith that thou hast slaine thine owne souereigne lord, and my deere alied brother. Thy bloud therefore be vpon thine owne head, sith thy tong hath vttered thy treason. And immediatlie he caused his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the riuer of Thames. ¶ But others say, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie same chamber or closet where he murdered the king, & straightwaies to preuent all causes of tumults & hurlieburlies, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing passed vpon him, a second succeeded; for both his feet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the streets of the citie, & in fine cast into a common ditch called Hounds-

Matth. West.

Wil. Malm. 1018

Edzike put to death.

ditch,

ditch; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthie of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not haue said, *Proditionem amo, proditorem odi*; Treason I loue, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Edrike, surnamed de Stratten or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falsehod and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touched.

Simon Dun.

Encomium Emmæ.

But there be that concerning the cause of this Edriks death, seeme partlie to disagrée from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betraied through the treason of Edrike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Edrike craued some preferment at Cnuts hands, & said that he had deserued to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Assendon, the victorie therby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answere: And canst thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy souereigne lord and maister? But I will reward thée according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other, and so forthwith commanded Erike one of his chiefe capteines to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verelie Simon Dunelmensis saith, that K. Cnute vnderstanding in what sort both king Egelred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had béene betraied by the said Edrike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Edrike earle Norman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofrike: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agelmare and Brightrike the sonne of Alfegus gouernor of Deuonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Norman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

When rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, whereupon he studied to preserue the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be gouerned in equall state and degrée. Diuers great lords whome he found vnfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chaunced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will returne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were atchiued in the meane time by Cnute, not onelie in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the processe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereout (if the same be studiouslie read and diligentlie considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Hen. Hunt. Lords put to death.

A taxe raised.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good seruice with the English against the said Vandals, and what benefit accrewed vnto the Englishmen by the said good seruice, he returneth into England after the discomfiture of the enimie, he saileth ouer againe into Denmarke and incountreth with the Sweideners, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olauus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wofull death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subiects; Cnuts confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voiage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interrement.

The twelfth Chapter.

IN the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then sore annoied and warred against his subiects of Denmarke. Earle Godwine, which had the souereigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easilie distressed them, sleaing a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe, he vnderstood how the mater went; for he found nothing there but bloud, dead bodies, and the spoile. For which good seruice, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation euer after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Godwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behoofefull, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was aduertised that the Swedeners made warre against his subiects of Denmarke, vnder the leding of two great princes, Ulfe and Ulafe. Wherefore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountred with his enimies, and receiued a sore ouerthrow, losing a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering togither a new force of men, he set againe vpon his enimies, and ouercame them, constreining the two foresaid princes to agrée vpon reasonable conditions of peace. Matth. West. reconnteth, that at this time earle Godwine and the Englishmen wrought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assaulting the enimies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Ulfus and Aulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were constrained to agrée vpon a peace. The Danish chronicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose hereof. This Olauus aided Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betweéns Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olauus: whereas through him the Danes chiefly obteined the victorie. Herevpon Olauus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now vpon occasion sought to be reuenged. But what soeuer the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was thus: that Olauus was expelled out of his kingdome, and constreined to flée

1019 King Cnut passeth into Denmarke.

Earle Godwin his seruice in Denmarke.

Cnute had the Englishmen in estimation for their good seruice.

1028 Cnute passeth againe into Denmarke.

Will. Malm.

Matt. West.

Albertus Crantz.

flie to Gerithallaus a duke in the parties of Eastland. and afterward returning into Norwaie, was slaine by such of his subiects as tooke part with Cnute, in manner as in the historie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recorded the histories of those north regions.

Magnus Olaius.

But here is to be remembred, that the same and glorie of the English nation was greatlie aduanced in these warres, as well against the Swedeners as the Norwegians, so that Cnute began to loue and trust the Englishmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue done. Shortlie after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to say (as some haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to visit the places where the apostles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was honorablie receiued of pope Iohn the 20 that then held the see. When he had done his deuotion there, he returned into England. In the yeare following, he made a iournie against the Scots, which as then had rebelled; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were subdued and brought againe to obedience: so that not onelie king Malcolme, but also two other kings Melbeath and Ieohmare became his subiects. Finallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftsburie, as the English writers affirme, on the 12 of Nouember, and was buried at Winchester. But the Danish chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rone (as in the same chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

Fabian. Polydor. Hen. Hunt.

Other say, that he went forth of Denmarke to Rome. Simon Dun. Anno 1031.

1032 Will. Malm. Matth. West.

1033 Scots subdued. Hen. Hunt. Anno 1035. Will. Malm.

The death of king Cnute.

Hen. Hunt. Alb. Crantz.

1019 King Cnute passeth into Denmarke.

Earle Godwin his seruice in Denmarke.

Cnute had the Englishmen in estimation for their good seruice.

1028 Cnute passeth againe into Denmarke.

Will. Malm.

Matt. Westm.

Albertus Crantz.

The treſpuiſſance of Cnute, the amplenesſe of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voiage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all trauellers from England thither, with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the flouds not to rise, he humbleth himselfe and confesseth Christ Iesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to weare the crowne during his life, he reprooueth a gentleman flatterer, his issue legitimate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and inriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall he had cheefe and sole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes vsurped title of vniuersall supremasie is impeached.

The xiij. Chapter.

The large dominion of K. Cnute. Hen. Hunt. Alb. Crantz.

THis Cnute was the mightiest prince that euer reigned ouer the English people: for he had the souereigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongest other of his roiall acts, he caused such tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and streets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminished to the halfes, and againe got also a moderation to be had in the paiment of the archbishops fees of his realme, which was leuied of them in the court of Rome when they should receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it also appeareth, that besides the roiall interteinment, which he had at Rome of pope Iohn, he had conference there with the emperour Conrad, with Rafe the king of Burgongne, and manie other great princes and noble men, which were present there at that time: all which at his request, in fauour of those Englishmen that should trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue said) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passingers.

Grants made to the benefit of Englishmen, at the instance of king Cnute.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperour, and was highlie honored of him, and likewise of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time present at Rome: so that when he came home (as some write) he did grow greatlie into pride, insomuch that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the sea strand, neere to Southhampton, and perceiuing the water to rise by reason of the tide, he cast off his gowne, and wrapping it round togither, threw it on the sands verie neere the increasing water, and sat him downe vpon it, speaking these or the like words to the sea: Thou art (saith he) within the compasse of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, and thou knowest that no wight dare disobeie my commandements; I therefore do now command thee not to rise vpon my ground, nor to presume to wet anie part of thy souereigne lord and gouernour. But the sea keeping hir course, rose still higher and higher, and ouerflowed not onelie the kings feet, but also flashed vp vnto his legs and knees. Wherewith the king started suddenlie vp, and withdrew from it, saieng withall to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not so much as staie by my commandement this small portion of water. But know ye for certeine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whome he reigneth, & at whose becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confesse and professe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and sea, and besides him none other.

Fabian. Polydor. Matt. West. He caused his chaire to be set there, as Matth. West. saith. Hen. Hunt. The saieng of king Cnute. Iealousie inough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

From thence he went to Winchester, and there with his owne hands set his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which stood there in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would neuer weare that crowne nor anie other. Some write that he spake not the former words to the sea vpon anie presumptuousnesse of mind, but onelie vpon occasion of the vaine title, which in his commendation one of his gentlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie tooke it) for he called him the most mightiest king of all kings, which ruled most at large both men, sea, and land. Therefore to reproue the fond flatterie of such vaine persons, he deuised and practised the deed before mentioned, thereby both to reproue such flatterers, and also that men might be admonished to consider the omnipotencie of almightie God. He had issue by his wife queene Emma, a sonne named by the English chronicles Hardiknought, but by the Danish writers Canute or Knute: also a daughter named Gonilda, that was after maried to Henrie the sonne of Conrad, which also was afterwards emperour, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alselme, whome some name earle of Hampton, he had two bastard sonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter daies to vertue, as he that considered how perfect felicitie rested onelie in godlines and true deuotion to serue the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

Ran. Higd. Polydor. Matth. West. Polydor. Flatterie reproued. Polydor. Alb. Crantz. Polydor. Fabian.

He repared in his time manie churches, abbeies, and houses of religion, which by occasion of warres had beene sore defaced by him and his father, but specially he did great cost vpon the abbeie of saint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He also built two abbeies from the foundation, as saint Benets in Norffolke, setteri

miles distant from Norwich, and an other in Norwaie. He did also build a church at Ashdone in Esser, where he obteined the victorie of king Edmund, and was present at the hallowing or consecration therof with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with his owne hands to remoue the bodie of the holie archbishop Elphegus, when the same was translated from London to Canturburie. The rotall and most rich iewels which he & his wife quéene Emma gaue vnto the church of Winchester, might make the beholders to wonder at such their exceeding and bountifull munificence.

which is supposed to be Barclow: for Ashdone it selfe is halfe a mile from thence.

1020

Simon Dun.

Thus did Cnute striue to reforme all such things as he and his ancestors had done amisse, and to wipe awaie the spot of euill doing, as fuerlie to the outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the archbishop of Canturburie Athelnotus in singular reputation, and vsed his counsell in matters of importance. He also highlie fauoured Leofrike earle of Chester, so that the same Leofrike bare great rule in ordering of things touching the state of the common wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe councellors. Diuerse lawes and statutes he made for the gouernment of the common wealth, partlie agréeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings that were his predecessors, and partlie tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him most expedient: among the which there be diuerse that concerne causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it maie be gathered, that the gouernment of spirituall matters did depend then not vpon the bishop of Rome, but rather apperteined vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find them set forth in the before remembred booke of maister William Lambert, which for briefenesse we héere omit.

Leofrike earle of Chester,

King Cnutes lawes.

Variance amongest the peeres of the *realme about the roiall succession, the kingdome* is diuided betwixt Harold the bastard *sonne and Hardicnute the lawfullie begotten son* of king Cnute late deceassed, Harold hath the totall *regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the* queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did stoutlie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed Harefoot, he is supposed to be a shoomakers sonne, and how it came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes bastard; Alfred challengeth the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder colour of friendlie interteinment) procureth his retinues vtter vndooing, a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether Alfred was interessed in the crowne, the trecherous letter of Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two sons in Normandie, whereupon Alfred commeth ouer into England, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reseruation of euerie tenth Norman, the remanent slaine, the lamentable end of Alfred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold banisheth queene Emma out of England, he degenerateth from his father, the short time of his reigne, his death and buriall.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Harold.
Matth. West.
Wil. Malm.

After that Cnute was departed this life, there arose much variance amongst the peeres and great lords of the realme about the succession. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie with the Danes, were become like vnto them) elected Harold the base sonne of king Cnute, to succéed in his fathers roome, hauing earle Leofrike, and diuerse other of the noble men of the north parts on their side. But other of the Englishmen, and namelie earle Godwine earle of Kent, with the chiefest lords of the west parts, coueted rather to haue one of king Egelreds sonnes, which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the sonne of king Cnute by his wife quéene Emma, which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the place. This controuersie held in such wise, that the realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold, and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harold, because his brother Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

Controuersie betwixt the sonnes of king Cnute.

Simon Dun.

The realme diuided betwixt Harold and Hardicnute.

But yet the authoritie of earle Godwine, who had the quéene and the treasure of the realme in his kéeping, staied the matter a certeine time, (professing himselfe as it were gardian to the young men, the sonnes of the quéene, till at length he was constreined to giue ouer his hold, and conforme himselfe to the stronger part and greater number.) And so at Oxford, where the assemblie was holden about the election, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecrated according to the maner (as some write.) But it should appeere by other, that Elnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue and wisedome refused to crowne him: for when king Harold being elected of the nobles and peeres, required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated, and receiue at his hands the regall scepter with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his custodie, and to whome it onelie did apperteine to inuest him therwith, the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the quéenes children liued: for (saith he) Cnute committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I kéepe my faith and loiall obedience. The scepter and crowne I héere lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your selfe, if you dare, you maie vsurpe that which I haue committed vnto God and his table.

The authoritie of earle Godwine.

H. Hunt.

The refusall of the archbishop Elnothus to consecrate king Harold.

But whether afterwards the king by one meane or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king, or that he was consecrated of some other, he was admitted king of all the English people, begining his reigne in the yéere of our Lord a thousand thirtie and six, in the fouretenth yéere of the emperor Conrad the second, in the first yéere of Henrie the first, king of France, and about the seuen and twentith yéere of Malcolme the second, king of Scots. This Harold for his great swiftnesse, was surnamed Harefoot, of whome little is written touching his doings, sauing that he is noted to haue béene an oppressor of his people, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was spoken of diuerse in those dates, that this Harold was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a shomaker, and that his supposed mother Elgina, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, feined that she was with child: and about the time that she should be brought to bed (as she made hir account) caused the said shomakers son to be secretlie brought into hir chamber, and then vntrulie caused it to be reported that she was deliuered, and the child so reputed to be the kings sonne.

1036

Harold why he is surnamed Harefoot.

Harold euill spoken of.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Immediatlie vpon aduertisement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelred, with fiftie saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne,

Matth. West.

crowne, and to obteine it by lawfull claime with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to vse force by aid of his friends, and to assaie that waie forth to win it, if he might not otherwise obteine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortlie after, earle Godwine feining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asleepe, and so take them togither with Alfred, & slue the Normans by the poll, in such wise that fiftie were slaine, & the tenth reserued. But yet when those that were reserued, seemed to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eies put out, and was conueied to the Ile of Elie, where shortlie after he died.

Simon Dun.

The realme diuided betwixt Harold and Hardicnute.

The authoritie of earle Godwine. H. Hunt.

Ran. Higd.

¶ How Alfred should claime the crowne to himselfe I see not: for verelie I can not be perswaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue so written, sith Gemeticensis, & the author of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Winchester, whether to take aduise with hir how to recouer their right here in this land, or to auance their brother Hardicnute, or for some other purpose, our authors do not declare.

See master Fox acts and monuments, pag. 112. Simon Dun.

The refusall of the archbishop Elnothus to consecrate king Harold.

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wils vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to maintaine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Godwine persuaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Whereupon earle Godwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordinglie as he was of Harold required to do. But now being taken, and his companie miserablie murthered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbeie in custodie of the monks, hauing his eies put out as soone as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixt the time of Harolds death, & the comming in of Hardicnute. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnuts daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side so dearelie to haue suffered anie such iniurie to be wrought against either of them in his time.

1036

Harold why he is surnamed Harefoot.

Harold euill spoken of.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Matth. West.

¶ Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to shew also what the author of the said booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought meanes how to rid quéene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, for that openlie as yet he durst not attempt anie thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold remembring himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise tooke counsell how he might get into his hands and make away the sons of quéene Emma, & so to be out of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueth.

A counterfet letter.

The tenour of a letter forged and sent *in queene Emmas name to hir* two sonnes.

EMma tantùm nomine regina, filijs Edwardo & Alfredo materna impertit salutamina. Dũ domini nostri regis obitum seperatim plangimus (filij charissimi) dúmq; diutim magis magisque regno hæreditatis vestræ priuaminis; miror quid captetis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestræ dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidiè soliditatẽ. Is enim incessanter vicos & vrbes circuit, & sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum è vobis super se mallent regnare quàm istius (qui nunc vs imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus vestrum ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt salubre à me consilium accipiat, & sciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præsentem quoque internuncium quid super his facturi estis remandate. Valete cordis mei viscera.

The same in English

EMma in name onelie queene to hir sons Edward and Alfred sendeth motherlie greeting. Whilest we separatelie bewaile the death of our souereigne lord the king (most deare sonnes) and whilest you are euerie day more and more depriued from the kingdome of your inheritance, I maruell what you doo determine, sith you know by the delay of your ceassing to make some enterprise, the grounded force of the vsurper of your kingdom is dailie made the stronger. For incessantlie he goeth from towne to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kept vnder the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that one of you doo come with speed, and that priuilie ouer to me, that he may vnderstand my wholesome aduise, and know in what sort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to go forward, and see that ye send mee word by this present messenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the bowels of my heart.

These letters were deliuered vnto such as were made priuie to the purposed treason, who being fullie instructed how to deale, went ouer into Normandie, and presenting the letters vnto the yong gentlemen, vsed the matter so, that they thought verelie that this message had béene sent from their mother, and wrote againe by them that brought the letters, that one of them would not faile but come ouer vnto hir according to that she had requested, and withall appointed the day and time. The messengers returning to king Harold, informed him how they had

had sped. The yonger brother Alfred, with his brothers consent, toke with him a certeine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increased his retinue with a few Bullogners, and passed ouer into England, but approching to the shore, he was streightwaies descried by his enimies, who hasted forth to set vpon him; but perceiuing their drift, he bad the ships cast about, and make againe to the sea; then landing at an other place, he ment to go the nert way to his mother.

Godwin was suspected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by writers it seemeth.

But earle Godwine hearing of his arriuall, met him, receiued him into his assurance, and binding his credit with a corporall oth, became his man, and therwith leading him out of the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gilford, where he lodged all the strangers, by a score, a dozen, and halfe a score togither in innes, so as but a few remained about the yong gentleman Alfred to attend vpon him. There was plentie of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the companie. And Godwine taking his leaue for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the nert morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

But behold, after they had filled themselues with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came such as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euerie inne, first seized vpon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they toke them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the nert morning. Which being come, they were brought forth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to most cruell tormentors, who were commanded to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and so they slue nine and left the tenth aliue. Of those that were left aliue, some they kept to serue as bondmen, other for couetousnesse of gaine they sold, and some they put in prison, of whome yet diuerse afterwards escaped. This with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being conueied into the Ile of Elie, had not onelie his eies put out in most cruell wise, but was also presentlie there murthered. But he speaketh not further of the maner how he was made away, sauing that he saith he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, because he will not renew the mothers greefe in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than to heare of hir sonnes death.

Not onelie Godwine but other such as king Harold appointed, took Alfred with his Normans

¶ I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors should cause his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had set fast in the ground; then with nedels of iron pricking his bodie, they caused him to run about the stake, till he had wound out all his intrailes, & so ended he his innocent life, to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel aduersaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eies, no doubt but his death was reuenged by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether erle Godwine was cheefe causer thereof, in betraieng him vnder a cloked colour of pretended freendship, I cannot say: but that he toke him and slue his companie, as some haue written, I cannot thinke it to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, as also for that it should seeme he might neuer be so directlie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harold.

Simon Dun. Queene Emma banished.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he spoiled his mother in law queene Emma of the most part of hir riches, and therewith banished hir quite out of the realme: so that she sailed ouer to Flanders, where she was honourablie receiued of earle Baldwine, and hauing of him honourable prouision assigned hir, she continued there for the space of three yeres, till that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by hir sonne Hardiknought, that succeeded Harold in the kingdome. Moreouer, Harold made small account of his subiects, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and paiments.) He caused indeed eight markes of siluer to be leuied of euerie port or hauen in England, to the reteining of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued euer in a readinesse to defend the coasts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his speedie death prouided well for his fame, because (as it was thought) if his life had been of long continuance, his infamie had beene the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeres, or (as other gathered) three yeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world at Orford, & was buried at Winchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Meneford in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Westminster, which should appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spite shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Polydor. Harold degenereth from his father. Hen. Hunt.

A nature in a readinesse.

Euill men the longer they liue, the more they grow into misere.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.

Hardicnute is sent for into England to *be made king*; *alteration in the state of* Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king *Cnute, Hardicnute is crowned, he sendeth for his* mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the *French king*, *Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile vpon* the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, queene Emma and erle Goodwine haue the gouernment of things in their hands, Hardicnute leuieth a sore tribute vpon his subiects; contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute sharpelie punished; prince Edward commeth into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessarie to the murthering of Alfred, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Goodwine being accused for the same trespasse excuseth himselfe, and iustifieth his cause by swearing, but specialliе by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Goodwine purposed Alfreds death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, moonke Brightwalds dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardicnute poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, speciallie his hospitalitie, of him the Englishmen learned to eate and drinke immoderatlie, the necessitie of sobrietie, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to inuade the English coasts.

The xv. Chapter.

Hardicnute, or Hardiknought.

After that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes & Englishmen agreed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Cnute by his wife queene Emma, and to make him king. Heere is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the sonne of Olauus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all conuenient speed prepared a naule, and imbarking a certeine number of men of warre, toke the sea, and had the wind so fauorable for his purpose, that he arriued vpon the coast of Kent the sixt day after he set out of Denmarke, and

Alteration in the state of things.

Simon Dun. Matt. West. say, that he was at Bruges in Flanders with his mother when he was thus sent for, being comme thither to visit her.

and so comming to London, was ioifullie receiued, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athelnotus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yéere of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yeere of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yéere of Magfinloch, alias Machabeda king of Scotland. Incontinentlie after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his mother queene Emma, who during the time of hir banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was gouerned by the French king, by reason of the minoritie of duke William, surnamed the bastard.

1041

Queene Emma sent for.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to queene Emma by hir sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfrike archbishop of Yorke and earle Godwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunke of it cast into the riuer of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of S. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Godwine that was erle of Kent. He leuied a sore tribute of his subiects here in England to pay the souldiers and mariners of his naule, as first 21 thousand pounds, & 99 pounds, and afterward vnto 32 ships there was a paiment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. To euerie mariner of his naule he caused a paiment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie master 12 marks. About the paiment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his seruants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Turkane, were there slaine. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoile by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

The bodie of king Harold taken vp, and throwen into Thames.

S. Clement Danes.

Tribute raised. Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came forth of Normandie to visit him and his mother queene Emma, of whome he was most ioifullie and honorablie welcomed and interteined, and shortlie after made returne backe againe. It should appeare by some writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after shall bée shewed. Also (as before ye haue heard) some writers seeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But suerlie they are therein deceiued: for it was knowne well inough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempt anie such iniurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Godwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye haue heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his see by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue by waie of amends.

Matt. West. Ran. Higd. Marianus.

Polydor.

The bishop of Worcester accused for making away of Alfred.

Earle Godwin excuseth himselfe.

The gift sent by earle Godwin to the K.

Earle Godwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reason of such a present as he gaue to the king for the redeeming of his fauour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, conteining therein 80 souldiers, wearing on each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergion guilt on their bodies, with guilt burgenets on their heads, a sword with guilt hilts girded to their wastes, a battell-axe after the maner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosses and mails guilt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armor and weapon accordinglie. It hath béene said, that earle Godwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiuing that the elder brother Alfred would disdaine to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, hée might be next heire to the crowne, and so at length inioy it, as afterwards came to passe. Polydor.

Also about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the English people were much carefull (as hath béene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Whereupon as one Brightwold a monke of Glastenburie, that was afterward bishop of Wincester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & annoint Edward the sonne of Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of saint Peter, who should succeed the said Edward? Whereunto answer was made by the apostle; Haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which suerlie in good earnest may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true vnto such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath béene euer gouernours raised vp to maintaine the maiestie of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie infortunate mishap it hath bœne brought in danger.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yéers lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenlie with the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a mariage was solemnized betweene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Olgot Clappa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Wincester besides his fathers. He was of nature verie curteous, gentle and liberall, specially in keeping good chéere in his house, so that he would haue his table couered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drinks, wishing that his seruants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath béene commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessiue gourmandizing & vnmeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinkes, whereby they forgat the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so much necessarie to all estates and degrées, so profitable for all commonwealthes, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

The death of K. Hardicnute Sim. Dunel. Matth. West.

1042

K. Hardicnute his conditions and liberalitie in housekeeping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whom the Englishmen learned excessiue feeding.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeres & more, that is to say, euer since the tenth yeere of Brithrike the king of Westsarons, at what time they first began to inuade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should séeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welshmen in despite of the Sarons, at which time they first began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Christ, 387 after the comming of the Sarons, and 35 néere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

The end of the Danish rulers.

¶ But to let this peece of curioſitie paſſe, this land felt that they had a time of arriuall, a time of inuading, a time of ouerrunning, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Wherof manifeſt proofes are at this day remaining in ſundrie places, ſundrie ruines I meane and waſtes committed by them; vpon the which whenſoeuer a man of a relenting ſpirit caſteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull conſideration of former miſeries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by the crueltie of the bloudthirſtie enimie, cannot but wiſh (if he haue but *Minimam miſericordiæ guttam quæ maior eſt ſpatioſo oceano*, as one ſaith) and earneſtlie deſire in his heart that the like may neuer light vpon this land, but may be auerted and turned away from all chriſtian kingdomes, through his mercie, whoſe wrath by ſinne being ſet on fire, is like a conſuming flame; and the ſword of whoſe vengeance being ſharpened with the whetſtone of mens wickednes, ſhall hew them in peeces as wood for the fornace.

Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulneſſe of afflictions to the Engliſh people, wherewith likewiſe the ſeuenth booke is ſhut vp.

THE EIGHT BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Edward the third of that name is choſen king of England by a generall conſent, ambaſſadours are ſent to attend him homewardes to his kingdome, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompaneth him, Edward is crowned king, the ſubtill ambition or ambitious ſubtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraieng Alfred; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfreds death, king Edward marieth the ſaid earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why? he vſeth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accuſations brought againſt hir, ſhe is diſpoſſeſſed of hir goods, and impriſoned for ſuffering biſhop Alwine to haue the vſe of hir bodie, ſhe purgeth and cleareth hir ſelfe after a ſtrange ſort, hir couetouſneſſe: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Wincheſter church cleared hir from infamie of couetouſneſſe, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

The firſt Chapter.

Edward. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

IMmediatlie vpon the death of Hardiknought, and before his corps was committed to burial, his halfe brother Edward, ſonne of king Egelred begotten of queene Emma, was choſen to be K. of England, by the generall conſent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Thereupon were ambaſſadours ſent with all ſpeed into Normandie, to ſignifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into England in deliuering pledges for more aſſurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Engliſhmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he ſhould receiue the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his coſine William duke of Normandie, toke the ſea, & with a ſmall companie of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatlie after was crowned at Wincheſter by Edſinus then archbiſhop of Canturburie, on Eaſter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell alſo about the fourth yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, ſurnamed Niger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the firſt of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland. Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The third of April. 1043

This Edward the third of that name before the conqueſt, was of nature more meeke and ſimple than apt for the gouernement of the realme, & therefore did earle Godwine not onelie ſeeke the deſtruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be ſoft, gentle, and eaſie to be perſuaded. But whatſoeuer writers do report hereof, ſure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: ſo that if earle Godwine did ſhew his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendſhip vnto Alfred to betraie him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue vſurped the crowne to him ſelfe, if each point had anſwered his expectation in the ſequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therefore had not paſſed if both the brethren had beene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpoſe, he did his beſt to aduance Edward, truſting to beare no ſmall rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more apliable to be gouerned by other than to truſt to his owne wit: and ſo chieflie by the aſſiſtance of earle Godwine

wine (whose authoritie, as appeareth, was not small within the realme of England in those daies) Edward came to atteine the crowne; whereunto the earle of Chester Leofrike also shewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Ran. Higd. in Mariano. Ab. Crantz.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his life time had received this Edward into his court, and reteined him still in the same in most honorable wise. But for that it may appeare in the abstract of the Danish chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we doo here passe over, referring those that be desirous to know the diuersitie of our writers and theirs, vnto the same chronicles, where they may find it more at large expressed. This in no wise is to be left vnremembred, that immediatlie after the death of Hardiknought, it was not onelie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth should reigne ouer them, but also all men of warre and souldiers of the Danes, which laie within anie citie or castell in garrison within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather slaine (as the Danish writers doo rehearse). Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swaine by his sister, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir sonnes, which she had then living; Heming and Turkill were also caused to auoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being doon, he was slaine by earle Godwine and other of his complices. But how this may stand, considering the circumstances of the time, with such things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Nevertheless, whether earle Godwine was guiltie to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, certeine it is, that he so cleared himselfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none so highlie in fauour with him as earle Godwine was, insomuch that king Edward maried the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Godwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was sister to king Hardiknought, and not of his second wife, as some haue written. Howbeit, king Edward neuer had to doo with hir in fleshlie wise. But whether he abstained because he had happilie vowed chastitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he esteemed not earle Godwine so greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made shew to doo, but rather for feare of his puissance dissembled with him, least he should otherwise put him selfe in danger both of losse of life and kingdome.

Polydor. Danes expelled.

S. Anon Bun. Gonil niece to K. Swaine

Polydor.

K. Edward marieth the daughter of earle Godwine. Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The third of April. 1043

Polydor.

K. Edward abstaineth from the compasse of his wife.

Howsoeuer it was, he vsed his counsell in ordering of things concerning the state of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, against whome diuers accusations were brought and alledged: as first, for that she consented to marie with K. Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme: againe, for that she did nothing aid or succour hir sons while they liued in exile, but that worse was, contriued to make them away; for which cause she was despoiled of all hir goods. And because she was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she and the same bishop were committed to prison within the citie of Winchester (as some write.) Howbeit others affirme, that she was strictlie kept in the abbie of Warwell, till by way of purging hir selfe, after a marueilous manner, in passing barefooted ouer certeine hot shares or ploughirons, according to the law *Ordalium*, she cleared hir selfe (as the world tooke it) and was restored to hir first estate and dignitie.

K. Edward dealeth strictlie with his mother queene Emma.

Queene Emma despoiled of hir goods. She is accused of dissolute liuing.

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir selfe by the law Ordalium.

Hir excessiue couetousnesse, without regard had to the poore, caused hir also to be euill reported of. Againe, for that she euer shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue which she had by hir second husband Cnute, than to hir children which she had by hir first husband king Egelred (as it were declaring how she was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) she lost a great peece of good will at the hands of hir sonnes Alfred and Edward: so that now the said Edward inioieng the realme, was easilie induced to thinke euill of hir, and thereupon vsed hir the more vncurteouslie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Winchester, which she furnished with marueilous rich iewels and ornaments, wan hir great commendation in the world, and excused hir partlie in the sight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes she could deuise. Now when she had purged hir selfe, as before is mentioned, hir sonne king Edward had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And where as Robert archbishop of Canturburie had beene sore against hir, he was so much abashed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it should seeme by that which after shal be said in the next chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but bicause he counselled the king to banish earle Godwine, and also to vse the Englishmen more strictlie than reason was he should.

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

Why Robert archbishop of Canturburie (*queene Emmas heaue friend*) *fled out* of England, the Normans first entrance into *this countrie, dearth by tempests, earle Goodwines* sonne banished out of this land, he returneth in hope *of the kings fauour, killeth his cooseu earle Bearne for his good* will and forwardnes to set him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certeine Danish rouers arriue at Sandwich, spoile the coast, inrich themselues with the spoiles, make sale of their getrings, and returne to their countrie; the Welshmen with their princes rebelling are subdued, king Edward keepeth the seas on Sandwich side in aid of Baldwine earle of Flanders, a bloudie fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentishmen against the Bullongners, why he refuseth to punish the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he setteth the king in a furie, his suborned excuse to shift off his comming to the assemblie of lords conuented about the foresaid broile; earle Goodwine bandeth himselfe against the king, he would haue the strangers deliuered into his hands, his request is denied; a battell readie to haue bene fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retinue forsake him; he, his sonnes, and their wiues take their flight beyond the seas.

The second Chapter.

Robert archbishop of Canturburie. Frenchmen or Normans first entered into England

YE must vnderstand, that K. Edward brought diuerse Normans ouer with him, which in time of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he now sought to recompense them. Amongst other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a monke in the abbeie of Gemeticum in Normandie, and being by the king first aduanced to gouerne the see of London, was after made archbishop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, so that he could not auoid the en-

vie

nie of diuerſe noble men, and ſpecialtie of earle Godwine, as ſhall appeare. About the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Osgot Clapa was baniſhed the realme. And in the yeare following, that is to ſay, in

1047 the yeare 1047, there fell a maruellous great ſnow, couering the ground from the beginning of Januarie vntill the 17 day of March. Beſides this, there hapned the ſame yeare ſuch tempeſt and lightnings, that the corne vpon the earth was burnt vp and blaſted: by reaſon whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and alſo death of men and cattell.

A great derth. Ran. Higd.

About this time Swaine the ſonne of earle Godwine was baniſhed the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Edgiua, the abbeſſe of the monaſterie of Leoſſe, and forſaking his wife, ment to haue married the foreſaid abbeſſe. Within a certeine time after his baniſhment, he returned into England, in hope to purchaſe the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his friends. But vpon ſome malicious pretenſe, he ſlue his cooſen earle Bearne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and ſo then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Alfred the archbiſhop of Yorke obteined his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

Swain Godwines ſonne baniſhed.

Edgiua abbeſſe of Leoſſe.

This Bearne was the ſonne of Vlfus a Dane, vncle to this Swaine by his mother, the ſiſter of K. Swaine. H. Hunt.

In the meane time, about the firſt yeare of king Edwards reigne, certeine pirats of the Danes arriued in Sandwich hauen, and entring the land, waſted and ſpoiled all about the coaſt. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had beene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and ſiluer, they coaſted about vnto the ſide of Eſſex, and there ſpoiling the countrie, went backe to the ſea, and ſailing into Flanders, made ſale of their ſpoiles and bootes there, and ſo returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither forren nor ciuill, but that the ſame was either with ſmall ſlaughter luckilie ended, or elſe without anie notable aduenture changed into peace. The Welſhmen in deed with their princes Riſe and Griffin wrought ſome trouble, but ſtill they were ſubdued, and in the end both the ſaid Riſe and Griffin were brought vnto confuſion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of ſome Iriſhmen, with whome he was alied, about this time entred into the Seuerne ſea, and toke preies about the riuer of Wie: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

Hen. Hunt.

The Danes ſpoile Sandwich.

Riſe & Griffin princes of Wales.

1049 About the ſame time, to wit, in the yeare 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres againſt Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wiſhed to haue the ſea ſtopped, that the ſaid earle ſhould not eſcape by flight that waie forth, he ſent to king Edward, willing him to keepe the ſea with ſome number of ſhips. King Edward furniſhing a nauie, lay with the ſame at Sandwich, and ſo kept the ſeas on that ſide, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the ſame time, Swaine, ſonne of earle Godwine came into the realme, and traitorouſlie ſlue his cooſen Bearne (as before is ſaid) the which trauelled to agree him with the king. Alſo Goſpat Clapa, who had left his wife at Bruges in Flanders, comming amongſt other of the Daniſh pirats, which had robbed in the coaſts of Kent & Eſſex, as before ye haue heard, receiued his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with ſix ſhips, leauing the reſidue, being 23 behind him.

Simon Dun.

Hermanus. Contractus. Ia. Meir.

Simon Dun.

About the tenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Euſtace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both afterward kings of Hieruſalem, came ouer into England in the moneth of September, to viſit his brother in law king Edward, whoſe ſiſter named Goda, he had maried, ſhe then being the widow of Gualter de Maunt. He found the king at Gloceſter, and being there ioifullie receiued, after he had once diſpatched ſuch matters for the which he chieflie came, he toke leaue, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbingers, dealing roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he ſought to haue rather by force than by intreatance, occaſioned his owne death. Whereof when the erle was aduertiſed, he haſted thither to reuenge the ſlaughter of his ſeruant, and ſlue both that citizen which had killed his man, and eightéene others.

1051 Fabian. March. Weſt.

The citizens herewith in a great furie, got them to armor, and ſet vpon the earle and his retinue, of whom they ſlue twentie perſons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the reſidue, ſo that the earle ſcarſe might eſcape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all ſpéed returned backe to the king, preſenting gréeuous information againſt them of Canturburie, for their cruell diing of him, not onlie in fleaing of his ſeruants, but alſo in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was highlie offended againſt the citizens, and with all ſpéed ſending for earle Godwine, declared vnto him in grœuous wiſe, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were vnder his iuriſdiction.

The earle of Flanders commeth ouer into England. Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Goda ſiſter to K. Edward.

Wil. Malm.

Diuers ſlain. Matth. Weſt.

A fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townſmen.

The earle complaineth to the king.

The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale worſe at the firſt in the beginning, than of likelihood it would proue in the end, thought it reaſon therefore that firſt the anſwere of the Kentiſhmen ſhould be heard, before anie ſentence were giuen againſt them. Hereupon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to puniſh them of Canturburie in moſt rigorous maner, yet he would not be too haſtie, but refuſed to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a péece of grudge in his mind, that the king ſhould fauour ſtrangers ſo highlie as he did; and againe, becauſe hereby he ſhould ſéeme to doo pleaſure to his countriemen, in taking vpon him to defend their cauſe againſt the rough accuſations of ſuch as had accuſed them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it ſhould be conuenient to haue the ſuppoſed offendors firſt called afore him, and if they were able to excuſe themſelues, then to be ſuffered to depart without further deration: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in ſatiſfieng the king, whoſe peace they had broken, as alſo the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Godwine offended with the king for fauouring ſtrangers.

Earle Godwine departed thus from the king, leauing him in a great furie: howbeit he paſſed little thereof, ſuppoſing it would not long continue. But the king called a great aſſemblie of his lords togither at Gloceſter, that the matter might be more déepelie conſidered. Siward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Cheſter, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his ſiſter Goda, and all other the noble men of the realme, onlie earle Godwine and his ſonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and ſo remained at Beuerſtane, with ſuch bands as they had leauied, vnder a colour to reſiſt the Welſhmen, whome they bruted abroad to be readie to inuade the marches about Hereford. But the Welſhmen preuenting that ſlander, ſignified to the king that no ſuch matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Godwine and his ſonnes with their complices went about to moue a commotion againſt him. Hereupon a rumor was raiſed in the court, that the kings power ſhould ſhortlie march forth

A counſell held at Gloceſter. Siward earle of Northumberland, Leofrike earle of Cheſter, Rafe earle of Hereford. Will. Malm.

forth to assaile earle Godwine in that place where he was lodged. Wherevpon the same earle prepared himselfe, and sent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king should go about to force them, then to withstand him, rather than to yeeld and suffer themselues to be troden vnder foot by strangers. Godwine in this meane time had got togither a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the west parts. Swaine likewise had assembled much people out of his countries of Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, Summersetshire, Herefordshire, and Glocestershire. And Harold was also come to them with a great multitude, which he had leuied in Essex, Norffolke, Suffold, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingtonshire.

Earle Godwine meaneth to defend him selfe against the king. Swaine. Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Harold.

Simon Dun.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Rafe, raised all the power which they might make, and the same approching to Glocester, the king thought himselfe in more suertie than before, in so much that whereas earle Godwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glocestershire) had sent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and also the Normans which held the castell of Douer, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the first he stood in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made answere to the messingers which Godwine had sent, that he would not deliuer a man of those whome Godwine required, and herewith the said messengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Glocester, and such readie good wils appeered in them all to fight with the aduersaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith haue gone out and giuen battell to the enimies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of vtter ruine that might thereof haue insued: for what on the one part and the other, there were assembled the chiefest lords and most able personages of the land. But by the wisedome and good aduise of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they should come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Godwine with his sonnes, and a great power of the Westsaxons, came into Southwarke, but perceiuing that manie of his companie stale awaie and slipt from him, he durst not abide anie longer to enter talke with the king, as it was couenanted, but in the night next insuing fled awaie with all speed possible.

Earle Godwine offended with the king for fauouring strangers.

Wil. Malm. Swaine eldest sonne to Godwine banished.

Some write, how an order was prescribed that Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine should depart the land as a banished man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Godwine and one other of his sons, that is to say, Harold should come to an other assemblie to be holden at London, accompanied with 12 seruants onelie, & to resigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and souldiers vnto the kings guiding and gouernment. But when this last article pleased nothing earle Godwine, and that he perceiued how his force began to decline, so as he should not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and so likewise did his sonnes. He himselfe with his sonnes Swanus, Toskie, and Girth, sailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ships at Bristow, and passed into Ireland. Githa the wife of Godwine, and Judith the wife of Toskie, the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders went ouer also with their husbands.

Earle Godwine fled the realme.

Godwine and his sonnes are proclaimed outlawes, their lands are giuen from them, king Edward putteth awaie the queene his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, she cleareth hir selfe at the houre of hir death from suspicion of incontinencie and lewdnesse of life, why king Edward forbare to haue fleshlie pleasure with hir; earle Godwine and his sonnes take preies on the coasts of Kent and Sussex; Griffin king of Wales destroieth a great part of Herefordshire, and giueth his incounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorset and Summersetshires, they are resisted, but yet preuaile, they coast about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Goodwine, king Edward maketh out threescore armed ships against them, a thicke mist separateth both sides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betweene the king and earle Goodwine, he is restored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangablie deliuered; Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conscience, his wicked life and wretched death.

The third Chapter.

THE king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Godwine had refused to come to the court in such order as he had prescribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his sonnes: he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the sonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the same verie worthilie, and resigned them againe without grudging vnto the same Harold when he was returned out of exile. Also vnto earle Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire.

Godwine and his sonnes proclaimed outlawes.

Moreouer, about the same time the king put his wife queene Editha from him, and appointed hir to streict keeping in the abbete of Warwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all sciences, yet hir good name was stained somewhat, as though she had not liued so continentlie as was to be wished, both in hir husbands life time, and after his decease. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) she cleared hir selfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir soule, that she had euer liued in perfect chastitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in anie actuall maner. By this streict dealing with the queene that was daughter to earle Godwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath seemed to manie, that king Edward forbare to deale with hir in carnall wise, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anie other respect. But to proceed.

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

1052 Hen. Hunt.

In the second yeere of Godwines banishment, both he and his sonnes hauing prouided themselues of ships and men of warre conuenient for the purpose, came vpon the coasts of England, and after the maner of rouers, tooke preies where as they espied aduantage, namelie on the coasts of Kent and Sussex. In the meane time also Griffin the K. of Wales destroid a great part of Herefordshire, against whom the power of that countrie, & also manie Normans that lay in garrison within the castell of Hereford, comming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the same day, in the which about two and twentie yeeres before, or (as some copies haue) thirteene yeeres, the Welshmen had slaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortlie after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne sea, landing on the coasts of Summersetshire and Dorsetshire, where falling to spoile, they were incountred by a power assembled out of the

Griffin king of Wales destroieth Herefordshire.

Harold inuadeth the shires of Dorset and Summerset.

the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire: but Harold put his aduersaries to flight, and slue thirtie gentlemen of honor, or thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their preie and bootie to their ships, and coasting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, then soiorning in the Ile of Wight.

Simon Dun.

King Edward to withstand their malice, had rigged and furnished forth sirtie ships of warre, with the which he himselfe went to the water, not sticking to lie abord at that season, although he had appointed for captesnes and admerals two earles that were his cosins, Odo and Rafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Rafe was his nephue, as sonne to his sister Goda by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be sufficient men for the ordering of such businesse, yet he thought the necessitie to be such, as his person could not be presentlie spared. Therefore he was diligent in foreseeing of things by good aduise, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the same by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nauies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were seuered by reason of a thicke mist that then rose, whereby their furious rage was restreined for that time: and immediatlie therevpon, Godwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortlie after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Godwine restored home, and obteined againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was such an eloquent & wise man, that he cleered and purged himselfe of all such crimes and accusations, as in anie sort had béene laid against him. Thus haue some written concerning this agréement betwixt king Edward and erle Godwine, where other make somewhat larger report thereof, as thus.

At the same time that the two sonnes of erle Godwine Harold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland, and inuaded the west countrie, king Edward rigged forth fortie ships, the which throughlie furnished with men, munition, and vittels, he sent vnto Sandwich, commanding the captaines there to wait for the comming of erle Godwine, whom he vnderstood to be in a readinesse to returne into England: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Godwine secretlie with a few ships which he had got togither, arriued in Kent; and sending forth his letters and messengers abroad to the citizens of Canturburie, to them of Sussex, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one consent promised to liue and die with him.

The captaines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertised hereof, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Godwine: but he being warned of their comming, escaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Godwine aduertised thereof, sailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe those seas, till his sonnes Harold and Leofwine came and ioined their nauie with his, and ceassing from spoile, onlie sought to recouer vittels to serue their turne. And increasing their power by such aid as they might any where procure, at length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he sent abroad to raise all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, lingred time, in which meane while earle Godwine comming into the Thames, & so vp the riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the crosse in September, being monday, and their staieng for the tide, solicited the Londoners, so that he obteined of them what he could desire.

It seemeth that earle Godwine was well friended.

Afterwards, without disturbance, he passed vp the riuer with the tide through the south arch of the bridge, & at the same instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, muttered in the fields on that south side the same riuer, and herewith his nauie made towards the north side of the riuer, as if they ment to inclose the kings nauie, for the king had also a nauie & an armie by land: but yet sith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to do anie great feat except Englishmen, they were loth to fight one against another, whereupon the wiser sort on both sides sought meanes to make an atonement: and so at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being dismissed on both parts, earle Godwine was restored to his former dignitie. Herevpon were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to say, Wilnotus one of his sonnes, and Hacun the sonne of Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine. These two pledges were sent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more assurance of Godwines loialtie.

Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

Some write that Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted sundrie rebellions against king Edward, he lastlie also rebelled against his father Godwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, dishonouring with such manifold robberies as he made on the seas, the noble progenie whereof he was descended. Finallie vpon remorse of conscience (as hath béene thought) for murthering of his cosine (or as some say his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierusalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as some write) in Licia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and so was murthered of them.

Ran. Higd. Will. Malm.

At what time William duke of Normandie *came ouer into England, king Edward* promiseth to make him his heire to the *kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma,* earle Goodwine being growne in fauor against *seeketh new reuenges of old grudges, causing archbishop Robert* and certeine noble Normans his aduersaries to be banished; Stigand intrudeth himselfe into archbishop Roberts see, his simonie and lacke of lerning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made bishops in those daies, king Edward beginneth to prouide for the good and prosperous state of his kingdome, his consideration of lawes made in his predecessours times and abused; the lawes of S. Edward vsuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherevpon instituted; the death of earle Goodwine being sudden (as some say) or naturall (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behauiour and his sonnes vpon presumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the sudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir selling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Danish people.

The fourth Chapter.

William duke of Normandie commeth ouer into England.

THe foresaide William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Godwines outlawrie, came ouer into this land with a faire retinue of men, and was ioifullie receiued of the king, and had great chere. Now after he had tarried a season, he returned into his countrie, not without great gifts of iewels and other things, which the king most liberallie

rallie bestowed vpon him. And (as some write) the king promised him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without issue. ¶ Shortlie after, or rather somewhat before, quæne Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Winchester.

Polydor. K. Edwards promise to duke William.

After that earle Godwine was restored to the kings favour, because he knew that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie had beene the chiefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found meanes to weare him out of credit, and diuers other specially of the Normans, bearing the world in hand, that they had sought to trouble the state of the realme, & to set variance betwixt the king and the lords of the English nation: whereas the Normans againe alledged, that earle Godwine and his sonnes abused the kings soft and gentle nature, & would not sticke to iest and mocke at his curteous and mild procéedings. But howsoeuer the matter went, archbishop Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the iniuries that were offred him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbeis of Gemmeticum, where he had beene monke before his coming into England.

The archbishop of Canturburie banished.

Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

Diuerse others were compelled to forsake the realme at the same time, both spirituall men and temporall, as William bishop of London, and Vlfe bishop of Lincolne. Osberne named Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, were constreined to surrender their castels, and by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where, of king Mackbeth they were honorablie receiued. These were Normans: for (as partlie ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no small number of that nation, when he came from thence to receiue the crowne, and by them he was altogither ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall subiects the Englishmen, namelie earle Godwine and his sonnes, who in those daies for their great possessions and large reuenues, were had in no small reputation with the English people.

Normans banished the realme.

Ran. Higd. Will. Malmes.

After that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbishop of Canturburie, or rather thrust himselfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Winchester: for whereas he was first bishop of Shireborne, he left that church, and tooke vpon him the bishoprike of Winchester by force, and now attéining to be archbishop of Canturburie, he kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one instant. This Stigand was greatlie infamed for his couetous practises in sale of possessions apperteining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongest the bishops of that age, for it was openlie spoken in those daies, that he was méet onelie to be a bishop, which could vse the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleasures, rich raiment, and set himselfe forth with a tollie retinue of gentlemen and seruants on horsebacke, for therein stood the countenance of a bishop, as the world then went; and not in studie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the saning of their soules.

Stigand archbishop of Canturburie.

Ranul. Hig. Fabian.

Stigand infamed of simonie.

What maner of men méet to be bishops in those daies.

Polydor.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the state of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by sea and land, began to foresée as well for the welth of his subiects, as for himselfe, being naturallie inclined to wish well to all men. He therefore considered, how by the manifold lawes which had beene made by Britaines, Englishmen and Danes within this land, occasion was ministred to manie, which measured all things by respect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iustice, and to vse wrongfull dealing in stead of right, clouding the same vnder some branch of the lawe naughtilie misconstrued. Wherevpon to auoid that mischiefe, he picked out a summe of that huge and vnmeasurable masse and heape of lawes, such as were thought most indifferent and necessarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & those most wholesome, to be from thenceforth vsed; according to whose prescript, men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. These lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and also saint Edward his lawes; so much esteemed of the Englishmen, that after the conquest, when the Normans oftentimes went about to abrogate the same, there chanced no small mutinies and rebellions for reteining of those lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called saint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward restored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

The lawes of S. Edward. instituted.

About this time, earle Godwine died suddenlie (as some haue recorded) as he sat at table with the king: and vpon talke ministred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuse himselfe, he tooke a peece of bread, and did eate it, saieng; God let me neuer swallow this bread downe into my chest, but that I may presentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was weetting or consenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediatlie therewith he fell downe starke dead. Other say, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being suddenlie surprised with sickenesse, as he sat at the table with the king vpon an Easter monday; yet he liued till the Thursday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his sonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the sonne of Leofrike.

1052 or 1054

Hector Boet. Polydor. Will. Malmes. Matth. West.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Simon Dun. This is the likliest tale.

This Godwine, as he was a man of great power, wise, hardie, and politike; so was he ambitious, desirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other person should passe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practises to bring himselfe and his sonnes to the chiefe seat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred such slanders were raised of him, it may of some perhaps be doubted; because that in the daies of king Edward (which was a soft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and so might procure to himselfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amisse: as oftentimes it commeth to passe in such cases, where those that haue great doings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonlie euill spoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Godwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predecessors, did manie things (as should appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and so likewise did his sonnes; vpon presumption of the great puissance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

He had to wife Editha, the sister of king Cnute, of whome he begat three sonnes (as some write) that is to say, Harold, Biorne, & Tostie: also his daughter Editha, whome he found meanes to bestow in mariage vpon K. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one son by Cnutes sister, the which in riding of a rough horsse was throwen into the riuer of Thames, and so drowned. His mother also was stricken with a thunderbolt, & so perished worthilie (as is reported) for hir naughtie doings. She vsed to buy great numbers of young persons, and namelie maids that were of ante excellent beautie and personage, whome she sent ouer into Denmarke, and there sold them to hir most aduantage.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

William duke of Normandie commeth ouer into England.

vantage. After hir decease (as the same authors record) Godwine maried another woman, by whome he had issue six sonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harold, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is & shall be made, as places conuenient shall serue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfiteth *Mackbeth the vsurper of the* Scotish kingdome and placeth Malcolme in *the same, a controuersie whether Siward were at* this discomfiture or no; his stout words when he *heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Al*dred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironside into England; earle Algar being banished ioineth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and getteth the victorie; Harold the son of earle Goodwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by pursute, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike stature, his couragious heart at the time of his decease, why Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes succeeded him in the earledome.

The fift Chapter.

Matth. West. 1054 Hector Boet.

ABout the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yeare, as should appeare by the Scotish writers, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English writers say, that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers do testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he vanquished Mackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

Simon. Dun. M. West.

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine; and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forepart; I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Winchester, or (as an other saith) in the church of S. Pauls in London.

Matth. West. 1057 Henr. Hunt.

¶ About the same time K. Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: whereupon he got him into Ireland, and there prouiding 18 ships of rouers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himselfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Rafe was then earle, that was sonne vnto Goda the sister of K. Edward by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horsebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentith of October) to giue the onset in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and so the rest were discomfited, whome the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 500, beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteined this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seuen of the canons that stood to defend the doores or gates of the principall church, and finallie spoiled and burned the towne miserablie.

Matth. West. Simon Dun.

The Welshmen obteine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the sonne of earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & staied not, till hauing passed through Stratcluid, he came to the mountaines of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it, with an high rampire, and fensed it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so much, that comming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Biligelhage, a peace was concluded, and so the nauie of earle Algar sailed about, and came to Chester, there to remaine, till the men of warre and marriners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earledome.

Stratcluid. Snowdon.

The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

After this, in the verie same yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as some writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flix, of whom it is said, that when he perceiued the houre of death to be neere, he caused him selfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couch like a feeble and fainthearted creature: and sitting so vpright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. [O stout harted man, not vnlike to that famous Romane remembred by Tullie in his Tusculane questions, who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, loking vpon the surgeon all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking] The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his sonne Waltetf was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Tostie one of Godwins sonnes.

The death of Siward earle of Northumberland. Ran. Higd.

vnder the Saxons.

Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside is sent for to be made heire apparant to the crowne, his death, the deceasse of Leofrike earle of Chester, the vertues and good deeds of him and his wife Gudwina, Couentrie free from custome and toll, churches and religious places builded and reparied, Algar succedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome, he is accused of treason and banished, he recouereth his earledome by force of armes; Harold is sent with a power against Griffin king of Wales; the countrie wasted, and the people forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him, and send his head to Harold, Griffins brethren rule Wales after him by grant of king Edward; Harolds infortunate going ouer into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him prisoner, and releaseth him at the request of William duke of Normandie, for whose vse Harold sweareth to keepe possession of the realme of England, the duke promiseth him his daughter in mariage.

The sixt Chapter.

NOt long after, in the yeare 1057, Aldred bishop of Worcester, was sent ouer vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare, after that he was returned into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Westminster, or (as others say) in the church of S. Paule within London. The same yeare, that is to say, in the seuentéenth yeare of in the sixteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as some write) Leofrike the noble earle of Chester, or Mercia, that was sonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the last day of August, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbeie there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wise and discréet in all his dooings. His high wisdome and policie stood the realme in great steed whilest he liued.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whose earnest suite he made the citie of Couentrie frée of all manner of toll, except horsses: and to haue that toll laid downe also, his foresaid wife rode naked through the middest of the towne without other couerture, saue onlie hir haire. Moreouer, partlie moued by his owne deuotion, and partlie by the persuasion of his wife, he builded or beneficiallie augmented and repared manie abbeies & churches, as the said abbeie or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeies of Wenlocke, Worcester, Stone, Euesham, and Leof besides Hereford. Also he builded two churches within the citie of Chester, the one called S. Johns, and the other S. Werbrough. The value of the iewels & ornaments which he bestowed on the abbeie church of Couentrie, was inestimable.

After Leofriks death, his sonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and seigniories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058 the same Algar was accused againe (through malice of some enuious persons) of treason, so that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whome he was ioifullie receiued, & shortlie after by his aid, & also by the power of a nauie of ships that by chance arriued in those parts at that selfe same season vnlooked for out of Norwaie, the said Algar recouered his earledome by force, as some haue written. King Edward about the twentith yeare of his reigne, as then remaining at Gloucester, appointed earle Harold to inuade the dominions of Griffin king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of horsse men, made speed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and also his ships, and then about Midlent returned againe into England.

After this, about the Rogation weeke, Harold eftsoones by the kings commandement went against the Welshmen, and taking the sea, sailed by Bristow, round about the coast, compassing in maner all Wales. His brother Tosti that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an host of horssemen, and so ioining togither, they destroied the countrie of Wales in such sort, that the Welshmen were compelled to submit themselues, to deliuer hostages, and conditioned to paie the ancient tribute which before time they had paied. And moreouer, they renounced their prince the forenamed Griffin, so that he remained as a banished person: and finallie, about the fift day of August, they slue him, and sent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & Rivall, Griffins two brethren, which did homage vnto him for the same, and had serued vnder Harold against their brother the foresaid Griffin. There be which write, that not onelie Griffin, but also another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the sauage people of Wales reduced into the forme of good order vnder the subiection of king Edward.

Shortlie after, earle Harold chanced to passe ouer into Normandie, whither of hap or of purpose it is hard to define, writers doo varie so much in report thereof. Some write that he made earnest suite to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to see his brother Wilnot, and his nephue Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king Edward, & sent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoo, got leaue: but yet he was told aforehand of the king, that he would repent his iournie, and doo the thing that should be preiudiciall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Bosham, went aboord one day into his fishers boat or crater, and caused the same to lanch forth to the sea for his pleasure: but by misfortune at the same time, a contrarie wind suddenlie came about, and droue the vessell on land into France vpon the coast of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & presented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as prisoner, meaning to put him to a grieuous ransome. But Harold remembring himselfe of a wile, dispatched a messenger forth with all speed vnto William duke of Normandie, signifieng vnto him, that he being sent from king Edward to confirme such articles, as other meane men that had béene sent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as prisoner against all order of law, reason, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the messenger, sent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to set earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commission. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes request, did not onelie restore Harold to his libertie, but also brought him into Normandie, and presented him there to the duke, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued.

There be that agrée partlie with this report, and partlie varie: for they write, that earle Harold toke the sea vpon purpose to haue sailed into Flanders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coast of Ponthieu, and so after came into Normandie in

R.f. maner

Matth. West. 1057

Henr. Hunt. 1055

Matth. West. Simon Dun.

The Welshmen obteine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

Edward the outlaw departed this life.

1057 Leofrike earle of Chester departed this life. Ran. Higd. Mat. West.

Stratelaid. Snowdon.

The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

Couentrie made free of toll and custome.

Churches in Chester built.

The decease of Siward earle of Northumberland. Ran. Higd.

Henr. Hunt. Algar earle of Chester exiled. 1058

Simon Dun. 1063 Simon Dun. Mat. West.

Wales destroied and harried by the Englishmen.

The Welshmen agree to pay their accustomed tribute.

1064 Wil. Malm. Simon. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Harold goeth ouer into Normandie. Polydor.

Edmerus.

Mar. West. Wil. Malm.

Harold is presented to William duke of Normandie. Hen. Hunt.

maner as before is mentioned. But by what meanes or occaſion ſoeuer he came thither, certeine it is, that he was ioifullie receiued, and had great cheere made him by the ſaid duke William, who at that time was readie to make a iournie againſt the Britains, and toke earle Harold with him to haue his companie in armes in that iournie, that he might haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harold behaued himſelfe ſo, that he ſhewed good proofe both of his wiſedome and policie, and alſo of his forwardneſſe to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuiſed, ſo that duke William had him in high fauour, and (as it hath beene ſaid) earle Harold (to procure him more friendſhip at the dukes hands) declared vnto him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire if he died without iſſue, and that he would not faile to keepe the realme of England to the dukes vſe, according to that ordinance, if K. Edward died without iſſue. And to performe this promiſe, he receiued a corporall oth, whether willinglie to win the more credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers report it diuerſlie. At the ſame time, duke William promiſed vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold was highlie welcomed of duke William.

Matth. Weſt. Duke William promiſed to Harold his daughter in marriage.

Harold at his returne into England reporteth to K. Edward what he had doone beyond the ſeas, and what the king ſaid vnto him in that behalfe, who foreſaw the comming of the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and why king Edward promiſed to make duke William his heire, (wherein note his ſubtiltie) diſſention betwixt Harold and Toſtie two brethren the ſonnes of earle Goodwine, their vnnaturall and cruell dealing one with another, ſpeciallie of the abhominable and merciles murthers committed by Toſtie, againſt whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerſe occaſions, and reward him with anſwerable reuengement; Harold is ſent againſt them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce Toſtie and require Marchar in his roome, Toſtie diſpleaſed getteth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and diſpoſition note-woorthie, his charitie and deuotion, the vertue of curing the maladie called the kings euill deriued from him to the ſucceeding kings of this land, he was warned of his death by a ring, he is canonized for a ſaint, the laſt woords that he ſpake on his death-bed, wherein he vttered to the ſtanders by a viſion, propheſieng that England ſhould be inhabited with ſtrangers, a deſcription of the kings perſon, of a blaſing ſtarre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the Weſt-ſaxon kings, how long they continued, the names of their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors; whence the firſt kings of ſeuen kingdoms of Germanie had their pedegree, &c.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

NOw when Harold ſhould returne into England, duke William deliuered him his nephue Hacune, but kept his brother Wilnote with him ſtill as a pledge. Then went earle Harold into England, and declared vnto king Edward what he had done, who ſaid vnto him; Did not I tell thee that thou wouldeſt doo the thing whereof thou ſhouldeſt repent thee, and procure a miſchiefe to follow vnto thy countrie? But God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this realme, or at the leaſt, if it be his pleaſure, that it muſt needs come to paſſe, yet to ſtaie it till after my daies! Some by Harolds purpoſed going ouer into Normandie, do gather, that king Edward foreſaw the comming of the Normans; and that he meant nothing leſſe, than to performe the promiſe made vnto duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which promiſe ſhould ſeeme to be made in time of his baniſhment, when he ſtood in need of his friendſhip; as the maner of men in ſuch caſes is, to promiſe much, how ſo euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be thought, that king Edward had made no ſuch promiſe at all, but perceiued the ambitious deſire of duke William, and therefore would not that anie occaſion ſhould be miniſtred vnto him to take hold of. Wherefore, he was loth that Harold ſhould go ouer vnto him, leaſt that might happen, which happened in deed.

Polydor.

when the promiſe was made by king Edward to Harold.

Malmeſ. writeth it here.

In the foure and twentieth and laſt yeere of king Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle Toſtie at Windſor, where the court then lay, in ſo much that earle Harold caught Toſtie by the haire of the head in the kings preſence, and ſtroke him. Heerupon, Toſtie departing from the court in great anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales, where Harolds ſeruants were preparing for the kings comming to their maiſters houſe, which ſeruants he toke and ſlue, chopping them in peeces, and threw into this hogſhead of wine a leg, into that barrell of ſider an arme, into this veſſell of ale an head: and ſo into the tonnes of meth and tubs of brine and other liquor he beſtowed the parts of the dead carcaſſes of his brothers ſeruants, ſending the king word that he had prouided at his brothers manor, againſt his cõming, good plentie of ſowſe & powdred meat, what ſoeuer he ſhould find beſide.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. Weſt. Fabian. Falling out betwixt the two brethren.

The cruell dealing of earle Toſtie.

The rumor of this cruell deed ſprang ouer all the realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had gouerned for the ſpace of ten yeeres verie cruellie, toke occaſion to rebell againſt him, and ſlue his ſeruants both Engliſhmen and Danes, ſpoiled his houſes, and toke awaie his horſſes, his armour, and all other his goods and houſhold ſtuffe. The chiefeſt cauſe (as is remembred by ſome writers) that moued the Northumbers thus to riſe and rebell againſt Toſtie, was for the deteſtable murther of certeine gentlemen of their countrie, ſeruants vnto Goſpatrike, whom the queene in behalfe of hir brother had cauſed to be ſlaine in the court by treaſon, in the fourth night of Chriſtmas laſt paſt, and alſo in reuenge of other noblemen, which in the laſt yeere Toſtie himſelfe had commanded to be murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither he had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Alſo the greeuous paiments, wherewith he charged the people of that countrie, ſet them in a great rage againſt him.

The Northumbers rebell againſt Toſtie their earle.

But the king aduertiſed hereof, liked not their doings, for that they had done it without commandement or commiſſion, and therefore ſent earle Harold with an armie to chaſtiſe them, but they were ſtrong inough to withſtand him, as thoſe which were aſſembled in armour togither with the people of Lincolneſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Darbiſhire, and hauing with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the ſonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts. Howbeit to haue the kings peace, they offered to returne home, ſo that they might haue an other earle appointed them, for that they plainlie proteſted, that they being freemen, borne and bred out of bondage, might not ſuffer anie cruell gouernor to rule ouer them, being taught by their anceſtors, either to liue in libertie, or to die in defenſe thereof. If therefore it might pleaſe the king to aſſigne Marcharus the ſon of earle Algar to be their ruler, he ſhould ſee how obedient ſubiects they would proue & ſhew themſelues to be, when they ſhould be vſed after a reaſonable and courteous manner. All things conſidered, their requeſt ſeemed reaſonable, or at leaſt it was thought neceſſarie that it ſhould be granted. And ſo was

Wil. Malm.

Marcharus

Marcharus made earle of Northumberland.

Marcharus or Malcherus made earle of Northumberland. Tostie in great displeasure with his wife and children sailed ouer into Flanders, and there remained till after the decease of king Edward.

K. Edward departeth this life. Simon Dun.

Finallie, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned three and twentie yeeres, seuen moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of Januarie, and was buried in the church of Westminster, which he had in his life time roiallie repared, after such a statelie sort as few churches in those daies were like thereunto within this realme, so that afterwards the same was a paterne for other to be built after the same forme. This Edward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of mind, that his fame of holinesse sprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and shedding of bloud, in so much that when he liued as a banished man in Normandie, he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to obteine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to haue the people oppressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he caused the paiment called Danegilt (which had continued for the space almost of fortie yeeres) to ceasse. It hath beene said, that when the collectors of this monie, or some other subsidie, had got an huge quantitie of treasure togither, they brought it vnto him, and laid it altogither vpon an heape, so to delight his eies: but he declaring that he saw a diuell plaieng and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it should be had awaie, and restored againe to them of whome it was leauied.

K. Edward his manners and disposition of mind described.

A diuell fetching gambols.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing sumptuous: and although on high feasts he ware rich apparell, as became the maiestie of his roiall personage: yet he shewed no proud nor loftie countenance, rather praising God for his bountifull goodnesse towards him extended, than esteeming herein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he toke chiefliе in this world for refreshing of his wits, consisted onelie in hawking and hunting, which exercises he dailie vsed, after he had first beene in the church at diuine seruice. In other things he seemed wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hospitals and houses of religion in the parties of beyond the sea, wishing euer that the monks and religious persons of his realme would haue followed the vertue and holinesse of life vsed amongst them of forren parties. As hath beene thought he was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme.

A tale of a ring.

He was warned (as hath beene reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of God and saint John the Euangelist. But to conclude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holinesse of life, that shortlie after his decease, he was canonized amongst the number of saints, and named Edward the Confessor. Whilest he lay sicke of that sickenesse, whereof at length he died, after he had remained for two daies speechlesse, the third day after when he had laine for a time in a slumber or soft sleepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a deepe sigh, and thus said; Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantasticall illusion, but a true vision which I haue seene, grant me space to vtter the same vnto those that sit and heare present, or else not. And herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how he had seene two monks stand by him as he thought, whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died christianlie. These monks (said he) protesting to me that they were the messengers of God, spake these words; Because the chefe gouernors of England, the bishops and abbats, are not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almightie God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yeere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked spirits shall walke abroad through the whole land. And when I made answer that I would declare these things to the people, and promised on their behalfe, that they should doo penance in following the example of the Niniuites: they said againe, that it would not be, for neither should the people repent, nor God take anie pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of these miseries said I? Then said they; When a greene tree is cut in sunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried three acres breadth from the stocke, and returning againe to the stoale, shall ioine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap renewing the accustomed nourishment; then (I say) may there be hope that such euils shall ceasse and diminish. ¶ With which words of the king, though some other that stood by were brought in feare, yet archbishop Stigand made but a ieast thereof, saieng, that the old man raued now in his sickenesse, as men of great yeeres vse to doo. Neuertheless the truth of this prophesie afterwards too plainlie appeared, when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither gouernor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the English nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of person comelie, & of an indifferent stature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire skinned, with due state and proportion of limbs as was thereto conuenient. In the yeere before the death of king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which when a monke of Malmesburie named Eilmer beheld, he vttered these words (as it were by way of prophesieng:) Thou art come (saith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agone sith I saw thee, but now I doo behold thee the more terrible, threatening destruction to this countrie by thy dreadfull appearance. In the person of king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from the first yeare of the reigne of Cerdike or Cerdicius, the space of 547 yeeres complet. And from Egbert 266 yeeres.

King Edward canonized for a saint.

Malms. & Westm.

Moreouer, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings seemeth wholie to take end with this Edward surnamed the Confessor, or the third of that name before the conquest, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of those that reigned among the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obteined the whole monarchie) as also of them which ruled in the other seuen kingdomes before the same were vnited vnto the said kingdome of the Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the description of Britaine, pag. 17, 18, 19.

Here is to be remembred, that as partlie before is expressed, we find in some old writers, how the first kings of seuen kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetcht their pedegrees from one Woden, who begat of Frea his wife seuen sonnes, that is to say, 1 Wecta, of whome came the kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Walday, of whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their Matt. West.

originall, 4 Beldagius, anceſtor to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wlegodach or Wlegdagus, from whome came the kings of Deira, 6 Caſer, from whome proceeded the kings of the Eaſtangles, 7 Paſcad aliàs Saruad, of whome the kings of the Eaſtſaxons had their beginning. And here you muſt note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the Southſaxons or Suſſex, were deſcended of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame line. By other it ſhould ſeeme, that Woden had but fiue ſonnes: as Weca, great grandfather to Hengiſt; Wepedeg, anceſtor to the kings of the Eaſtangles; Wiclac, from whome proceeded the kings of Mercia; Saruad, from whom the kings of Eſſex came; and Beldag, of whoſe generation proceeded the kings of the Southſaxons, Weſtſaxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the ſonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in deſcent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you ſhall find in the hiſtorie of England, lib. 6. pag. 141. col. 2. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, the father of Heathwy aliàs Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwiſe Godulph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwiſe Friuin, the father of Freolaf aliàs Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwald, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Simon Dun. Io. Textor.

The peeres are in doubt to whome the *rule of the land ſhould be committed*, why they durſt not that Edgar Edeling ſhould vndertake it *though he was intereſſed to the ſame*, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right *to the crowne*, *Harold the ſonne of earle Goodwine crowned*, proclaimed, and conſecrated king; his ſubtill and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour; duke William ſendeth ambaſſadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promiſe paſſed to the ſaid duke for his furtherance to obteine the crowne; Harolds negatiue anſwer to the ſaid ambaſſage, as alſo to the marieng of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he prouideth againſt the inuaſions of the enimie as one doubting afterclaps, a blaſing ſtarre of ſeuen daies continuance.

The eight Chapter.

Harold.

K. Edward departed this life An Chriſti 1065, after the account of the church of England. Matth. Weſt. Polydor.

KIng Edward being thus departed this life, the peeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might beſt commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For there was not anie among them that had iuſt title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpon him. For although Edgar ſurnamed Edeling, the ſonne of Edward the outlaw, that was ſonne of Edmund Ironſide, was at the ſame time latelie come into England, with his mother and ſiſters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of ſufficient age to beare rule, they durſt not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, leaſt (as ſome haue thought) his tenderneſſe of age might firſt breed a contempt of his perſon, and therewith miniſter occaſion to ciuill diſcord, whereby a ſhipwracke of the eſtate might enſue, to the great annoie and preſent ouerthrow of ſuch as then liued in the ſame. But what conſideration ſoeuer they had in this behalfe, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and ſéene, God, whoſe prouidence and mightie power is ſhewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and féeble hath gouerned ſtates and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great diſcretion.

But to the purpoſe, beſide the doubt which reſted among the lords, how to beſtow the crowne, the manifold and ſtrange wonders, which were ſéene and heard in thoſe daies, betokening (as men thought) ſome change to be at hand in the ſtate of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie becauſe they ſtood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the ſecond and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the ſecond, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by hir huſband Ethelred. Richard the ſecond had alſo iſſue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had iſſue William, ſurnamed the baſtard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his couſine king Edward, made claime (as is ſaid) to the crowne of England.

Duke of Normandie.

Whileſt the lords were thus ſtudieng and conſulting what ſhould be beſt for them to do in theſe doubts, Harold, the ſon of Godwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himſelfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, becauſe of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceiued of his valiancie. Some write (among whome Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold ſhould ſucceed him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediatlie after the ſaid Edwards deceaſſe, crowned Harold for their king, and ſo he was conſecrated by Aldred archbiſhop of Yorke, according to the cuſtom and maner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he ſet the crowne on his owne head without anie the accuſtomed ceremonies, in the yéere after the birth of our ſauiour 1066, or in the yéere of Chriſt 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

Harold proclaimed king of England.

Edmerus.

Matth. Weſt.

But how and whenſoeuer he came to the ſeat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the begining of his reigne, conſidering with himſelfe how and in what ſort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intruſion than by anie lawfull right, ſtudied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occaſion whereby he might ſhew anie token of bountious liberalitie, gentleneſſe and courteous behauiour towards them. The greeuous cuſtomes alſo and tares which his predeceſſors had raiſed, he either aboliſhed or diminiſhed: the ordinarie wages of his ſeruants and men of warre he increaſed, and further ſhewed himſelfe verie well bent to all vertue and goodneſſe, whereby he purchaſed no ſmall fauor among ſuch as were his ſubiects.

Harold ſeeketh to win the peoples hearts. Sim. Dunel.

Whileſt Harold went about thus to ſteale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for ſundrie ambaſſadours from William the baſtard duke of Normandie, with commiſſion to require him to remember his oth ſometime made to the ſaid William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the ſaid Harold ſhould aid him in the obteining of the crowne of England, if king Edward ſhould happen to die without iſſue. This couenant he made (as it is ſuppoſed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the ſame Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) againſt his will) he went ouer into Normandie to viſit his brethren, which laie there

An ambaſſage from Normandie.

Edeling, that is, a noble man, and ſuch one as is come of the kings bloud.

as pledges.

K. Harolds anſwer. Howbeit at this preſent, Harolds anſwer to the ſaid ambaſſadors was, that he would be readie to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, ſo that he would not aſke the realme, which alreadie he had in his full poſſeſſion. And further he declared vnto them (as ſome write) that as for the oth which he had Edmerus. made in times paſt vnto duke William, the ſame was but a conſtreined & no voluntarie oth, which in March. Weſt. law is nothing; ſince thereby he tooke vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to giue, he being but a ſubiect whileſt king Edward was liuing. For if a promiſed vow or oth which a maid maketh concerning the beſtowing of hir bodie in hir fathers houſe, without his conſent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a ſubiect, and vnder the rule of a king, without his ſouereignes conſent, ought to be void and of no value. He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an oth to deliuer the inheritance of anie realme without the generall conſent of the eſtates of the ſame, could not be other than a great peece of preſumption, yea although he might haue iuſt title therevnto; ſo it was an vnreaſonable requeſt of the duke at this preſent to will him to renounce the kingdome, the gouernance whereof he had alreadie taken vpon him, with ſo great fauor and good liking of all men.

Duke William ſendeth to king Harold. Duke William hauing receiued this anſwer, and nothing liking thereof, ſent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the leaſt-wiſe, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promiſe; in refuſing whereof he could make no ſound allegation, becauſe it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his abſolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a ſtout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambaſſadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yeeld therevnto in any maner of wiſe. And ſo with other talke tending to the like effect he ſent them away without anie further anſwer. The daughter of duke William whome Harold ſhould haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticenſis. Gemeticenſis ſaith, and with hir (as the ſame author writeth) it was couenanted by duke William, that Wil. Malm. Harold ſhould inioy halfe the realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit ſome write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the comming of theſe ambaſſadors, and that Harold thereupon thought himſelfe diſcharged of the oth and couenants made to duke William, and therefore ſent them away with ſuch an vntoward anſwer.

Polydor. But howſoeuer it was, after the departure of theſe ambaſſadors, king Harold (doubting what would inſue) cauſed his ſhips to be newlie rigged, his men of warre to be muſtered, and ſpedilie put in a readineſſe, to the end that if anie ſudden inuaſion ſhould be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to reſiſt them. ¶ About the ſame time alſo, and vpon the 24 of Aprill (whileſt Harold was making prouiſion to withſtand the Norman force) there appeared a blaſing ſtarre, which was ſeene not onelie here in England, but alſo in other parts of the world, and continued the ſpace of ſeuen daies. This Rog. Houed. Simon Dun. blaſing ſtarre might be a prediction of miſchéefe imminent & hanging ouer Harolds head; for they neuer appeare but as prognoſticats of afterclaps. To be reſolutelie inſtructed herein, doo but peruſe a treatiſe intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blaſing ſtarres publiſhed by a biſhop of Mentz in Latine, and ſet forth in Engliſh by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blaſing ſtarre ſéene in the ſouthweſt, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worſhipfull ſir William Cordell knight, then maiſter of hir maieſties rolles, &c.

Earle Toſtie afflicteth his brother Harold on ſea and land, he taketh the repulſe, and perſuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conqueſt of England againſt Harold, Harfager & Toſtie with their powers arriue at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers vnder the conduct of Edwine and Marchar, and diſcomfit them; Harold leuieth an armie againſt them, the rare valiantnes of a Norwegian ſouldior; Harfager and Toſtie ſlaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and flie; Harolds vnequall and parciall diuiding of the ſpoiles, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amiſſe.

The ninth Chapter.

WHileſt Harold deſirous to reteine, and verie loth to let go his vſurped roialtie, had cracht his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd reuolting from voluntarie promiſes ratified with ſolemne othes, had alſo kindled the fire of the dukes furie againſt him; it came to paſſe, that the proud and preſumptuous man was (to begin withall) vexed in his owne fleſh, I meane his owne kinred. For Toſtie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his crueltie had béene chaſed out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, aſſembled a naule of ſhips from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, & there ſpoiled the countrie, and afterward ſailing about by the coaſts of Kent, he tooke ſundrie préies their alſo, and came at the laſt to Sandwich: ſo that Harold was now conſtreined to appoint the naule which he had prepared againſt the Normans, to go againſt his brother earle Toſtie. Whereof the ſaid Toſtie being aduertiſed, drew towards Lindſey in Lincolnſhire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with ſword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings naule, chaſed him from thence, and cauſed him to flie into Scotland, not without ſome loſſe both of his men and ſhips.

Toſtie ſéekes to diſquiet his brother. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith but 40. Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun. Wil. Malm. Toſtie repelled. Polydor. Ran. Higd.

This trouble was ſcarſe quieted, but freightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the firſt. For Toſtie, perceiuing that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie account of, ſailed forth into Norweie, and there perſuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to ſaile with an armie into England, perſuading him that by meanes of ciuill diſſention latelie kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not ſo) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to make a conqueſt of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predeceſſors had done before. Some authors affirme, that Harold king of Norwey tooke this enterpriſe in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Toſtie, ſaieng, that Toſtie méeting with him in Scotland, did perſuade him to go forward in his purpoſed buſines, and that the ſaid Harold Harfager with all conuenient ſpéed paſſed forth, & with a naule of 300 ſaile entered into the riuer of Tine, where after he had reſted a few daies to refreſh his people, earle Toſtie came alſo with his power (according to an appointment which ſhould be made betweene them.) They ad furthermore, that they ſailed forth alongſt the coaſt, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp againſt the ſtreame of the riuer Owſe, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they ſet forward to inHarold Harfager king of Norweie. Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun. Simon Dun. ſaith 500. The Norwegians arriue in Humber. Richhall. Hen. Hunt.

uade the countrie, & neere vnto Yorke on the north side of the citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwine and Marchar (two brethren) and there discomfited and chased them into the citie, with great slaughter and bloudshed.

The English men discomfited.

This battell was fought on the euen of S. Matthew the apostle, as saith Si. Dun.

Harold king of England being aduertised of this chance, made the more hast forward (for he was alreadie in the field with his armie, intending also to come towards his enimies) so that vpon the first day after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the said king Harfager and Tostie readie imbattelled, he first assailed those that kept the bridge, where (as some writers affirme) a Norwegian souldier with his axe defended the passage, maugre the whole host of the Englishmen, and slue fortie of them or more with his axe, & might not be ouercome, till an Englishman went with a boat vnder the said bridge, and through an hole thereof thrust him vp into the bodie with his speare: yet Matt. West. saith that he was slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his seruants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bridge being wone, the whole host of the Englishmen passed ouer, and ioined with their enimies, and after a verie great and sore battell put them all to flight.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matt. West.

The Norwegians discomfited.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the Norwegians was slaine, & so was Tostie the king of England his brother, besides a great number of other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither did the Englishmen escape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time verie stoutlie, beating downe and killing great numbers of such as assailed them with great courage and assurance. The residue of the Norwegians that were left to keepe their ships vnder the guiding of Olaue sonne to the king of Norwaie, and Paule earle of Orkneie, after they vnderstood by their fellowes that escaped from the field, how the mater went with Harfager and Tostie, they hoised vp their sailes and directed their course homewards, bearing sorowfull newes with them into their countrie, of the losse of their king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write, that the king of England permitted them frankelie to depart with 20 ships, hauing first caused them to deliuer such hostages as they had receiued of the citizens of Yorke. Harold reioising in that he had atteined so glorious a victorie, and being now surprised with pride and couetousnesse togither, he diuided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to such as he fauored he distributed liberallie, and to other (though they had much better deserued) he gaue nothing at all, reteining still the best part of all to himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the fauor of manie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him. This done, he repaired to Yorke, and there staied for a time to reforme the disordered state of the countrie, which by reason of these warres was greatlie out of frame.

The king of Norwaie and Tostie slaine.

This battell was fought on the 25 of September as saith Si. Dun.

Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

M. West. Vnequall diuiding of the spoile.

Wil. Malm.

¶ But Harold being more presumptuous and foolhardie, than prouident and wise in his enterprise; bending all his force to redresse enormities in those quarters of Yorkeshire (much like vnto him, whom the Comediographer marketh for a fole, *Ea tantùm quæ ad pedes iacent contemplans, non autem ventura præuidens*) neglected the kinglie care which he should haue had of other parts of his realme, from the which he had withdrawen himselfe, and (as it is likelie) had not left sufficientlie prouided of a conuenient vicegerent to gouerne the same by his warranted authoritie, and such fortifications as might expell and withstand the enimie. Which want of foresight gaue occasion to the enimie to attempt an inuasion of the English coasts, as in the next chapt. shall be shewed.

William duke of Normandie prepareth to inuade England and to conquere it, the earle of Flanders and the French king assist him, the number of his ships, his arriuall at Peuensey in Sussex, vpon what occasions he entred this realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke William would not suffer his souldiers to wast the countries where they came; Harold goeth towards his enimies, why his vnskilfull espials tooke the Normans (being old beaten souldiers) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold from present incountering with the duke; where note the conscience that is to be had of an oth, and that periurie can not scape vnpunished.

The tenth Chapter.

WIlliam duke of Normandie hauing knowledge after what maner K. Harold was busied in the north parts of his realme, and vnderstanding that the south parts thereof remained destitute of due prouision for necessarie defense, hasted with all diligence to make his puruetance of men and ships, that he might vpon such a conuenient occasion set forward to inuade his enimie. And amongest other of his friends, vnto whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Baldwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest, who vpon promise of great summes of monie and other large offers made, did aid him with men, munition, ships, and victuals, verie freelie. The French king also did as much for his part as laie in him to helpe forwards this so high an enterprise. Wherefore when all things were now in a readinesse, he came to the towne of S. Valerie, where he had assembled togither an huge naute of ships (to the number (as some authors affirme) of three hundred saile; and when he had taried there a long time for a conuenient wind, at length it came about euen as he himselfe desired. Then shipping his armie which consisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britains, with all expedition he toke the sea, and directing his course towards England, he finallie landed at a place in Sussex, ancientlie called Peuensey, on the 28 day of September, where he did set his men on land, & prouided all things necessarie to incourage and refresh them.

Ia. Meir. Baldwine earle of Flanders aided duke William to conquere England.

Wil. Gem. The chronicles of Normandie hane 896 ships.

Duke William landed at Pemesey, now Pemsey.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other stacke fast in the sand: the which so soone as one of his knights had espied, and seeing his hand wherevpon he staied full of earth, when he rose, he spake alowd and said: Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke yer long become a king. The duke hearing this tale, laughed merilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occasions he had thus entered the realme.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of the land that to him was giuen and assigned (as he said) by his nephue king Edward late ruler of the same land.

Hen. Hunt. 1

The second was, to reuenge the death of his nephue Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king Edward, whome Godwine earle of Kent and his adherents had most cruellie murthered.

2

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert archbishop of Canturburie, who (as he was informed) was exiled by the meanes and labor of

3

of Harold in the daies of king Edward.

Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were for displeasure that the pope had sometime conceiued for the wrong done to the archbishop, or at the onlie suite of duke William, certeine it is that the pope, as then named Alexander the second, fauored this enterprise of the duke, and in token thereof sent him a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king Harold euer in great hatred and disdaine, because he had taken vpon him the crowne without their consent, or anie ecclesiasticall solemnitie or agreement of the bishops. And although the pope and his brethren the said cardinals dissembled the matter for the time; yet now beholding to what end his bold presumption was like to come, with frowning fortune they shewed themselues open aduersaries, inclining streightwaies to the stronger part, after the manner of couetous persons, or rather of the reed shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Duke William at his first landing at Peuensey or Pemsey (whether you will) fortified a peece of ground with strong trenches, and leauing therein a competent number of men of warre to keepe the same, he sped him toward Hastings, and comming thither, he built an other fortresse there with all speed possible, without suffering his souldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adioining, saieng that it should be great follie for him to spoile that people, which yer manie daies to come were like to be his subiects. K. Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, sped him southward, and gathering his people together out of the countries as he went forwards, at length came nere his enimies: and sending espials into their campe to vnderstand of what strength they were; the vnskilfull messengers regarding smallie their charge, brought word againe of nothing else, but that all duke Williams souldiers were priests. For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips and chekes shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed to suffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at length. But Harold answered, that they were not priests, but wether-beaten and hardie souldiers, and such as were like to abide well by their capteine.

In the meane season, Girth one of Harolds yonger brethren (considering that periurie is neuer left vnpunished) aduised his brother not to aduenture himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as he had beene sometime sworne to duke William, but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to incounter with the said duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold answered that he was free from anie such oth, and that in defense of his countrie he would fight boldly with him as with his greatest enimie. ¶ Where (by the waie) would be noted the conscience which Girth a yonger brother made of an oth, not concerning himselfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had sworne the same; meaning nothing lesse than the performance therof, as the sequele of his doings to his discredit and vndoing euidentlie declared, which euents might seeme countable to him as due punishments and deserued plagues inflicted vpon him and others, for his sake; sith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no small puissance, who afterwards became a whip vnto him for his periurie; a sinne detested of the heathen, and whereof the poet notablie speaketh, saieng:

Ah miser, & si quis primò periuria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus.

Will. Lamb. The pope fauored duke Williams enterprise.

Matth. West.

Gemeticensis.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West.

Normans beards shauen. Wil. Malm. Hen. Marle.

Girth would not haue his brother king Harold fight himselfe. Gemeticensis.

Tibul. lib. 1.

After peace offered & refused on each side, both armies meete in the field, the order of the Englishmens attire & araie, the maner how the Normans were placed to fight in battell; the dissolute and drunken behauior of the Englishmen the night before the incounter farre differing from the Normans deuout demenour; duke Williams speech vpon occasion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell betwixt him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the English by duke Williams politike stratagem are deceiued, king Harold slaine, his armie put to flight and manie of them slaine after a long and bloudie incounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the English ouerhastilie procure their owne death, they take the spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are licenced to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the manner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing dispraise-worthie in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his valiantnesse in a conflict against the VVelshmen, his rigorous or rather pitilesse handling of them, his seuere law or decree touching their bounds, they are vtterlie subdued, and (by the kings leaue) the VVelshwomen marrie with the Englishmen, the Saxon line ceaseth, how long it lasted, and how long it was discontinued by the inuasion of the Danes.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diuerse offers were made on each side (before they fell to the conflict) for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themselues to trie the matter by dint of sword. And so on the 14 day of October, being saturday, both hosts met in the field, at a place in Sussex not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbeie of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen were all brought into one entire maine batell on foot, with huge axes in their hands, and paled a front with paueises, in such wise that it was thought vnpossible for the enimie to breake their arraie. On the other side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall batels, as first the footmen that were archers, and also those that bare gleiues and ares were placed in the forefront, and the horsemen diuided into wings stood on the sides in verie good order.

Will. Malmes.

The order of the Englishmen.

Matth. West.

The arraie of the Normans.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen made great noise and slept not, but sang and fell to drinking and making of reuell passime, as though there had beene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselues warlie and soberlie, spending all that night in prair and confessing their sinnes vnto God; and in the morning earelie they receiued the communion before they went forth to the battell. Some write, that when duke William should put on his armour to go to the field, the backe halfe of his curasses by chance was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at which chance he tooke occasion of laughter, saieng merrilie to them that stood by; So force, this is good lucke, for the estate of my dukedome shall be yer night changed into a kingdome. Beside this, he spake manie comfortable words vnto his men, to incourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at conuenient time when both armies were readie, they made forward each to incounter with other, on the foresaid fourteenth day of October, with great force and assurance.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrowes flue abroad

Polydor.

The battell betwixt king Harold and duke William is begun.

abroad freſhlie on both ſides, till they came to ioine at hand ſtrokes, and then preaſſed each ſide vpon his counterpart with ſwords, axes, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horſſemen to giue the charge on the breaſts of his enimies battels: but the Engliſhmen keeping themſelues cloſe togither without ſcattering, receiued their enimies vpon the points of their weapons with ſuch fiercenelle and in ſuch ſtiffe order, that manie of the Normans horſſemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and ſlaine at the firſt brunt. When duke William perceiued this inconuenience (as he that well and thoroughlie vnderſtood the ſkilfull points of warre as well as the beſt) he gaue a ſigne to his men (according to an order appointed before hand vpon anie ſuch occaſion) that they ſhould giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flée, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and withall they imbattelled their footmen in a new order, ſo that their horſſemen ſhifted themſelues on the wings, readie to reſcue the footmen if their arraie ſhould happen to be diſturbed.

The policie of duke William to diſorder his enimies. H. Hunt. Will. Malm.

By this wilie ſtratagem and policie of warre, the Engliſhmen were deceiued: for they beholding the Normans ſomwhat ſhrinking backe to bring themſelues into the aboue ſaid order, thought verelie that they had fled, and thereupon meaning to purſue them before they ſhould recouer their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chaſe: whereupon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to paſſe as they deſired) ſpeedilie returned, and calling themſelues togither quicklie into arraie, began to charge them againe afreſh, and ſo hauing them at that aduantage, they ſlue them downe on euerie ſide. The Engliſhmen on the other part fought ſore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and ſlaine, yet were they loth to flée or giue ouer; ſo ſharpe was the battell, that duke William himſelfe had three horſſes ſlaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his perſon.

A ſore fought ten battell. King Harold ſlaine.

Wil. Malm. Matth. Weſt.

Some of the Engliſhmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themſelues to win the hill of them, ſo that it was long yer the Normans could preuaile, being oftentimes driuen downe into the bottome of the vallie beneath. At length the Engliſhmen, perceiuing themſelues to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie ſide, and thereunto greatlie diſcouraged with ſlaughter of their king, began firſt to giue ground, and after to ſcatter and to run away, ſo that well was he that might then eſcape by flight. When they had fought the moſt part of all that ſaturday, the Normans followed the chaſe with ſuch eger rafhneſſe, that a great number of them falling with their horſſes and armour into a blind ditch (ſhadowed with reed and ſedges which grew therein) were ſmouldered and preſſed to death, yer they could be ſuccoured or get anie reliefe. The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the ſpoile of the field, burieng alſo the dead bodies of their people that were ſlaine at the battell, giuing licence in ſemblable manner to the Engliſhmen to doo the like. Of the death of Harold diuerſe report diuerſlie, in ſo much that Girald Cambrenſis ſaith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and loſt his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Weſtcheſter, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchoret in the cell of S. James, fast by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the ſaieng of Girald Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, becauſe of the vnlikelihood of the thing it ſelfe, and alſo generall conſent of other writers, who affirme vniuerſallie that he was killed in the battell, firſt being ſtriken thorough the left eie by the ſcull into the braine with an arrow, whereupon falling from his horſſe to the ground, he was ſlaine in that place, after he had reigned nine moneths and nine daies, as Floriacenſis doth report. He was a man of a comelie ſtature, and of a hawtie courage, albeit that for his valiancie he was highlie renowmed and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he loſt the harts of manie. There were ſlaine in this battell, beſides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrike, what on the one ſide and on the other, aboue twentie thouſand men.

Floriac. Simon Dun.

Henr. Hunt. Polydor. The chronicles of Normandie haue of Engliſh men ſlaine 67974, and of Normans 6013.

The bodie of king Harold being found among other ſlaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monaſterie of the holie croſſe which he before had founded, and indowed to the behoofe of ſuch canons as he had placed there, with faire poſſeſſions. Verelie (as ſome old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wiſe diſpraiſed, if his ambitious mind could haue bene ſtaied from coueting the kingdome, and that he could haue bene contented to haue liued as a ſubiect. Among other manifeſt proofes of his high valiancie, this is remembred of him, that being ſent againſt the Welſhmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimbleneſſe in ſeruice, and how with their light armed men they were accuſtomed to annoie and diſtreſſe thoſe that ſhould aſſaile them, he likewiſe (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpoſe, & ſo being furniſhed with ſuch bands of nimble men and light ſouldiers, entered vpon the mounteins of Snowdon, and there remained amongſt the enimies for the ſpace of two yeares. He ſore afflicted the Welſh nation, tooke their kings, and ſent their heads vnto the king that ſent him about his buſineſſe, and proceeding in ſuch rigorous maner as might moue the hearers to lament and pitie the caſe, he cauſed all the male kind that might be met with, to be miſerablie ſlaine: and ſo with the edge of his ſword he brought the countrie to quiet, and withall made this lawe; that if anie Welſhman from thenceforth ſhould preſume to paſſe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he ſhould loſe his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welſhmen were then ſo ſore brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might ſéeme to faile, and to be almoſt vtterlie deſtroied. And therefore by permiſſion of the king of England, the women of Wales ioined themſelues in marriage with Engliſhmen. Finallie, hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceaſſed to reigne in England after they had continued poſſeſſion of the ſame, from the firſt comming of Hengiſt, which was about the yéere of our Sauiour 450, or 449, vntill that preſent yeere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yéere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengiſt his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yéeres, or (after ſome) 617, as by the ſupputation of the time will eaſilie appeare. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this land, except that for the ſpace of twentie yéeres and ſomewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their poſſeſſion: for there are reckoned from the beginning of K. Swaines reigne (which was the firſt Dane that gouerned England) vnto the laſt yéere of K. Hardicnute (the laſt Dane that ruled heere) 28 yéeres, in which meane ſpace Egelred recouering the kingdome reigned 2 yéeres, then after him his ſonne Edmund Ironſide continued in the rule one yéere; ſo that the Danes had the whole poſſeſſion of the land but 25 yéeres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Iland, read a ſhort aduertiſement annexed (by waie of concluſion) to this hiſtorie, compriſing a ſhort ſummarie of the moſt notable conqueſts of this countrie

Ex 6. libro Polycraticon, ſiue de nugis curialium. Iohn Saliſb.

1069

Yemuſt note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

The policie of duke William to diſorder his enimies. H. Hunt. Will. Malm.

Giral. Camb.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. Weſt.

The Engliſhmen put to flight.

Chron. de bello. Wil. Geme.

The Normans fall into a ditch.

trie one after an other, by diſtances of times ſucceſſiuelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods prouidence allotted to duke William, his deſcent from Rollo the firſt duke of Normandie downewards to his particular linage, he was baſe begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleaſant ſpeech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the vſe of hir perſon, a concluſion introductorie for the ſequele of the chronicle from the ſaid duke of Normandies coronation, &c. with a ſummarie of the notable conqueſts of this Iland.

The twelfe Chapter.

NOw, forſomuch as it pleaſed God by his hid and ſecret iudgement ſo to diſpoſe the realme of England, and in ſuch wiſe, as that the gouernance ther of ſhould fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this hiſtorie (being now come to the conqueſt of the realme, made by the foreſaid duke of Normandie) to ſet downe his pedegree, thereby to ſhew how he deſcended from the firſt duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptiſme called Robert.

The ſaid Rollo or Rou, was ſonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two ſons, the ſaid Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vſed, in time when their people were increaſed to a greater number than the countrie was able to ſuſteine) refuſed to obeie that order, and made warre there againſt the king, who yet in the end by practiſe found meanes to ſlea the foreſaid Guion, and his ſonne Gourin; ſo that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus loſt his father and brother, was compelled to forſake the countrie, with all thoſe that had holpe his father to make warre againſt the king. Thus driuen to ſeeke aduentures, at length he became a chriſtian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, ſurnamed le Simple, whoſe daughter the ladie Gilla he alſo maried: but ſhe departing this life without iſſue, he maried Popée daughter to the earle of Beſſin and Baieulx, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptiſed, and had by hir a ſonne named William Longeſpée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longeſpée or Longaſpata, had to wife the ladie Spoſita, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had iſſue Richard the ſecond of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no iſſue proceeded: but after hir deceaſſe, he maried to his ſecond wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Daniſh line, by whom he had three ſonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had alſo by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwiſe called Emma, married firſt to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwiſe Alir, beſtowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Eulde earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Judith, ſiſter to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had iſſue three ſonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alir, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yong, being affianced to Alfonſe king of Nauarre. Their mother deceaſſed after ſhe had bene married ten yeres, and then duke Richard married ſecondlie the ladie Elfric, ſiſter to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchaſed to be diuorſed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whome he had iſſue two ſonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbiſhop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldeſt ſonne to Richard the third, died without iſſue, and then his brother Robert ſucceeded in the eſtate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgeſſe of Felais, William ſurnamed the baſtard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conqueſt king of England. Of whoſe father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleaſant remembrance for a refection after the peruſing of the former ſad and ſober diſcourſes.

In the yere of Chriſt 1030, Robert, the ſecond ſonne of Richard the ſecond duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wiſedome gouerned his dukedome ſeuen yeres, for performance of a penance that he had ſet to himſelfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; leauing behind him this William a yong prince, whome ſeuen yeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whoſe beautifull fauour, louelie grace and preſence, at hir dauncing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to ſay, would needs that night ſhe ſhould be his bedfellow, who elſe as wiueleſſe ſhould haue lien alone: where when ſhe was beſtowed, thinking that if ſhe ſhould haue laid hir ſelfe naked, it might haue ſeemed not ſo maiderlie a part: ſo when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, ſhe in an humble modeſtie ſtaid hir lords hand, and rent downe hir ſmocke aſunder, from the collar to the verie ſkirt. Heere at the duke all ſmiling did aſke hir what thereby ſhe ment: In great lowlines, with a feate queſtion the anſwerd againe; My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, ſhould preſume to be mountant to my ſouereignes mouth vpward? Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir anſwer: and ſo and ſo forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiſcam all his nobilitie vnto him, cauſed them to ſweare fealtie vnto his yong ſonne William, whome he then at his iournie betoke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defenſe of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert paſſing forth in his pilgrimage, ſhewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleaſant withall; who once in Iurie not well at eaſe, in a litter was borne toward Jeruſalem vpon Saracens ſhoulders, & meeting with a ſubiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aſke after me, tell them that thou ſaweſt their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they ſlackened apace, euerie one ſhifting for himſelfe as he liſt, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their ſouereigne. Whereby not manie yeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childes coſſine germane, was ſlaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themſelues was ſore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Ran. li. 6. ca. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibid.

Wil. Mal. idem. Ran. idem.

Yet muſt note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

trie one after an other, by distances of times succeslsiuelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods prouidence allotted to duke William, his descent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie downewards to his particular linage, he was base begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleasant speech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the vse of hir person, a conclusion introductorie for the sequele of the chronicle from the said duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a summarie of the notable conquests of this Iland.

The twelfe Chapter.

NOw, forsomuch as it pleased God by his hid and secret iudgement so to dispose the realme of England, and in such wise, as that the gouernance therof should fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this historie (being now come to the conquest of the realme, made by the foresaid duke of Normandie) to set downe his pedegree, thereby to shew how he descended from the first duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptisme called Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two sons, the said Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vsed, in time when their people were increased to a greater number than the countrie was able to sustaine) refused to obeie that order, and made warre there against the king, who yet in the end by practise found meanes to slea the foresaid Guion, and his sonne Gourin; so that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrie, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre against the king. Thus driuen to seeke aduentures, at length he became a christian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also maried: but she departing this life without issue, he maried Popée daughter to the earle of Bessin and Baieulx, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William Longespée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longespée or Longaspata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after hir decease, he maried to his second wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danish line, by whom he had three sonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had also by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwise called Emma, married first to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwise Alix, bestowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Eudes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Judith, sister to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alix, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yong, being affianced to Alfonse king of Nauarre. Their mother deceased after she had beene married ten yeres, and then duke Richard married secondlie the ladie Estric, sister to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchased to be diuorsed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whome he had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbishop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, died without issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in the estate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgesse of Felais, William surnamed the bastard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of England. Of whose father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleasant remembrance for a refection after the perusing of the former sad and sober discourses.

In the yeere of Christ 1030, Robert, the second sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wisedome gouerned his dukedome seuen yeres, for performance of a penance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; leauing behind him this William a yong prince, whome seuen yeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whose beautifull fauour, louelie grace and presence, at hir dansing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to say, would néeds that night she should be his bedfellow, who else as vnweleese should haue lien alone: where when she was bestowed, thinking that if she should haue laid hir selfe naked, it might haue seemed not so maidenlie a part: so when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, she in an humble modestie staid hir lords hand, and rent dowyne hir smocke asunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Wherat the duke all smiling did aske hir what thereby she ment: In great lowlines, with a feate question she answerd againe; My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, should presume to be mountant to my souereignes mouth vpward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir answer: and so and so forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiscam all his nobilitie vnto him, caused them to sweare fealtie vnto his yong sonne William, whome he then at his tournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert passing forth in his pilgrimage, shewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleasant withall; who once in Turie not well at ease, in a litter was borne toward Jerusalem vpon Saracens shoulders, & meeting with a subiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aske after me, tell them that thou sawest their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they slackened apace, euerie one shifting for himselfe as he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their soureigne. Whereby not manie yeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childes cosine germane, was slaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themselues was sore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

Britaine
Floriac. Simon Dun.
Henr. Hunt. Polydor. The chronicles of Normandie haue of Englishmen slaine 67974, and of Normans 6013.
Ex 6. libro Polycraticon, sine de nugis curialium. John Satisb.
1069
Ye must note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.
Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.
Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.
Ran. li. 6. ca. 19.
Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ran. ibib.
Ran. ibid.
Ran. ibib.
Wil. Mal. idem. Ran. idem.

prince William his ſonne for part of his tender yeeres.

A notable aduertiſement touching the ſumme of all the foreſaid hiſtorie, wherin the foure great and notable conqueſts of this land are brieflie touched, being a concluſion introductorie, as is ſaid in the argument.

IN the former part of this hiſtorie it is manifeſt to the heedfull reader, that (after the opinion of moſt writers) Brute did firſt inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, Britaine, in the yeere after the creation of the world 2855, and in the yeere before the incarnation of Chriſt 1108. ¶ Furthermore, the ſaid land of Britaine was conquered by C. Julius Ceſar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yeere before the natiuitie of Chriſt, and ſo continued 483 yeeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brute, vntill the fourth yeere of the reigne of king Cadwallador, which was in the yeere of our Lord 686. And ſo the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the ſpace of 1794 yeeres. Then was the realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided into ſeuen kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Chriſt in the 7 yeere of the reigne of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yeere after the birth of Chriſt. ¶ Next after the Britains entered the Saxons, in the third yeere of king Uortiger; and in the yeere of our Lord 450, and they gouerned vntill the laſt yeere of king Athelſtane, which was in the yeere of Chriſt 938. So that the time of the Saxons firſt entrance into this realme, and the time of their regiment was the ſpace of 487 yeeres. ¶ Howbeit, in the time of their gouernement, that is to ſay, in the 9 yeere of king Beitricus, which was in the yeere of our Lord 787, the Danes entred into this land, ſpoiling and perſecuting the people therin moſt greuouſlie. At the laſt, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obteined poſſeſſion totall, in the yeere of Grace 1012, whoſe time of regiment laſted about three yeeres. After whom his ſonne Canutus ſucceeded, and reigned 19 yeeres. After him Harold his ſonne, who ruled three yeeres: and after him Hardicnute the ſonne of Canutus, whoſe gouernement continued but three yeeres. This Hardicnute was the laſt king of the Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and hunted out of the realme, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this collection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the ſpace of 28 yeeres. Hereby alſo it is euident, that from the time of the firſt entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their laſt expulſion & riddance, was 255 yeeres. ¶ Finallie the Normans entred this land likewiſe, and conquered the ſame as before is expreſſed, in the yeere of our Lord 1067, which is ſince, vntill this preſent yeere of our Lord 1585, drawing neere to the number of 600 and 90 yeeres.

Now let theſe alterations of regiments be remembred [touching the which read a notable animaduerſion in the deſcription of Britaine, pag. 28,29] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of God reuealed themſelues to ſpeciall purpoſes. And what ſoeuer hath beene mentioned before, either concerning the ſubuerſion of people, the deſolation of prouinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerſlie happening vpon ſundrie occaſions: let vs (I ſay) as manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were ſo manie yeeres paſt to be preſent, and applie the profit and commoditie of the ſame vnto our ſelues; knowing (as one wiſely ſaid) *Poſt ſacram paginam chronica vinum veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie ſcripture, chronicles do carie credit. But now to the ſequele, and firſt to duke William of Normandie.

1 Britaine conquered by the Romans.

2 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Saxons.

3 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Danes.

4 Britaine conquered and poſſeſſed by the Normans.

Thus farre the hiſtorie of England from Noah and his ſonnes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the firſt yeere of the ſaid dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the Queenes moſt excellent maieſtie Elizabeth, &c: whoſe daies God in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in peace and proſperitie, &c.